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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

REPORT

ON THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

J. B. FORTESCUE, Esq.,

PRESERVED AT

DROPMORE.

VOL. IX.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Erratum (Vol. VIII)	v
Introduction	vii
Report	1
Appendix	440
Index	509

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ERRATUM.

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. VIII.

Page xviii, line 44, *for* Luxembourg *read* Neufchatel.

This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by Mr. Walter Fitzpatrick.

INTRODUCTION.

This volume contains letters and other documents selected from the Dropmore Papers for the three years from the beginning of 1807 to the end of 1809.

At the opening of the year 1807 the Coalition Ministry of "All the Talents" was, to outward seeming, firmly established. It had hitherto surmounted the dangers and difficulties which beset it from the beginning.[1] Moderation in pursuing its avowed policy of military and economical reform, and religious toleration; an evident desire to consult as far as possible his wishes and even his prejudices; and no doubt the presence of Lord Sidmouth in the Cabinet had, to some extent at least, disarmed the fears and the dislikes of the King, and baffled hostile influences immediately surrounding him, which were used by a weak but unscrupulous Opposition to procure its own return to office. Then again the mutual esteem and warm friendship which intimate association begot between Fox and Grenville; a patriotic determination among the great body of their colleagues to sacrifice individual partialities and distrusts in order that the Confederacy might fulfil its purpose of uniting the forces of the Monarchy against external peril, had quelled any tendency to cabal in the Ministerial ranks, and brought conflicting elements into harmonious co-operation. That the popular favour which welcomed the formation of the Government in February, 1806, had not diminished, became manifest when an appeal to the country in the following autumn greatly enlarged its majority in the House of Commons, and strengthened its authority in the House of Lords. One incident, indeed, of this contest must have suggested uncomfortable doubt with regard to the King's real disposition. He withheld from Lord Grenville the large donation from his Privy Purse he was in the habit of contributing to the election fund of a Prime Minister of his own choice. But, on the whole, his relations with an administration forced on him by necessity had been franker and smoother than might have been anticipated by statesmen of experience in the political life of the time.

This appearance of stability in the Government, however, concealed from the public eye, and even from its own more sanguine adherents, a rapid development of elements of weakness within itself, and approaching peril of a character practically unsurmountable. The results achieved had been due in large measure to the commanding ability, cool judgment,

[1] *See* Introduction to Volume VIII.

and genial qualities of Fox. His death was an irreparable blow, leaving the Ministry without a competent leader, a guiding mind. No one could be more conscious of his incapacity to supply the loss than was the titular head of the administration, Lord Grenville himself. Writing early in 1807 to Lord Buckingham, during one of those almost morbid fits of despondency into which the anxieties and responsibilities of his high office too frequently plunged him, he made the following frank confession: "I want one great and essential quality for my station, and every hour increases the difficulty. I can still, and could still, for a few years, as long as my eyesight is spared to me, labour at my desk; but I am not competent to the management of men. I never was so naturally; and toil and anxiety more and more unfit me for it." There was no self-deception here. In the calm atmosphere of the House of Lords, which allowed them free exercise, his oratorical gifts—clear conception, lucid expression, forcible argument, fervour of conviction—made him a mainstay of Government; and, in Opposition, commanded universal attention. In the debates of the House of Commons he had made little mark. The stimulating breath of a popular assembly, instead of inspiring and bracing, seemed to paralyse his faculties. As Speaker of the Commons, an office which supposes "competence to the management of men," he had been a conspicuous failure. This sense of personal inefficiency threw him back, on the death of Fox, into his old habit of relying for counsel and support on the more ambitious spirit and stronger will of Lord Buckingham, whom interested aims, jealousies, and freaks of temper made a very unsafe guide. At the same time, the loss of the controlling power hitherto exercised by his great colleague in the House of Commons revived in Lord Grenville's mind the keen sense of radical differences dividing his own following from their Liberal allies which had retarded the formation of the Coalition Ministry. Although, like Burke and Pitt, always zealous for economical reform and constitutional rule, he dreaded innovation on the existing system of Parliamentary representation as leading straight to Jacobinism. He seems to have thought personal government, with its systematic corruption and political servility, a lesser evil than any change which should transfer the franchise from rotten boroughs to large but unrepresented centres of population. Lord Howick, who succeeded Fox as leader of the House of Commons, had been at one time deeply bitten by this revolutionary mania, as the Grenville brethren considered it, which had also in a milder form infected the principles of Lord Henry Petty. Both of these statesmen, since taking office, had suppressed obnoxious opinions in the interest of union, and become hardly less conservative than Lord Grenville himself. But there was a strong Radical element prominently represented by Mr. Whitbread, Howick's brother-in-law, in the

Liberal wing of the party in the House of Commons ; and this section found itself re-enforced every year by men of the rising generation, including the eldest sons of Whig peers in the Cabinet, who returned to the political ground of progressive reform from which their fathers had been scared by the atrocities and impieties of the French Revolution. In these circumstances, Lord Grenville and his brothers considered that the situation absolutely required a firm and capable leader of Conservative principles in the House of Commons. Howick, whose association with the Grenvilles had hardly as yet ripened into intimacy, might no doubt, in his present mood, fully serve this purpose ; but the failing health of Lord Grey made his tenure of the post extremely precarious. And no candidate could be found in the Ministerial ranks willing and competent to fill it, and acceptable to all the parties of which Government was composed. It was in these circumstances that Lord Grenville, by the advice of his brothers, authorised Lord Wellesley to carry on the negotiation with Mr. Canning, of which some account has been given in the Introduction to Volume VIII. of the Dropmore Papers. That there existed at the time, in anticipation of Fox's death, a strong disposition on the part of leading members of Pitt's last Ministry, if not of "the whole body of Pitt's friends," to re-unite with Lord Grenville, is confirmed by a document which has come to light since that Introduction was written. It is the report of a communication made by the Bishop of Lincoln, Pitt's tutor, confidential secretary and biographer, to Lord Carysford, and forwarded by the latter to the Prime Minister on July 27,[1] 1806. The Bishop professed to speak with authority on behalf of Castlereagh, Canning, and Rose. Wellesley's negotiation, however, was merely tentative, found no practical issue, and does not even seem to have been disclosed by Lord Grenville to the other chiefs of the Coalition. The proposals for junction made to him were on a scale and involved changes incompatible with the engagements he had contracted with Mr. Fox. Towards the close of the year, Lord Grey's serious illness brought the question of leader of the House of Commons again into the foreground. Under further pressure from members of his family, Lord Grenville consented to hold a private conference with Mr. Canning, who showed a disposition to accept the post. The question had now reached a stage at which reticence was no longer admissible ; and Lord Grenville found that in seeking to avert a more remote and perhaps imaginary danger, he had evoked another of a much graver character. Lord Sidmouth refused to accept Canning as a colleague,[2] and made the negotiation entered upon without his consent a ground for tendering his own resignation of office. Lord Holland, and apparently also Lord Howick, considered that Sidmouth had

[1] *See* Appendix, *p.* 440.
[2] Lord Holland to Viscount Howick, March 6, 1807.

been given just cause for complaint. And Lord Temple, who arranged his uncle's meeting with Canning, warmly objected, with his father's concurrence, to admitting into the Ministry Mr. Rose, the old friend and confidential adviser of Pitt, who now united his political fortunes to those of Mr. Canning.[1] Worries and disappointments of this kind inseparable from a position to which he felt himself unequal, made the responsibilities of office almost insupportable to Lord Grenville. It was only, indeed, the over-mastering influence of his brothers that restrained his ever-growing desire to cast off the fetters of power, and seek rest in congenial pursuits of literature and gardening, for which Dropmore and the wider domain of Boconnoc offered alluring prospects. This was hardly a frame of mind suitable for the head of a Government which, at the opening of the Session of 1807, suddenly found itself confronted by two questions, both of which must bring it into conflict with the Crown; and one of which bristled with difficulties that, if not absolutely insuperable in the particular circumstances of the time, were such as needed statesmanship of the highest order to surmount.

It was probably a misfortune for Lord Grenville, as well as for "his oldest friend," that antagonism aroused among the followers of Fox by high-handed policy in India had excluded Lord Wellesley from the Coalition Cabinet. Each possessed in superabundance qualities wanting in the other. Of all the statesmen trained in the great Administration of Pitt, Wellesley appears to have been the most highly endowed by nature with the qualifications which command success in a public career at periods when national peril opens great opportunities. He had ardent ambition elevated by patriotism, vivid imagination, capacity for large and liberal views which time developed, ability to discern and appreciate new forces and political conditions in the long and arduous struggle against Napoleon. As War Minister, if allowed a free hand, he would probably have ranked hardly second to the elder Pitt. A man so sensitive as he was to the influence of a genial nature and superior mind must have gained much from familiar intercourse with Fox, who, even in the sobriety of mature wisdom, seems to have been particularly indulgent to the faults and weaknesses of what has been termed an "Irish temperament." Wellesley's enterprising spirit and insight might have supplied the motive power in dealing with Continental affairs, so wanting to the Grenville Ministry after the death of Fox. On the other hand, Grenville's moderation and long experience in British politics might have corrected the arrogant temper and egotistical illusions which Wellesley brought back to England from seven years of autocratic rule in India. Their firm friendship and

[1] Earl Temple to Lord Grenville, February 24, 1807
Marquis of Buckingham to ,, ,, 19, ,,
Thomas Grenville to ,, ,, 23, ,,
pp. 53–57.

complementary qualities might have forbidden rivalry. And a revival of old habits of intimacy in a household so adorned with domestic virtues as Lord Grenville's, might have checked irregularities of private conduct, which later on became a scandal and greatly lowered Wellesley in public estimation. As it was, intense irritation at what he thought unjust persecution, and ascribed to Whig malignity, impatience of a state of forced inaction, and the urgent pressure of brothers hungering for employment, and bred up in the narrow tradition of English rule in Ireland, led him to forget the obligations he and they owed to thirty years of devoted friendship ; and to form a connexion with politicians whom he despised, but who espoused his grievances, courted his alliance, and flattered his ambitious hopes of political predominance from which, as they knew well, he was excluded by the King's dislike.

The questions now forcing themselves on the attention of Government with an urgency that could not be evaded were (1st) the obstructions opposed by the Duke of York at the Horse Guards to the operation of Windham's Army Bill, dooming it to failure. This involved a constitutional struggle with the Royal prerogative, which the Government did not live long enough to bring to an issue. The second question was that of discontent in Ireland, the result of long misrule and broken pledges of redress. Discontent permeated every class of the great majority of the Irish people, constituting a danger for the British Monarchy, which the rapid progress of Napoleon in the subjugation of continental Europe made more formidable every day. The main cause of this general disaffection, with the numerous evils resulting from it, still lives for the English reader in the pages of Burke and Lecky. It was a corrupt, intolerant, and tyrannical system of Government worked for their own exclusive advantage, by a section of the Protestant population, styling themselves the " English Interest " or " Protestant Ascendancy." Unfortunately no phase of the system could be touched by the hand of reform without arousing throughout Great Britain political and religious prejudices against which the strongest Minister, unless armed with all the authority of the Crown, contended in vain. Pitt made three assaults on it. In 1793 he compelled the Irish Government, sorely against its will, to pass a Relief Bill through the Irish Parliament, which freed Catholics from their worst grievances, and even gave them a share of political power in the shape of the electoral franchise. Again in 1794, when the aristocratic Whigs, under the sway of Burke, who aimed at uniting all the conservative forces of the Monarchy against the destructive forces of the French Revolution, united with Pitt, it was announced by the Duke of Portland, their nominal leader, who had negotiated the terms of this alliance with the Prime Minister, that these included a change of system in Ireland, and a complete repeal of Catholic disabilities. And he persuaded Lord FitzWilliam

to accept the post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in order to give effect to Whig principles of toleration which were also those of Grattan. The announcement caused great clamour among the ruling faction in Dublin Castle. Their complaints found a powerful organ in England in a former Viceroy, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville's brother, who had sought their aid in his angry conflict with the Whigs on the Regency question in 1788, and had left them in power. Buckingham eagerly seized the opportunity of discharging his smouldering discontent at what he regarded as neglect by Pitt of his claims for extraordinary services rendered to the King. In letters to Pitt and Grenville, he accused them of breaking faith with old adherents, and dishonouring himself, by handing over Ireland to the Whigs; and renounced all intercourse with them. Grenville's anguish was almost too deep for words. Although as anxious as before for junction with English Whigs of the particular section to which he and Pitt himself originally belonged, he became the vigilant champion of his brother, as against the Irish Whigs, who also represented to a great extent his own political convictions in regard to Irish affairs. This untimely conflict between policy and intense fraternal affection, embroiled the whole situation. Pitt denied having agreed to any change of system in Ireland; and as the terms of the compact between himself and Portland had not been committed to writing, they became the subject of heated controversy. Wherever the truth lay, Pitt's position was now difficult. He was bound to a certain extent by arrangements made in Ireland by Lord Buckingham; and by the closest ties personal and political, to Lord Grenville. And there seems to be no doubt from what followed that he now encountered unexpected opposition from the King, who did not love a Whig of whatever brand. On the other hand, his union with the great Whig landowners brought much needed strength to his Administration, while enfeebling the Opposition, and must if possible be maintained. A compromise was patched up. FitzWilliam was permitted to go to Ireland on certain conditions. Lord Chancellor FitzGibbon, who ruled that kingdom under the ægis of Lord Westmorland, was not to be removed except for insubordination. Whigs were not to be employed to the detriment of present holders of office. The new Viceroy, as Pitt told Grattan, was not to introduce a Catholic Relief Bill into the Irish Parliament, but might accept it if pressed on him; and generally no change of importance was to be made without consulting the Cabinet. Lord FitzWilliam was welcomed in Dublin with general acclamations. But he soon found that in Burke's words to Windham, "without effective support of the English Ministry a man in the pillory has a post of honour in comparison with a Lord Lieutenant." He was "as a Bashaw of Egypt governed by the Beys."[1] Finding his situation intolerable, FitzWilliam removed a prominent Bey,

[1] Windham's *Diary*.

Mr. Beresford, from his post of Controller of Customs, allowing him to retain full pay as a retiring allowance. To this step he understood Pitt to consent at a private conference before he left London. Afterwards, finding that a Catholic Relief Bill, introduced into the Irish House of Commons by Grattan, had been received with general acquiescence, he reported the fact officially to Portland, as Home Secretary. Receiving no answer to this communication, he reported again that he would accept the Bill unless otherwise instructed. In the meantime "the clique," as Burke called the "English Interest," had not remained passive. Beresford hurried over to London, made the political atmosphere ring with his outcries, and, aided by Lords Westmorland, Auckland, and other allies, gained the Royal ear. Then the Head Bey, FitzGibbon, admonished the King, with the authority of a keeper of his conscience, that by accepting Grattan's Bill he would violate his Coronation oath : a Constitutional doctrine to which Auckland's brother-in-law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, lent the sanction of the Church. George III accepted it eagerly, and reproached Pitt for listening to the sentimentalities of Mr. Burke. Pitt gave way. The Duke of Portland abandoned FitzWilliam, who, though backed up by a vote of confidence from the Irish Parliament, was recalled from Dublin, amidst extraordinary manifestations of public grief, and was refused any explanation by Government in the British House of Lords. Lord Camden crossed the Channel as his successor, with special orders from the King to maintain "Protestant ascendancy." And Lord FitzGibbon, created Earl of Clare, set to work, in concert with the new Viceroy, to pave the way for Legislative union with Great Britain, in order to place the system which made Ireland, in Burke's phrase, *non regnum sed magnum latrocinium*,[1] on an impregnable basis. The story of how this purpose was pursued is a mournful chapter of Irish history. This was Pitt's first defeat in an effort to improve Irish Government. The second occurred in 1801. An attempt to carry an Act of Union through the Irish Parliament on the lines of "Protestant Ascendancy" having failed, an authorised announcement by Lord Castlereagh of the intention of the British Cabinet to make the passing of that Act the immediate prelude of their complete emancipation, induced the Irish Catholics to acquiesce in, and thus lend an appearance of national sanction to shameful traffic in which national independence was bought and sold, at the nation's own expense, by political tricksters and boroughmongers. No sooner had the Act passed, when Lord Clare, who had hitherto "lain low" watching silently his colleague Castlereagh's tactics, appealed again, with the secret support of Lord Loughborough, Lord Chancellor of England, to the King's conscience to protect the Protestant Constitution. His Majesty responded as before, rejecting with disdain as "Scotch metaphysics" Dundas's

[1] Windham's *Diary*.

suggestion of Ministerial responsibility. Pitt resigned office, with most of his colleagues, but in a few weeks threw the Irish cause over, in the expectation of being allowed to resume what had always been the joy of his heart, and the passion of his life. And when, in 1804, both Houses of the United Parliament rejected by immense majorities the petitions presented by Fox and Lord Grenville on their behalf, it was evident to Irish Catholics that in bartering away an independent Legislature they had fastened their own fetters more securely. What Pitt could not accomplish, Grenville could not even attempt.

There were, however, other phases of Irish misrule which, being rather social than religious or political, might, it was thought, be remedied or at least alleviated without endangering Protestant ascendancy or wounding the King's conscience.

Perhaps the worst feature of the worst system of land tenure then existing was an arrangement by which the burden of tithes payable to the established Church had been shifted from landowners and large farmers of fertile grazing land to the small potatoe plots of rack-rented cottiers, who had besides to maintain their own chapels and priests, and the miserable hedge schools to which the repeal of a law condemning Catholics to absolute ignorance, now allowed them to send their children. And in many districts the grievance was made intolerable by the exactions of tithe proctors, representing non-resident clergy, who enjoyed the revenue of a parish without incumbrance of church or congregation. This burden, which crushed and demoralised the peasantry, was a perennial cause of public disorder. It was specified in Pitt's great speech to the House of Commons in 1800, as one of the evils to which a legislative union would enable Government to apply a remedy. It had long occupied Lord Grenville's thoughts; and when the outbreak of "The Threshers," of which it was the cause, convulsed Connaught in 1806, he pressed it earnestly on the immediate attention of the Irish Government. The Duke of Bedford and himself, as staunch supporters of the Church established, desired to reform this great abuse as a means of strengthening its supremacy. In a long letter, dated March 14, 1807,[1] the Duke expounded various plans for effecting their object. But the atmosphere in which he lived was so charged with suspicion that he feared to provoke an outcry of religious intolerance by even hinting at any such purpose until he found an opportunity of taking counsel with the Archbishop of Armagh and other Irish prelates of the established Church, and until a measure had been framed for immediate submission to Parliament. It was, therefore, agreed that tithe reform should remain an official secret till those conditions had been satisfied.

Another grievance, which required very cautious handling, silently engaged the consideration of the Irish Executive.

[1] p. 82.

In few countries was education so richly endowed, but the benefits were confined to a small minority of the population. Dublin University enjoyed large revenues from confiscated estates, which it expended in a spirit of fanatical bigotry, typified by Dr. Duigenan in the British Parliament. Other large estates, as well as an annual grant of 24,000*l.*, maintained the Charter Schools for the object of bringing up the children of Catholic parents in the creed of the established Church; while the whole sum hitherto provided for Catholics was an annual grant of 9,000*l.* for the education at Maynooth of 200 priests, who had formerly been trained in foreign seminaries. This endowment was the first step in a scheme entertained by Pitt before the passing of the Act of Union of paying the Catholic clergy, in order to bring them under the control of the British Government. It proved very insufficient for the needs of the various dioceses concerned, and Lord Grenville raised it to 13,000*l.* a year. Sir John Newport, perhaps the ablest and most liberal-minded member of the Irish Government, having discovered in the course of his researches as Chancellor of the Exchequer, an education fund which Lord Castlereagh had diverted from its proper uses to purposes of corruption, was now at work to recover and apply it to the extension of public instruction. However, as this reform required management and perhaps fresh legislation, it still remained a benevolent project.

But although these grievances were rampant, without certain promise of redress, Protestant ascendancy had laid aside much of its aggressive character since the death of Lord Chancellor Clare in 1802. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardwicke, coercive enactments, passed before the Union, were suspended, and ordinary law resumed its reign. Under the Duke of Bedford and the Irish Whigs, Government assumed a very friendly attitude towards the Catholics, and sought occasions for the first time to give them minor posts in the Administration, to which the Relief Act of 1793–4 had made them eligible. Lord Grenville hoped and expected that, in return, they would for the present desist from active agitation, which could only embarrass the English Ministry without advancing their own cause. It was, therefore, with great vexation that he learned early in 1807 that at Catholic meetings representing all classes, it had been resolved to petition Parliament during the approaching session for a repeal of their disabilities. Moreover, the vigorous assertion of equality of rights which informed these resolutions, so different in tone from the humble supplication of former years, excited the resentment and the fears of Lord Buckingham and himself, as disloyal in spirit, and likely to blow into a flame smouldering fires of Protestant intolerance. As a matter of fact a change had been silently progressing in Ireland, of which neither of them took sufficient account. The Volunteer movement during the war of American Independence

breathed new life into a country which had been crushed into abject submission. The years following the liberation of Irish trade and the Irish Legislature, by the force of that movement, had been a time of unprecedented prosperity, of which a partial repeal of penal laws had given the Catholics an abundant share. A new Catholic middle class, enriched by trade and rapidly acquiring property in land, had sprung into existence. Some of them were descendants of old proprietors who, despoiled of their lands after the capitulation of Limerick, had sunk down among the peasantry; and in these, at least, the memory of the "violated treaty" still lived as a great national wrong. They produced leaders, such as Mr. Keogh, who, encouraged by Grattan and the Presbyterians of Belfast, had broken away from the policy of timid subservience insisted on by aristocratic leaders like the Earl of Kenmare, and, going over to England in 1793, had obtained concessions from Pitt which seemed to open the way for complete emancipation. As a body they were staunch loyalists, in opposition to Jacobin principles. But the recall of Lord FitzWilliam; the reign of terror and lawless violence that followed in vindication of "law and order"; the promises so freely given in order to pass the Act of Union, and almost immediately ignored when that object was attained, had filled them with deep distrust of British government. They believed that they had been deliberately cheated to serve an English object; that their dearest interests and aspirations were mere counters in the political game of English party. Though bearing the same burthens and under the same obligations of service as their Protestant fellow-subjects, they saw themselves excluded indefinitely from the higher ranks of professions, and the higher posts of public trust; and, as usual in struggles for liberty, every measure of partial relief had made the sense of inequality more galling. Besides, concessions made to them in 1794 had been practically revoked. Corporations to which they were then made eligible remained closed by a Test Act of Charles II, which the House of Lords now refused to repeal. The right of voting for members of Parliament then granted could only be exercised with safety by great numbers of them in accordance with the orders of landlords, often hostile to their claims, on whose estates they were tenants at will. By a clause in the Act of 1794, commissions in the Irish Army, then a separate body under the control of the Irish Parliament, were opened to them, up to the rank of General on the Staff. As there was no Irish Navy, the naval service was not referred to. Government pledged itself at the same time to pass another Act through the British Parliament, making the concession valid throughout the Empire. No step was taken to redeem this pledge; but so long as the Irish Parliament lasted, the liberty of conscience of the Irish soldiers was not interfered with. But when the Act of Union merged the Irish Army into the British Army,

then under the direct control of the Sovereign, exercised through the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, the Catholic officer lost his commission when his regiment was transferred from Ireland, and the Catholic soldier was compelled to attend the services of the established Church. Every measure of relief Irish Catholics had obtained seemed to them to have been wrung from England by the pressure of some great peril: the revolt of America, the Volunteer movement, the French Revolution, the United Irish Association. "England's adversity is Ireland's opportunity" had already won currency as a political maxim. The recent subjugation of nearly the whole Continent by Napoleon now exposed England to a conflict which must tax all the resources she could command. As Mr. Keogh, the chief promoter of a Catholic petition, argued, according to reports from Ireland, it was only fear inspired by such a crisis as that now apparently imminent that would compel English prejudice to listen to Irish claims; and therefore a petition must strengthen the Coalition Ministry in an effort to overcome the forces of intolerance arrayed against it. This language Lord Grenville and his brethren branded as rebellious, and refused to tolerate. But the Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary, William Elliot, wrote privately that it had been ascertained from Lords Fingal and French, and other leading Catholics, that admission to Parliament would not now be pressed if other grievances were removed; and they both earnestly counselled concession. It was clear that some concession must be made if the course of Irish Government was to continue smooth; and Lord Grenville resolved to shape compliance so as to satisfy another Imperial need, which became more urgent every day. As has been already stated,[1] one of the greatest of England's difficulties in conflict with revolutionary France was to recruit the ranks of her army and navy to a degree of strength sufficient to answer all the calls of national policy. Crimps, press-gangs, and lavish expenditure in bounties notwithstanding, this difficulty had been increasing of late years. Napoleon's victories gradually reduced the supply of German mercenaries who had figured so prominently in British expeditions. Horse Guards' intolerance completely checked recruiting in Ireland, where the priests had brought their influence to bear against a system of compulsory proselytism.[2] This was now the chief cause of difficulty in filling the ranks of the army, the old limitations which penal laws and national jealousies had imposed on Irish recruiting having vanished with the Irish Parliament. In Ireland there was a Catholic population of more than four millions, engaged for the greatest part in agriculture, under wretched conditions. Small plots

[1] Introduction to Volume VIII.
[2] Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville, January 14, 1807.

of inferior land, rack-rented under pressure of severe competition, held on precarious tenure, and therefore badly cultivated, burdened also with tithes, afforded a miserable subsistence to families unusually large owing to the habit of early marriage. The wage of a labourer was 4*d.* or 5*d.* for a day of twelve hours; and even at this rate, owing to absenteeism, decrease of trade, and other circumstances, there was a dearth of employment. The conditions and the standard of living were far inferior in Ireland to those existing in Great Britain; and in the absence of Catholic education, the only road of advancement open to the most intelligent peasant or artizan was that of renouncing his religious creed. In such circumstances, with a more tolerant policy, Ireland was the natural recruiting ground of the British army and navy; the career of a soldier or sailor which repelled the well-fed English workman, as slavery under the lash, was, for crowds of half-starved Irish labourers, a welcome escape from stagnation in sordid poverty to a condition of comparative comfort and honourable adventure. But the Duke of York, already strenuously at work to defeat Windham's military reforms, showed no disposition to help a Ministry which he had declared to be a "national calamity." Lord Grenville, anxious in all things to avoid collision with the King, sought eagerly, especially after he had fixed his mind on the conquest of Spanish America, to meet the wants of the Empire by raising exclusively Catholic regiments in Ireland for service in the Mediterranean, Portugal, and countries professing the same religion.[1] In accordance with his wishes, Mr. Elliott, the Irish Chief Secretary, employed Colonel Handfield, an officer of some distinction, to prepare the plan of such a regiment, which was forwarded to Downing Street.[1] But, as the Duke of Bedford reported, the scheme met with little favour in Ireland. Protestants suspected a new Popish plot; Catholics objected to it as another mark of separation from their countrymen of other creeds.[2] So the plan was abandoned, and Grenville resolved to risk the proposal of throwing open the military and naval services to all subjects of the Crown without distinction of creed, hoping that the increasing danger and needs of the monarchy would counteract the King's well-known repugnance to any further repeal of religious disabilities. It has been stated that the Government only intended at first to fulfil the pledge given in 1794, of making the Irish Act of that year legal throughout the British Empire. The correspondence now published affords clear evidence to the contrary. William Elliott, indeed, had already informed Lord Grenville that this tardy reparation would no longer be acceptable in Ireland. Besides, it afforded no sufficient remedy for what Government particularly wanted to cure, the failure of recruiting.

[1] Elliot to Grenville, January 11, 1807.
[2] Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville, January 14, 1807.

It should be stated that the official letters on this subject are printed, as Lord Grenville arranged them, under the heading of "Irish Catholic Question," *pp.* 100–120; whereas private and confidential letters on the same topic are given in the usual way, according to their respective dates.

On February 9, Lord Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department, sent to the King an official despatch from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated February 4, with the draft of an answer which the Cabinet submitted for his Majesty's approval. The Duke's despatch announced an intention of the Irish Catholics to petition Parliament again for relief from their remaining disabilities, and an enquiry from them whether the Cabinet would support their petition. It stated further that the Lord Lieutenant had gathered from informal inquiries that a measure of partial concession would satisfy the petitioners for the present, as evidence of good will; and it asked for instructions. Lord Spencer's official reply strongly deprecated the presentation of a petition for objects impossible of attainment, and provoking discussion hurtful to the public interests and to Catholics themselves. The Irish Government, therefore, should discourage the proceeding, while carefully abstaining from offering any inducement for the purpose of averting it. The Cabinet, however, the answer continued, had already come to a resolution on the grounds of justice, policy and consistency, to open the military profession to Irish Catholics, the non-fulfilment of the pledges made to them in 1794 having created for them an absurd and injurious position at a time when the dangers of the Empire required the co-operation of all his Majesty's subjects in its defence. Two clauses, therefore, would be introduced into the Mutiny Act: one enabling the King to confer "any military commission whatever on any of his liege subjects, to be lawfully exercised in all places within and without the Empire, and under no other condition than that of taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity"; the other giving "all his Majesty's subjects, however employed in his forces, a legal right to full toleration as to the exercise of their religious profession." There is nothing ambiguous here. The draft was adopted by all of the Cabinet present, including Lord Sidmouth, the law lords being absent on duty. And the King's answer, returned on the following day, February 11, shows that he fully apprehended the meaning of their advice. This answer rejected a proposal which opened the whole question of Catholic disabilities. His objections to it, the King said, "have never varied, for they arise from principles by which he has been guided through life and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart"; and he called Lord Spencer's attention to what occurred when the subject was brought forward in 1801. It need hardly be pointed out that this answer could not have referred to the Irish Act of 1793–4 to which the

King had assented without pressure, having graciously received the Irish delegates at Court. "The line drawn" seems to be the restriction in that Act on Catholics from attaining a higher military grade than that of Colonel; and the proposal he rejected in 1801 was for a removal of all disabilities whatsoever, civil and military. It is clear from a letter of Lord Buckingham, dated February 11, that Lord Grenville now considered the situation of the Ministry desperate, and joyfully welcomed the prospect of resignation or dismissal as a release from official trammels. But his deep sense of the dangers, internal and external, to which the monarchy was exposed, inspired on the same day a personal appeal to the King, transmitting and enforcing an appeal from the entire Cabinet that he would reconsider his decision. Both appeals represented that the measure now proposed was perfectly conformable *in its principle* to the concession made by the King in 1793–4; and that as the power it conferred was lodged in his Majesty's hands alone, no danger to Protestant interests could arise from it. On the other hand, it would convert elements of disorder in Ireland into elements of Imperial strength. Nothing, it was declared, but a conviction of its indispensible necessity for the public welfare could induce the Cabinet to recommend a concession repugnant to the Royal feelings. To this pressure the King gave way, with unconcealed reluctance. In a reply to Lord Grenville, dated February 12, he consented, "under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1793," to the proposed clauses being inserted in the Mutiny Act for the consideration of Parliament. But he declared that he could not "go one step further"; and trusted that he should not be distressed with any further applications of the same character. In a third minute, dated February 12, the Cabinet thanked the King for deferring to their advice. And on the same day Lord Spencer's despatch to the Duke of Bedford, which was the subject of this discussion, went to Ireland. Next day, February 13, Lord Grenville wrote to Chief Secretary Elliott, setting forth at considerable length the difficulties Ministers had had to encounter in obtaining the Royal consent, and the impossibility of passing any further measure of relief against the King's will backed by public opinion, so lately declared in Parliament and now incensed by the language of Mr. Keogh; and he suggested an appeal on the part of the Irish Government to the reason and good feeling of more moderate members of the Catholic body to abstain from supporting a petition which must embarrass and endanger a friendly Government, without possible advantage to themselves. On February 17, the Duke of Bedford wrote that Mr. Elliott had read Lord Spencer's despatch of the 12th to a deputation of Catholic gentlemen, who listened without expressing any opinion. And on the following day he wrote again that a general meeting of Catholics,

to which the deputation reported what they had learned from the Chief Secretary, passed a unanimous resolution to proceed with a petition. No doubt Catholics of the middle class, whose views were now in the ascendant, would have preferred the opening up to them of the Bar, corporations, bank directorships, and especially the office of High Sheriff, which might have afforded them some protection against jury-packing, than that conceded of the higher military grades. Besides, the concession granted, by stimulating recruiting in Ireland, must strengthen the British army and navy, and thus lighten the pressure of public apprehension in England—on which they counted for complete redress. Shortly afterwards, Lord Ponsonby, nephew of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, after conference with Lord Grenville, went over to Dublin to use his personal influence against the proposed petition. This step, taken without consulting the Duke of Bedford, proved a false move. It aroused suspicion among the Catholics, and provoked a unanimous resolution in favour of prompter action in the course already determined on. The moderate leaders, while disapproving of this haste, thought it a duty to the cause in which all were embarked to avoid division in the Catholic ranks, and therefore accepted the decision of the vast majority. The sentiments on this subject of Lord Fingall, first of them in rank and public consideration, were expressed in letters dated March 2nd and 4th to Lords Buckingham and Grenville, with whom he lived on terms of personal regard. And Grenville thenceforth followed the judicious advice of the Lord Lieutenant to leave the Catholics to follow their own line. On March 3 Lord Howick, acting as Home Secretary for Lord Spencer, who was ill, sent another despatch to the Lord Lieutenant, with copies of the new clauses about to be inserted in the Mutiny Act, in order that the Duke might be able to confirm the statement made to the Catholic deputation by Mr. Elliott, on which some doubt had been cast, that those clauses would enable Catholics to hold, *in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, any military commission or appointment whatsoever . . . under no other condition* than that of taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity. This despatch, as Lord Grenville tells us, was sent for the King's consideration on Monday, March 2, returned on Tuesday morning without objection, and forwarded to Dublin. On Wednesday, March 4, Lords Grenville and Howick went to the palace. Howick had audience first. His business appears to have been to inform the King that for greater convenience he had embodied in a separate Bill the clauses relating to Catholics and others he had intended, with his Majesty's permission, to insert in the Mutiny Act. On coming out of the closet, he informed his colleague that the King had again expressed repugnance to the measure, but consented to its being proposed to Parliament. Grenville, therefore, did not advert to the subject during his audience, immediately

following, "*nor did his Majesty say anything to him upon it.*" On the same day, March 4, Lord Howick moved the first reading of the Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Perceval opposed it in an inflammatory speech as destructive of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State, but it was read a first time, and the second reading was fixed for March 12. Already, however, the Royal dislike of the Bill had become known in political circles. Lord Malmesbury, whom the failure of past attempts to embroil the Sovereign with his Ministry had almost reduced to despair, set to work again with renewed hope. He maintained intimate relations with the Duke of York, and with influential members of the Royal Household. He had acquired absolute cotnrol over the Duke of Portland, now merely the wreck of a feeble politician; and Burlington House became the headquarters of a cabal, of which Lord Eldon, Mr. Percival, and the Dukes of York and Cumberland appear to have been members, which worked on the King's conscientious scruples, and used all the weapons of faction for the overthrow of the Ministry. On Wednesday, March 11, after a week of silence, the King informed Lords Grenville and Howick that he had not assented to the introduction of the new Army Bill; he had assented only to granting wider legal operation to the Irish Bill of 1794 in fulfilment of pledges given at that time. Lord Grenville was too devoted a servant of the Crown to cast a doubt on this declaration, however surprising it may have appeared to him. What in fact could he say? It has been suggested that Lord Howick blundered in framing his Bill through ignorance of the Irish Bill of 1794. Lord Howick, however, merely repeated, and tried to give effect to the pledge given, with his Majesty's consent, in Lord Spencer's despatch to the Duke of Bedford, dated February 12. As to possibility of mistake owing to the King's failing eye-sight, it seems sufficient to say that his private secretary, Major, afterwards Sir Herbert Taylor, was a man of ability and honour, whose faithful discharge of the duties of his office has never been questioned. The explanation seems to lie in the kingcraft of which George III had shown himself a master in dealings with his Ministers during the whole course of his reign, exercised under the influence of increasing mental disease. Disease warped his judgment, apparently without diminishing the keenness of other faculties. Lord Malmesbury, who felt strong personal attachment to his Sovereign and had intimate knowledge of what passed in the Royal Household, remarks of his behaviour during Pitt's Ministry in 1804, that only Lord Eldon had any influence over him, and "his cunning and art are marvellous."[1] Lord Auckland, who condemned the new Military Bill as "political suicide," and maintained close relations with leading members of the Opposition, came to the conclusion that the King would have allowed the Bill.

[1] *Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

to run its course in Parliament but for "secret intrigue."[1] No doubt George III had assented to it with great reluctance. The Ministry seemed firmly established. Even those members of the Cabinet who professed the same repugnance to the measure he felt himself, had concurred in urging him to concede it. Age and blindness made him desire repose. But secret intrigue aroused into morbid activity his old illusion as to violating his Coronation oath and forfeiting the Crown to the Prince of Wales ; and the tactics of the Opposition raised such a commotion throughout Great Britain as encouraged him to repudiate a concession which he may have considered as unfairly extorted ; while opening to him a prospect of restoring the system of personal rule, which was the constant aim of his reign, and ridding himself of Ministers, whom he henceforth treated as personal enemies. As to the formidable nature of the agitation excited throughout the country, we have the emphatic testimony of Lord Grenville himself. Writing on March 11 to the Duke of Bedford to express agreement with the view of the latter that legislation on Irish tithes must be deferred to another Session, he gives the following reason : "The difficulties of the subject of tithes, always considerable, are much increased . . . by the rash and intemperate conduct which the Catholics of Dublin have been so inconsiderate as to adopt. A spirit of bigotry has been awakened in this country to a degree which it is not easy to conceive without being an eye-witness of it. And so far from there being the least probability of success in obtaining for the Catholics the full and complete toleration which accords with your Grace's opinion and mine, it appears to me still very doubtful whether the measure now actually in progress in Parliament may not be defeated by the intolerant principles which prevail so extensively in this country, and by the spirit of intrigue which is so actively at work on the subject." He implored the Lord Lieutenant not to abandon his post in a crisis so full of danger to the peace of Ireland. It soon appeared that Lord Grenville under-estimated the forces now in full operation against the Ministry. They shattered it to pieces. Lord Sidmouth declared that he also had assented to the Bill under a false impression of its meaning. He waited on the King to express his sympathy and tender his resignation of office ; and he opened a negotiation with Mr. Perceval for joint action to defeat the measure in Parliament.[2] And although he consented at the King's request to remain in the Cabinet, it was only on condition of having liberty to oppose his colleagues on this question. The Law Lords Erskine and Ellenborough, though sharing Sidmouth's dislike of the Bill, and no longer invited to attend meetings of the Cabinet, showed no inclination to secede from the Ministry. The Prince of Wales, on the other hand,

[1] *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Auckland.*
[2] Walpole's *Life of Spencer Perceval.*

aggrieved no doubt by the impartial attitude of Lord Grenville in regard to his charges against his wife, and already under the spell of "Manchester House" witcheries, hurried down to Windsor to announce an intention "not only to speak, but to vote against the Catholic Bill." This defection however did not count for much. George III, about this time, contrasting his own unpopularity during the early part of his reign with the loyal acclamations which greeted his appearances in public for many years before its close, declared that he owed the first phase of public opinion to an obnoxious Minister, and the second to his eldest son. But it showed how the tide ran. Finally, the Duke of Portland, at Lord Malmesbury's instigation, wrote to the King, offering his services to throw out the Government Bill in the House of Lords, and to form a new Administration. Meantime, Lord Howick had postponed the second reading in the House of Commons, while Lord Grenville took counsel with the majority of the Cabinet. If the need of the Bill were so urgent in the public interests as Ministers had represented to the King, their plain course seemed to be to resign, and let the consequences of the situation fall on the authors of it. This was the opinion of the Foxites,[1] and of Lord Grenville himself. But there was a strong disinclination on the part of other Grenvilles to breaking up the Government on such an issue.[2] The Prime Minister, therefore, in deference to his brothers, set himself to ascertain in what sense, literal or liberal, the King was disposed to interpret the Irish Act of 1794. There was no Irish navy at that time; but as Ireland supplied sailors as well as soldiers, it was commonly understood that the British Act promised would open to Catholics all naval commissions below the rank of commodore. Then another Irish Act of Parliament had opened public employment of every kind without restriction to Protestant Dissenters. Would the King concede anything to them? His Majesty curtly refused to have Catholic officers in the navy, or to allow Protestant Dissenters to hold any office of public trust outside of Ireland. As the Irish Bill, thus interpreted, had no value as a political remedy, the Cabinet informed the King in a minute written by Lord Grenville on March 15, of their decision to withdraw without attempting to modify the measure introduced by Lord Howick; while reserving to themselves full liberty to express their opinion in Parliament as to the necessity in the public interests of removing disabilities which made Ireland the vulnerable point of the British Empire; and of giving such advice on the subject in future as the exigencies of the State might seem to them to require. The King replied on March 17, after a conference with Lord Eldon, expressing his fixed resolve never to make any further concession to the Catholics, and requiring from his Ministers a written pledge never again to trouble him with any proposal on the subject. The Cabinet

[1] Lord Holland to Lord Howick.
[2] Lord Grenville to Duke of Bedford, March 13.

on March 18, in very respectful terms, refused to bind themselves to a line of conduct so contrary to that enjoined by their duty to the Crown and their oaths as Privy Councillors; whereupon the King announced his intention of forming another Administration. But before the correspondence reached this stage, Lord Spencer, Home Secretary, still ill in the country, and all the leading members of the Irish Government, had declared their intention of abandoning posts they could no longer hold with credit to themselves or advantage to the public. Thomas Grenville, hitherto the most earnest of the Cabinet for staying in, now found himself unable to separate from his friend Lord Spencer. These resignations were mortal blows which the Coalition Government could not survive. And thus Lord Grenville, by lingering in office against his own better judgment, afforded the King an opportunity of asserting in the plainest manner an unconstitutional prerogative, which the Tory Opposition practically admitted, and which the Sovereign continued to exercise in various ways till the end of the following reign.

On the night of March 18, Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury were summoned to Windsor. Hawkesbury was the eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool, who as Mr. Jenkinson, in the earlier years of this reign, had been leader of the "King's friends" in the House of Commons. His High Tory principles, amiable temper, and courtly manners made him a particular favourite with the Royal Family. Early on March 19 the two noblemen were received by the King, who during an audience of 2½ hours read to them his correspondence with his Ministers on the subject of the Catholic Bill, and gave them his version of what had passed in conversation with Lord Howick. He then commissioned them to carry his commands to the Duke of Portland to form a new Administration. The Duke was to take counsel with Lord Chatham, and find some place for Lord Westmorland. They found Portland and his mentor, Malmesbury, awaiting them at Burlington House. According to their report of the King's communication to them, as recorded in Malmesbury's *Diary*, the clauses for the Mutiny Act to which his Majesty gave consent would have only allowed wider operation to the Irish Bill of 1794; whereas the Bill submitted for his approval by Lord Howick on March 4 opened all commissions to Catholics without restriction. To this he refused his consent; nevertheless, Howick introduced the Bill into the House of Commons, the Ministry presuming on his political helplessness to put force on his conscience; and afterwards seeking to impose on him such hard and inadmissable conditions as left him no option except to dismiss them or to forfeit his Crown. Lord Grenville, he admitted, "personally had behaved very well."[1] Having listened to this statement and offered his services to Portland, with the reserve imposed by increasing deafness, Malmesbury retired to his own house, apparently in full expectation of

[1] *Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

being called into the new Cabinet, perhaps for a time as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Here he repeated, no doubt in good faith, what he had heard from Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury to the numerous friends and acquaintances who called on him to seek information, or congratulate him on the success of his political manœuvring. When some of his visitors informed him, on the authority of Lord Hardwicke and of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had read the official correspondence, that Lord Grenville had imposed no unreasonable conditions on the King, Malmesbury replied that they could not have seen *all* the papers ; and when this plea was disproved, he insisted that Hardwicke had been "tampered with" by Grenville, and that the Bishop "bore spite" against the King for refusing to make him Archbishop of Canterbury. It was in this spirit that a new electoral campaign opened. On March 26 and 27, Lords Grenville and Howick called the attention of the Houses of Parliament to "a garbled and misleading version of the official Cabinet minutes" on the subject of the Catholic Bill, published in the *Morning Post* by some one who had access to them, and signed "Protestant." On this occasion, we are told, the Duke of Cumberland occupied the first seat on the Government bench in the House of Lords, in order to proclaim that it was he who had overthrown the late Ministry.[1] Ministers present denied all knowledge of the publication ; but the fraud had answered its purpose of prejudicing the public mind. Malmesbury, however, found to his intense mortification—he was the dupe of his own state-craft—that in the construction of a new Administration Portland was treated as a mere figure-head ; while his own claims were altogether ignored. Not one personal friend or confidant of the Prime Minister, his mentor complained,[2] found a seat in the Cabinet. Eldon was Lord Chancellor ; Hawkesbury as Home Secretary led the House of Lords. Chatham returned to his old position as Master of the Ordnance. Spencer Perceval, who had led the opposition to the Catholic Bill in the House of Commons, became, by his Majesty's particular desire, leader of that House as Chancellor of the Exchequer. An able lawyer and a clever debater, who used the tactics and weapons of a special pleader in Parliamentary warfare, Perceval had been Attorney General in the Administrations of Addington and Pitt. Of finance he hardly appears to have mastered the rudiments. He was a Tory of a narrow and fanatical type, intolerant in religion, an enemy of reform in every shape, but justly liked and respected for amiable qualities and personal virtues. In public life he showed courage and pertinacity as a party chief, but marked deficiency in any higher quality of statesmanship. Going down for re-election at Northampton, as organ of the King's personal sentiments,

[1] *Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly.*
[2] *Diary and Correspondence.*

he sounded the No-Popery alarm in the country, and proclaimed the policy of the new Administration. He told the electors that he had relinquished the legal profession in order to fulfil the duty incumbent on every loyal subject of aiding the King in his courageous defence of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State, against the insidious designs of his discarded advisers. This appeal raised a storm of indignant loyalty, which soon raged throughout the kingdom. Perceval's sacrifice of professional emolument however, as *Peter Plymley* reminded him, had not been quite so disinterested as his words might lead the public to believe. The King conferred on him the easy and well-paid office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, tenable for life; and he held the reversion of the richest sinecure in the kingdom, that of Registrar of the Admiralty Court, worth 12,000*l.* a year, and now enjoyed by his brother, Lord Arden. The framers of the new Government showed particular solicitude to secure the support of Marquis Wellesley, whose great ability and renown would have brought strength and lustre to their cause. Distracted on one hand between the promptings of his own ambition, resentment at the "persecution," as he called it, of the Whigs, the entreaties of three younger brothers whose advancement he had made his particular care, and the bait of the Garter, for which he had hitherto asked in vain, and on the other by an earnest appeal from Lord Grenville, his oldest and staunchest friend, he wavered for a time, declined office, but promised support. His three brothers were taken into the new Administration. Sir Arthur Wellesley accepted the post of Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle, on receiving assurances, as informed Lord Grenville, from the Portland Government and the Duke of York, that this step would give him an additional claim to military employment. Lords Melville and Chichester and Mr. Yorke, disapproving of No-Popery tactics, took the same line as Lord Wellesley. Lord Sidmouth, alone of the late Ministers, had been received by the King in a special audience to take leave, and been honoured besides by a gracious letter of his Majesty's approval. But leading members of Pitt's last ministry refused to accept him again as a colleague; and so the offer of co-operation he had made to Mr. Percival was courteously declined. And Mr. Canning brought his negotiation with Lord Grenville to a close by announcing to him in person a determination to adhere to the King.

Of the new Ministers, Canning was conspicuous for brilliant and attractive qualities. Nature had gifted him with wit and eloquence of a high order, with capacity for large views and generous sympathies. But, as his friend Malmesbury often lamented, early and rapid advancement in a political career, through the favour of Pitt, had spoilt him. Having had no experience of the checks which might have curbed and regulated the ambition and vanity which consumed him,

he had not acquired the patient self-restraint and cool judgment which are essential elements of pre-eminence in the public life of Constitutional Monarchy. Although a good-natured man at bottom, in his desire to display his distinguished literary gifts, to conquer in debate, he indulged in reckless sarcasm and ridicule, which not only made him bitter personal enemies, but exhibited him to duller politicians as wanting in the sobriety and discretion required for the efficient conduct of public affairs. "So plausible and clever in argument as to make all he wishes to do seem right,"[1] he twisted or suppressed facts to suit the purpose of the moment, without heeding the inevitable consequence of inspiring general distrust. The circumstances of the new Ministry seemed to open to him a near prospect of becoming himself Prime Minister. To reach this goal he bent all his efforts, with a blind confidence in his own superior merits, a blind contempt for dangerous competition, a disregard of legitimate individual pretensions and the obligations of party, which courted disaster. Perhaps, indeed, the chief obstacles in his path were faults of his own; headlong egotism and a passion for secret intrigue. He told the Duke of Portland, with the air of one who could name his own place, that he would cede the office of Foreign Secretary only to Lord Wellesley or Lord Malmesbury. When given, after Wellesley's refusal to enter the Ministry, a choice between the Foreign Office and the Admiralty, he went to consult Malmesbury, whose secret aspirations he no doubt divined. After some hesitation, Malmesbury advised him to take the Foreign Seals, and was rewarded by finding himself installed as confidential adviser in the business of that Department, and by the appointment of his son, Lord FitzHarris, as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Canning, however, had to endure the deep mortification of seeing Perceval leader of the House of Commons. He refused to acknowledge the Chancellor of the Exchequer's official superiority; but he heartily adopted, as the sure road to the King's favour, the No-Popery policy with which Perceval had publicly identified the new Administration.

Lord Castlereagh, whose services in passing the Act of Union, however discreditable to himself, gave him undeniable claims on the British Government, had been appointed in Pitt's last feeble Ministry, through the influence of Lord Camden, his own near relative and Pitt's particular friend, Secretary of State for War. Having, in Opposition, strenuously opposed Windham's Army Bill, in co-operation with the Duke of York, the new arrangements brought him back to his former post to restore a discarded military system.

Before, however, the reins of Government changed hands, a Bill introduced by Lord Grenville to give effect to the Resolutions of the previous Session abolishing the slave-trade

[1] *Diary of Lord Malmesbury.*

had passed through both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal Assent.

The late Ministers lost no time in challenging their successors to a trial of strength by a motion in Parliament that, in refusing to accept the pledge demanded from them by the King, they had performed their plain duty. The strength they had acquired by a recent election, and the unconstitutional character of the pledge, seemed to assure them of success in the House of Commons. But with the cry for "Church and King" resounding through the land, their solid majority dissolved "like the fabric of a vision." Perceval, while repudiating personal responsibility for the dismissal of his predecessors, charged them with having caused their own downfall and the No-Popery tumult by an unfair and unnecessary attempt to do violence to the King's conscience. Castlereagh, an avowed partizan of Catholic emancipation, sought to repel the reproach of fanning the No-Popery flame by flinging random taunts and derisive epithets at the front Opposition bench. Canning answered a similar charge by declaring that he only favoured Catholic relief if the King did; and that the only vote he had given on the question was against it. He expatiated in a strain of fulsome panegyric on the King's virtues and sound mental and bodily health; and declared that if the House ventured to cast censure on their Sovereign's conduct, he and his colleagues would appeal to the country in his Majesty's defence. This menacing language, which Lord Howick described as unexampled in the annals of that House, and Lord Malmesbury admits to have been "too imperious in threatening dissolution," produced all the effect intended; giving Ministers a majority of 32. All Lord Sidmouth's followers, with the exception of Mr. Vansittart, voted with them. The Prince of Wales' friends, the "Saints," including Wilberforce, and a number of members who feared to face a No-Popery storm in their constituencies, stayed away. Another motion in the Commons impugning the conduct of the Ministry, was lost on April 25 by a majority of 48. In the House of Lords, as might be expected from an assembly habitually docile to the Royal wishes, the victories of the Ministry were much more decisive. But it could only rely, as Lord Malmesbury tells us, on a regular majority of 23 in the Commons. A few months before its principal members had raised a loud clamour, and set every engine of factious intrigue at work in order to prevail on the King to refuse his consent to a dissolution during the recess of a Parliament which had already sat for four years. Now they dissolved again in the middle of a Session, with entire disregard of the public and private interests involved in various measures depending in Parliament, in order to take full advantage of the irrational excitement they had kindled, and which, in

the nature of things, must soon subside. The King's Speech on this occasion has been fitly described as a personal appeal to his subjects against the dismissed Cabinet. The battle-cry of the Ministry was "Church and King." The first trial of strength in the new Parliament showed the Tory party established in power with a majority of 200 in the House of Commons, and a practically impregnable position in the House of Lords.

Thus ended the brief life of the Coalition Ministry of "All the Talents"; composed with few exceptions of Whigs of various shades, from the aristocratic conservatism of Lord Grenville to the broad, sympathetic liberalism of Lord Holland. Forced into office by public needs against the will of a popular Sovereign, at a time of profound national discouragement, of financial embarrassment, and of political reaction, its shortcomings in war against an unrivalled master of the art, whose sword had broken to pieces three successive European coalitions, exposed it to just if malevolent criticism; while its valuable measures of internal improvement, misrepresented, decried, and finally annulled by popular prejudice, corrupt servility, and party virulence, have received but scant recognition in days of democratic progress. But it proclaimed principles which survived it and produced fruit in more enlightened times. And its leading statesmen left an example of public virtue and independent spirit which has done much to exalt and purify English political life. Lord Grenville, although a strenuous opponent of Parliamentary reform, for which, indeed, a time of mortal strife with revolutionized France was hardly opportune, resumed from the moment of his becoming Prime Minister, the task of economical reform which Burke, and Pitt in the earlier years of his first Administration, had pursued to such public advantage. Renouncing, as far as the condition of affairs allowed, Pitt's later habit of defraying extraordinary expenditure by loans at high interest, in fallacious reliance on a sinking fund, he insisted that annual outlay for the public service should be covered to a larger extent by annual taxation. He vigorously cut down extravagant expenditure, especially for military administration, in which corrupt abuses still flourished under the shadow of the royal prerogative; and he lent staunch support to Windham's Army Bill. The system of recruiting which the Coalition Ministry of Fox and Grenville found in operation, appears to have been at the same time extravagant, inefficient and demoralizing. The active army was largely maintained by drafts from a national Militia, raised by ballot, with liberty to those thus chosen to purchase substitutes. Bounties were again paid to allure Militia men into the line, the sums received in this way by individuals sometimes amounting to thirty pounds. The money thus gained was spent too often in drunkenness and riot, to the great detriment of public morals and public order; and these orgies were not infrequently

followed by desertions and attempts at re-enlistment for additional bounty, which the terrors of the lash and even more drastic punishment failed to repress. This system being found insufficient for the needs of the State, had been supplemented during Pitt's last Ministry by the "Additional Force Act," which proved a complete failure. Windham aimed at making military service popular and attracting to it a better class of recruit, by improving the conditions of pay and pension, and shortening the term from one of life to periods of seven, fourteen and twenty-one years. He formed a reserve force of the men retiring on pension, which might be called up for active duty in case of need; allowing the Militia to remain untouched as a stationary force for national defence. And he made provision for the general training of the male population. The new system, while still in preparation, and particularly the part of it dealing with limitations of service, was vehemently opposed by the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief; and the King himself intervened to prevent its introduction to Parliament. Innovation, his Majesty wrote to Windham, was to be avoided in the present admirable state to which the army had been brought by years of progressive improvement. He reproached the Minister for not paying greater deference to the opinions of his son and all the ablest officers, as to the destructive effect a shortening of service must have on military discipline; if, however, he continued, the Ministry in spite of this protest should persevere with the Bill, he would allow it to take its course; there were other features of it, such as improved pay and the general training of the population on the basis of the "Levy in Mass Act," which he fully approved.[1] Windham made some slight concessions in regard to service in time of war which did not at all satisfy the King. But the ease with which the measure passed without emendation through both Houses of Parliament, in spite of all the efforts of Lord Castlereagh, late Minister for War, and other chiefs of the Opposition, who tried in vain, by misrepresentation, Windham declared, to raise a storm against it throughout the country, showed that it had the support of public opinion. And during the short and partial trial allowed to it, it added many thousands of recruits to the army by an increase of enlistments, and a decrease of desertions, with a saving to the country at the annual rate of 900,000*l.*[2] Windham, however, finding himself unable to bring his whole scheme into operation in consequence of persistent obstruction at the Horse Guards, was already contemplating resignation when the Ministry foundered on the rock of their Irish policy.[3] The Bill abolishing the Slave Trade is a national glory. How a measure so disliked at Court, opposed by such powerful interests and rooted

[1] *Windham Papers*—George III to W. Windham, March 29, 1806.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807–8–9.
[3] *Windham Papers*—Windham to Grey, September 29, 1809.

prejudices, became law in the last hours of a discredited Administration is a marvel. Lord Brougham seems to attribute this victory mainly to Lord Grenville's enthusiasm for right and justice.[1] Nor were Grenville's energies in the cause of reform confined to objects more immediately affecting the welfare of England. "The Scottish Judicature Bill," introduced by him as Prime Minister into the House of Lords, and afterwards killed by a Tory dissolution in the middle of the Parliamentary Session, aimed at remedying a scandalous mal-administration of justice in Scotland. His efforts to redeem some of the pledges given to the Irish Catholics at the time of the Union have been already adverted to. It is no doubt true that in risking the fate of the Ministry on such a limited measure of relief, applying equally to Protestant Dissenters, he and his colleagues were more concerned with Imperial than with merely Irish interests. But Mr. Sheridan, the staunchest friend Ireland had in the House of Commons, did them injustice in accusing them of beginning redress at the wrong end, at the mansion instead of the cottage. The Irish Government of the Duke of Bedford was employed to the very last, in face of extraordinary difficulties, on schemes for a re-adjustment of tithes and the diffusion of primary education. But Royal prejudice, party violence, and the state of opinion in Great Britain at that time made remedial legislation for Ireland a hopeless task.

In the foreign policy of Lord Grenville's Ministry, after the death of Fox, it would be difficult to find matter for praise. Its most prominent feature seems to have been a selfish disregard of national obligations, which allies of Great Britain may well be excused for resenting as breach of faith. And this was not the policy of Fox, who had been the consistent advocate of peace with the French Republic, but of Grenville and Windham, who had followed Burke in denouncing against it unrelenting war. Fox, on becoming Foreign Minister, had laid it down as a rule of conduct in the circumstances in which Great Britain then found herself, that she should abstain from tempting Continental Powers by lavish subsidies to plunge into hostilities against Napoleon; but that if, impelled to that course by motives and interests of their own, they applied to her for help, she should grant it. He showed himself prompt in maintaining the honour and interests of Great Britain by vigorous reprisals against Prussia when King Frederick William, at Napoleon's dictation, closed the ports of North Germany against British commerce; and in the negotiations with France, induced by overtures from Talleyrand. It was not till after his death that the policy was adopted, with the acquiescence apparently of all the Cabinet except Lord Sidmouth, of inciting Continental Powers to resist Napoleon, while reserving British resources to accomplish objects more

[1] Statesmen of the reign of George III.

peculiarly advantageous to Great Britain. For this line of conduct Lord Grenville himself must be held mainly responsible. The situation of public affairs, and his desponding view of them when he assumed office, suggest explanations of it. The Continent lay crushed, to all appearance for many years to come, under the feet of Napoleon. Recruiting had fallen to the lowest ebb in Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Grenville found the Treasury in a state of embarrassment that seems to have much surprised and disheartened him; and the Budget for 1806 was framed on the most economical lines consistent with a state of war. Then there was his own unsleeping distrust of foreign Governments, to whose treachery, or incapacity, or cowardice he attributed, often most unjustly, the successive defeats of coalitions against France. Nevertheless, when M. D'Oubril concluded at Paris a separate peace between Russia and France, he promptly appealed to the Czar to repudiate it, as infringing the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Russia. He took this step without any hope of good resulting from it. But Alexander not only disavowed M. D'Oubril, but proclaimed the identity of his own sentiments and interests with those of George III as against Napoleon, by authorising the British Ambassador, Lord Lauderdale, to represent Russia in any further negotiation for peace in the French capital. This conduct on the part of Alexander led to a renewal of war on the Continent, and revived in full force all the obligations of an existing alliance. Unfortunately, England was seized about the same time with the craze of Spanish-American conquest, which found a too credulous victim in Lord Grenville. As we may see from the voluminous military plans and memoranda drawn up for him by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and published in this volume, his "Castles in Spain," almost as baseless as any of Don Quixote, held close possession of him to the last hour of his official life; and would seem then to have vanished for ever. In the meantime the effect on public policy was pernicious. Prussia, having collapsed under a single blow from Napoleon, and made peace with Great Britain on terms dictated in London, Lord Howick, now Minister for Foreign Affairs, lost no time in urging the Emperor Alexander and King Frederick William, through the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Hutchinson, to vigorous resistance, promising strenuous support from George III. As Alexander had as yet asked for nothing, the British Government only committed itself at St. Petersburg to general assurances of help; at the same time urging the Emperor to guarantee an engagement on the part of Prussia to restore Hanover to George III, and giving official voice to a somewhat clamorous demand of English merchants for the renewal of a commercial treaty which was about to expire. Frederick William, however, pressed for immediate financial aid. Lord Hutchinson, therefore, was authorised if he found

the alleged need real, and that the money could be applied with advantage to the common cause, to advance a sum of 200,000*l*. He found the unfortunate monarch in dire distress at Königsberg, unable to pay or feed the remnant of his army, to equip recruits, or to maintain garrisons in the fortresses remaining to him in Silesia. On receiving this information, the British Government, through Howick, revoked the meagre grant it had sanctioned, as having been allowed in ignorance of the helpless situation of its ally. Luckily for the latter, the countermand did not reach Lord Hutchinson till he had disbursed half of the money to meet pressing calls.

In the meantime, Napoleon advanced to the Vistula to encounter the Russians, and complete the conquest of the Prussian monarchy. He had now, however, to carry on war under conditions altogether new to him and to his superb army. Disappointment, too, met him at the beginning. He seems to have expected that all Poland, incited by a proclamation issued by Kosciusko at Paris, would start up in insurrection at his approach. The people of Posen, indeed, grievously oppressed under the iron rule of Prussia, welcomed him with unbounded enthusiasm. But the great landowners of Russian Poland favoured as a body Prince Czartoryski's project, to which Alexander himself seems to have inclined, of restoring their ancient kingdom in its integrity, under the separate sovereignty of the Czar. They would only declare for Napoleon on condition that he immediately guaranteed their independence, and gave them a member of his own family as their ruler. This was a step the French Emperor could not venture to take. The Russians were still unbeaten. The Emperor of Austria had declined his alliance, though baited with an offer of Silesia ; and had assembled an army of observation in Galicia for the protection of that province. The consequence was that instead of a re-inforcement of 100,000 Poles, on which he had counted, only 15,000 joined him.[1] On the other hand, General Sebastiani, his Minister at Constantinople, had persuaded the Sultan to violate a treaty with Russia by dismissing the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. And when Alexander, notwithstanding reparation made by a restoration of the deposed Governors sent troops to occupy the Principalities, the Porte under French influence, declared war against Russia. The Russian invasion of Turkey was a grave blunder on the part of the Czar. It divided his forces, already insufficient for a single-handed struggle with France ; aroused great jealousy at Vienna, and held in check the growing disposition of the Emperor Francis and his Prime Minister, Count Stadion, to cast off, at all risks, a degrading yoke.

The scene of the Polish campaign was a land of forest and swamp, which the rains of autumn had now turned into a vast quagmire. Napoleon, having gained possession of the

[1] Thier's *Consulate and Empire*.

bridges across the Vistula at Posen and Warsaw, encamped on both banks of the river, and blockaded Dantzic at its mouth. In this situation the French, drenched in rain, half-buried in mud, and short of food and warm clothing, suffered almost incredible hardships. In vain their leader exerted all his skill to bring the enemy to a decisive battle. It was a theatre on which military science availed nothing. The marvellous combinations and rapid movements which had so often given him victory could not be executed. Roads, where any existed, were mere pit-falls for guns, waggons and horses. Intelligence could not be procured, or was intercepted by ubiquitous Cossacks. War became a mere game of chance, in which large bodies of armed men found themselves in unexpected collision, without result except slaughter and exhaustion on both sides. The Russians, though badly led, disputed every inch of ground between the Vistula and the Praga with indomitable valour. Napoleon, unable to accomplish his object, withdrew his troops into winter quarters, and laboured with marvellous energy and resource to supply their wants. As winter advanced, frost and snow hardened the ground; and General Beningsen, whom Alexander had made Commander-in-Chief in reward for a drawn battle at Pultusk, suddenly issued from the woods that screened his advance, with the design of breaking, in concert with the Prussians under General Lestocq, through the French lines on the Vistula, and spreading confusion in their rear. Napoleon seized what seemed to be an opportunity of inflicting a decisive blow on his antagonist while engaged in this operation. But an intercepted despatch warned the Russian general of his danger; and summoning the Prussians to join him, he halted his troops in a strong position at Eylau on February 8th, 1807. Here Napoleon attacked him. The armies were nearly equal in number; but the Russians had the advantage of ground and of a more numerous artillery, which, well-served and sheltered, made fearful havoc among Napoleon's veterans. It was perhaps the most bloody of all modern battles. For a whole day the issue hung in suspense. Late in the evening the arrival of Lestocqe's Prussians nearly turned the scale against the French. After nightfall, when the combatants were spent with fighting, the belated appearance of a French division on his flank caused Beningsen to abandon the field of battle—a snow-clad waste, reddened with carnage and littered thick with the wounded and the dead. After a few days of inaction in weather of terrible severity, both armies again sought refuge in winter quarters.

Napoleon now found himself in a position of great difficulty and even peril. He had suffered enormous losses, not only in battle, but through privations and fatigues, which had, in a marked degree, broken the spirit and discipline of his troops. They disbanded in hundreds, and wandered over the country seeking food and shelter, until collected and

brought back to their colours by Polish police. Rest and re-organisation were needed to restore the *grande armée* to efficiency. Austria took heart again. Under pressure from his brother the Emperor, Archduke Charles strained every possible effort to place the Austrian army on a war footing; and it was only when Count Stadion failed to obtain from the British Government money necessary for this purpose that Francis accepted the Archduke's advice to let France and Russia wear out their strength in deadly conflict, while Austria slowly recovered hers.[1] Napoleon's own attitude showed his sense of the altered situation. Laying aside the imperious tone of a conqueror, with which he had spoken at Berlin, he professed a desire of peace. He sent Count Bertrand on two missions to Frederick William III, with offers of accommodation, to which the Prussian King would not listen. And finally, in order to gain time to reorganize and strengthen his forces for another campaign, he accepted a proposal from the Emperor Francis of a conference of the belligerent powers under Austrian mediation. But Alexander was now in no disposition to negotiate. Flushed with confidence in the valour of his troops, he signed a new convention with the Kings of Prussia and Sweden for more vigorous prosecution of the war, to which the Governments of Great Britain and Denmark were invited to accede. What aid had Great Britain contributed to her allies in this terrible conflict, in which not only the liberties of Europe, but, particularly since the Berlin Decrees, her own interests were so deeply involved? She paid up 500,000*l.* arrears of a subsidy to Russia, due at the death of Pitt; and, for the rest, empty promises, threadbare excuses, flat denials, efforts for objects of her own, but of no advantage to them. When, in the spring of 1806 a combined British and Russian army was aiding the Calabrians against Joseph Bonaparte, the British General, in spite of the remonstrances of his colleague in command, withdrew his men to Sicily, in order to take sole possession of the island, to the exclusion of the Russians and against the will of its Sovereign, who had not forgotten the fate of Malta. And the British Government, later on, made it a grievance against the Czar, that he did not exercise greater pressure on the Sicilian King to surrender all the strong places of his petty realm to the English garrison, which, to the number of 15,000, remained there during several months inactive. It was also intimated officially at St. Petersburgh, giving great offence there, and putting an end to co-operation at sea, that a Russian naval squadron then in the Mediterranean under Admiral Simiaven must, in any case of combined action, obey the orders of the British Admiral, "in virtue of superior skill and professional merit in the British naval service." As the war in Poland proceeded, Alexander, who had to bear the

[1] Fournier, *Life of Napoleon.*

whole brunt and strain of it against the resources not only of the French Empire, but of Italy, Germany, Turkey, and even Spain, made earnest appeals to his ally to guarantee a loan of 6,000,000*l.* at 5 *per cent* on the Russian customs; to advance 1,000,000*l.* for urgent needs; to despatch an expedition to the coasts of France, Holland, or Germany, as a diversion in his favour. Loan and advance were refused, with an intimation that Russia in defending her own territory should depend on her own resources; and an expedition was indefinitely deferred to some more favourable season. There was less excuse for this evasion that opportunity favoured an enterprise which might have changed the fortunes of the war. The British Government already paid Gustavus III of Sweden a subsidy of 250,000*l.* a year to maintain a garrison of 12,000 troops in Stralsund, a large and flourishing city now of special importance to British trade as the only port which gave it free access to Germany. Since Jena, this garrison had been augmented by the arrival of 5,000 Prussians. Gustavus now proposed, through Mr. Pierrepoint, British Minister at his Court, that the British Government, by despatching 10,000 or 20,000 troops, or enlarging his subsidy for the purpose of raising them, should enable him to break through a weak French force under Maréchal Mortier, which watched his movements, and penetrate Germany in Napoleon's rear. Lord Hutchinson warmly supported this scheme; but the British Government refused the money, and sent no men. In the same way it declined all the overtures for peace and alliance made to it through Alexander from the King of Spain. Nothing could have been more disconcerting to Napoleon than a revolt of the Spanish Bourbons from their miserable thraldom at a moment when France was denuded of troops. But visions of rich and easy conquests in Spanish America so dazzled Lord Grenville and most of his colleagues as to make them blind to their responsibilities and opportunities in Europe. The consequence was that Alexander, being destitute of means to recruit or equip his troops, was unable again to take the field for more than three months after the battle of Eylau, when summer had deprived him of his most potent ally. In one instance only, in answer to bitter reproaches, did Great Britain afford Russia even a semblance of co-operation. The Ministers of both Powers at Constantinople presented a joint note to the Sultan, requiring him to send passports to General Sebastiani, and renounce his alliance with France. On his refusal, Admiral Duckworth, commanding a British naval squadron carrying no troops, forced his way through the Dardanelles, destroyed a small Turkish flotilla in the Sea of Marmora, and cast anchor in front of the Grand Seraglio, to enforce the demand. But Sebastiani, an able soldier, taking charge of the defence, collected troops and armed batteries during a short truce allowed by Duckworth, with such energy and effect, that the Admiral, seeing no chance of ultimate success, and fearing to

find the Straits closed against his return, beat a hasty retreat to the Mediterranean ; not accomplished without considerable damage to his fleet. The troops that might have made this expedition more effective were sent at the same time, without any intimation to Russia, on another expedition, under General Frazer, from Sicily to Egypt, and captured Alexandria, a conquest of considerable importance to Great Britain. Both enterprises were afterwards represented by Lord Douglas at St. Petersburgh as having been undertaken for Russian interests, and as fulfilling the pledge of help given to Russia ; and were made a ground for urging concessions in regard to a guarantee of Hanover, and a lapsed commercial treaty, with an insistence which exasperated Alexander, and provoked direct refusals.[1] So offensive was the whole proceeding that Canning, on succeeding Howick as Foreign Secretary, found it expedient to instruct Lord Granville Gower, who succeeded Douglas, to apologise for what the despatch described as "unreasonable and unnecessary demands, urged in no very becoming manner."[2]

A still greater cause of dissatisfaction at St. Petersburgh were the depredations on Russian commerce committed by British cruisers in violation of the Convention signed in 1801. This treaty, as we have seen, provided amply for an amicable settlement of alleged infractions of it ; including penalties against offenders and compensation for the injured. But, as the Baltic States which were parties to it complained, not only could no redress be now obtained when vessels were released after unjust capture, but ransom was exacted for leave to pursue a voyage after long and perhaps ruinous detention in a British port. We have seen how Thomas Grenville, as First Lord of the Admiralty, inveighed against British Admirals of this period as incompetent or insubordinate.[3] It may have been that the naval authorities at Whitehall were themselves in fault for much of what was blameworthy, through relaxing the reins of discipline at a time when hostile fleets had been swept from the seas. The British navy at this period was a hard service, badly paid, maintained by press-gangs, and looking to prize-money arising from captures as its chief reward. In the dearth of lawful booty, naval courts seem to have winked at irregularities which made life at sea more attractive. At all events, it is clear from official correspondence that complaints of the unjust seizure of trading vessels, and the delay or refusal of redress, flowed into the British Foreign Office not only from Russia, Denmark and Sweden, parties to the treaty of St. Petersburgh, but also from Austria in regard to the Adriatic, and from the United States of North America, all allied or neutral nations, long before Berlin Decrees or Orders in Council enlarged the sphere of international discord. It must

[1] *F. O. Correspondence*, 1806–7. Lord Howick to the Marquis of Douglas.
[2] *F. O. Correspondence*, 1807. Mr. Canning to Lord Granville Levison Gower.
[3] Introduction to Volume VIII, *Dropmore Papers*.

be added that Lord Howick did not shine as Foreign Secretary. His despatches to St. Petersburgh were too often querulous, or exacting, or evasive; a great falling off from the high standard left by Fox. The business, however, was new to him. He seems to have followed implicitly the more experienced judgment of Lord Grenville; to have been the organ of a policy he accepted, but did not originate. At all events the anger his despatches caused at St. Petersburgh, as to the depth of which the reports of the Marquis of Douglas leave no doubt, must, even if the conferences at Tilsit and the bombardment of Copenhagen never occurred, have seriously impaired the cordial relations between Great Britain and Russia which had resulted from the treaty of St. Petersburgh. A breach in fact was already evident. Early in April, Alexander left the capital to join his army without granting audience to Lord Douglas. The Russian Chancellor, Baron Budberg, then informed the Ambassador that the Emperor, having been abandoned by his allies to fight alone, would act alone in any negotiations for peace; and followed his master to the seat of war, without inviting the Marquis to accompany or join him. Douglas's report of the mortifying state of isolation in which he had been left, "a very humiliating position for a British Ambassador," he wrote, was received by Canning, who curtly recalled him, without a word of acknowledgment on account of past service.

The chief aim of the new Ministry seemed to be to vindicate their conduct in opposition by reversing the policy of their predecessors. Their system was personal rule on High Tory lines of coercion, corruption and intolerance of all reform at home; and a display of aggressive vigour in foreign relations. It was government by independent and often jarring departments, united by a common purpose of deferring in all things to the wishes of the King. For although vigour was their watchword, few English Ministries have been so weak in constitution. The Duke of Portland, nominal Prime Minister, remained to the end a mere figure-head. Lord Malmesbury, who saw with undisguised chagrin the disappointment of his hopes of shaping from the back-ground, as the Prime Minister's prompter, the policy of the State, bemoans in his *Diary* the Duke's insignificance. Portland's colleagues, the record runs, pay him no attention, and act as they please. He gives no sign, possessing conveniently the talent of "dead silence." Two at least of his colleagues, Perceval and Canning, aspired to be first Minister whenever death or increasing feebleness removed him from the stage. Lord Wellesley, another candidate for the post, with a reputation for ability, and claims on account of public service far higher than those of either, remained outside the Cabinet in a patronising attitude, with three brothers installed in office. Perceval, whom the King had made Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, though

quite a novice in finance, discarded Lord Grenville's elaborate scheme for limiting public borrowing and reducing national debt, embodied in Lord Henry Petty's Budget, as too hampering in its effects. Of unblemished personal character, his political methods seem to have been the reverse of pure. In 1806 he had written an acrimonious indictment, "an impudent libel," Lord Grenville called it, of the late Ministry, in the guise of a defence of the Princess of Wales; and had printed it for circulation as a party pamphlet when the Coalition Ministry fell. On succeeding to office, finding its existence inconvenient, he obtained an injunction from Lord Eldon to prevent the sale; and afterwards, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, bought up all the copies at an expense of 10,000*l.* to the Secret Service Fund.[1] The forces he brought into play during the recent general election having left their mark on the composition of the new House of Commons, Lord Cochrane moved for a Parliamentary Committee to inquire and report what members, or near connexions of members, held places, pensions or sinecures by grant from the Crown. Perceval opposed it vehemently, and then to appease public opinion, strongly aroused on the subject, substituted for it an inquiry of wider scope and more dilatory operation, which indirectly defeated Lord Cochrane's object of exposing electoral corruption.[2] In the War Department, Lord Castlereagh, as organ of the views of the Horse Guards, threw over Windham's Army Bill. Having to face the vehement protests not only of Windham himself, but of Mr. Calvert, a recognized authority on military organization, and of social reformers such as Mr. Banks, the War Minister adopted an apologetic tone and excused a return to old methods as a temporary expedient. It was necessary, he said, to transfer a large body of men from the militia to the line, in consequence of dangers to which the country was exposed by the incompetence or the negligence of his predecessor; and he restored service for life, not as excluding short service, but to give the State the benefit of both plans. In the House of Lords, Lord Melville, who had so long been War Minister under Pitt, and had lately been recalled to the Privy Council, disdained subterfuge of this kind, and gave voice to the orthodox Tory view. The army, he said, should be left to the management of the King. He mocked at Windham's notion of improving the character and efficiency of the military service by attracting to its ranks a better class of recruit. The worst criminal, he declared, made the best soldier. "Keep your better class of men at home."[2] In this view, again predominant, the military service was a safety-valve for national crime: or what Dr. Johnson had defined patriotism to be, "the last refuge of a scoundrel." After a short pretence of impartial experiment, Castlereagh, in concert

[1] Earl Grey to Lord Grenville, November 3, 1809.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807–8–9.

with the Duke of York, framed a Bill, which re-established the old system with all its demoralizing incidents; and, as Windham declared, entailed on the country an additional and quite unnecessary expenditure of 3,000,000*l.*[1] a year. In the same spirit, the War Minister strenuously opposed all proposals to abolish or limit the brutal floggings for military offences, which continued to disgrace Great Britain for many years after they had been discarded in Continental armies.[2] It was, however, in the Government of Ireland that the policy proclaimed by Mr. Percival was most fully illustrated. Many Irish members, all of course belonging to the established Church, and even the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of that Church, urged the Ministry to promote internal tranquillity by a more equitable adjustment of the burthen of tithes. The answer to these appeals was a revival by the Chief Secretary, Sir Arthur Wellesley, of the "Insurrection Act" and the "Arms Act," passed in 1796, against the United Irishmen; used as authority for the perpetration of shameful outrages, on account of which it was thought necessary to pass an "Indemnity Act," and no longer enforced after the Act of Union had been carried. The justification alleged for the re-enactment of those laws, was smouldering rebellion at the instigation of France, a charge for which the Duke of Bedford could find no evidence,[3] and for which none was now advanced. The Maynooth grant was cut down to 9,500*l.* a year. Mr. Perceval would have abolished it altogether, and only tolerated the reduced sum as a temporary concession. He feared, as he declared, it would be the means of introducing Jesuits into the country. Fortunately for his peace of mind, he was not aware that this formidable Society, to whose secret machinations George III is said to have attributed the French Revolution, had been settled for years past in Lancashire, sowing their principles broad-cast among the rising generation of Catholic gentry, whom they gathered into their fold from the entire kingdom. During the debate on the subject of the Maynooth grant, Dr. Duigenan opposed it with an excess of virulence and ribaldry which is said to have excited disgust in every quarter of the House of Commons. The Irish Government rewarded his Protestant zeal by making him a Privy Councillor. This appointment being loudly challenged in the House, no member of the Cabinet, not even Mr. Perceval rose to defend it. The defence was left to Wellesley; and being only an Irish matter, it was allowed to pass. Letters from Ireland in this volume bear strong testimony to the baleful effect of this system of "enlightened toleration," as the King's Speech described it, in re-kindling religious and racial animosities, which had been slowly dying down during

[1] W. Windham to Earl Grey, September 29, 1809. *Windham Papers.*
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807–8–9.
[3] Introduction, vol. viii, *Dropmore Papers.*

the Vice-royalties of Harrington and Bedford.[1] Lords Grenville and Holland, in the House of Lords, denounced the criminal folly of provoking Irish disaffection at a moment when the mortal enemy of England had reached the plenitude of power. It was in fact infatuation of this kind, a resort to coercion instead of timely concession of reasonable demands, which had already cost the monarchy its North American Colonies. And if England did not again incur some great disaster, this escape was certainly not due to the wisdom and ability of its rulers. Making every allowance for the security afforded by geographical position and the indomitable spirit of a free people, the immunity it enjoyed must be chiefly attributed to the stupendous blunders of its great antagonist, who in the pursuit of universal dominion, and in blind reliance on material force, arrayed against himself throughout Europe the most powerful moral influences by which mankind is swayed, and of which in earlier and wiser moods he had made allies, those of religion and patriotism.

In the conduct of foreign affairs, Canning's personality made itself as clearly evident as Percival's in home policy. For a time, indeed, the "vigour" which was afterwards claimed as its distinguishing merit, seemed to exhaust itself in defending "Church and King" against domestic traitors. That object having been accomplished, he informed Gustavus of Sweden, through Mr. Pierrepoint, British Minister at Stralsund, that to enable him to pursue his project of an expedition against the French in Germany, the British Government would subsidize 4,000 additional Swedes; and would immediately despatch 10,000 Hanoverians and 16,000 British troops to take part in the enterprise. At the same time, Lord Granville Gower, whom he sent to succeed the Marquis of Douglas in Russia, was charged to inform the Czar that this diversion was practically the extent of the help George III could at present afford his chief ally. A Russian loan could not be guaranteed. The British Government had only 2,000,000*l.* or 2,500,000*l.* at its disposal during the present year to expend in subsidies. Austria and Prussia had applied to it for help in money, and their needs must, so far as possible, be supplied first. If anything remained, Alexander might have it, if he asked for it. Hitherto, communications received from the Russian Government had mentioned Russian wants and efforts, without applying for a subsidy.[2] This was certainly an improvement on the despatches of Lord Howick. But in consequence of delays at the War Office, for which Lord Castlereagh, as usual, cast the blame on his predecessor, no British troops reached Stralsund for a month after the war in Poland had terminated. Canning also

[1] Bishop Moylan to Sir J. Hippesley, January 1, 1808.
Bishop Power to Sir John Newport, September 18, 1808.
Martin Devlin to Lord Grenville, July 1, 1808.
Sir John Newport to Lord Grenville.

[2] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807.

despatched the Earl of Pembroke on a special mission to Vienna, with a proposal that the Emperor should immediately join forces with Russia, Great Britain undertaking to pay him a subsidy of 500,000*l.*, but not until the Austrian army had actually taken the field. As the state of Austrian preparation and finance did not enable Archduke Charles to accept the conditions imposed, Lord Pembroke's negotiation abruptly closed.

The Czar had already sent Count Pozzo di Borgo, a Corsican of great ability, of a family in old and deadly feud with the Bonapartes, to remove the suspicion excited in the Austrian capital by the Russian invasion of the Principalities. After conferences with Count Stadion and Sir Robert Adair,[1] the British Minister, Pozzo proceeded to Constantinople, where he was joined by Sir Arthur Paget, representing Great Britain. The two powers offered peace on condition of a return to the *status quo*, which French intrigue had disturbed. But the Sultan, incensed by Admiral Duckworth's raid, and elated by its repulse, refused to listen to their proposals, and sent fresh troops across the Danube to expel the Russians from Ottoman territory.

In the meantime, Napoleon, during the period of repose allowed to him in winter quarters, not only supplied all the wants and restored the old spirit and efficiency of his army in Poland, but created and brought up another army of 100,000 men to over-awe Austria, guard Northern Germany against the Swedes, and press the sieges of Dantzic and Stralsund. In May Dantzic, with an enormous reserve of provisions and military stores, surrendered to Marshal Lefevre, after a vain attempt of the allies to relieve it. Beningsen again took the field in the beginning of June; but climatic conditions no longer favoured the Russians; and the military genius of Napoleon brought a brief campaign to an end by the decisive victory of Friedland on June 14. The Emperor Alexander was then at Tilsit, attended by Baron Budberg. Lord Granville Gower arrived there from England before news of the battle had been received, and had audience. Alexander spoke with resentment on account of the desertion of Great Britain, but with confidence in the valour of his troops; and declared his resolve not to yield to Napoleon, even if driven back to Siberia.[2] Next day news came of the Russian defeat. Gower, at Budberg's suggestion, withdrew to a safe distance from the scene of hostilities, and was afterwards refused permission to return to Tilsit. He learned, however, from unofficial sources, that Alexander had wished to continue fighting, but was over-ruled by his generals, and by Russian opinion, unwilling to persevere single-handed in a conflict for objects not specially Russian; and that, in the conference between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit, the former, under the spell with which

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807. Sir Robert Adair to Mr. Canning.
[2] *F. O. Despatches*. Gower to Canning, 1807.

the conqueror enthralled those whom he wished to gain, had completely changed his policy. Later on, in reply to repeated inquiries, Baron Budberg, before quitting Tilsit, informed the British Ambassador that Alexander, being abandoned by his allies, had to consult the interests of his own subjects in a separate negotiation; but was prepared to act as mediator between Great Britain and France for the restoration of peace on terms which should be honourable to both nations.[1] In fact the treaties concluded at Tilsit bound the Emperors in cordial alliance, and inflicted the full penalty of inglorious defeat on the King of Prussia. Alexander agreed to withdraw his troops from the Danubian Principalities, and to accept Napoleon's mediation with the Sultan; while he, himself, acted as mediator between France and Great Britain. Frederick William gave up his Polish territory to form the Duchy of Warsaw, of which the King of Saxony became ruler, with a right of way to it through Silesia; Dantzic recovering its independence as a "Free City." He ceded all his kingdom west of the Elbe, and the great fortress of Magdeburg on the east bank, to constitute, with Hanover and Hesse, the kingdom of Westphalia, for Jerome Bonaparte. He bound himself also to pay 6,000,000*l.* ransom for Berlin and his remaining provinces, the French remaining in occupation of them till the debt was discharged; and to close his ports against British commerce. By secret articles of the Franco-Russian treaty, Alexander gave up Cattaro and the Ionian islands to France, pledged himself to adopt the Berlin Decrees if Great Britain refused his mediation; and to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as King of Sicily on condition that Spain made over the Balearic Islands as compensation to the Duke of Calabria, heir to Ferdinand the Bourbon King. Napoleon, on his part, consented to a dismemberment of Turkey in the event of the Porte refusing the articles of peace he should propose.

In July Lord Cathcart landed on the island of Rügen with the Hanoverian Legion, just in time to see the French, under Marshal Brune, driving Gustavus's army of Swedes and Prussians before them into Stralsund. The King of Sweden then learned to his deep mortification, that the British Commander had strict instructions to keep his men together as a separate body, and in readiness to re-embark at a moment's notice when ordered elsewhere. This order was not long delayed. After a week or two of complete inaction, Cathcart, in spite of the frantic protests of Gustavus, carried off the Hanoverians to join the rest of the troops placed under his command for the capture of Copenhagen; and Stralsund opened its gates to the French.

A full and clear account of that amazing display of "vigour," the bombardment and capture of Copenhagen, may be obtained from the correspondence between the British Foreign Office and its Ministers at the Northern Courts which the

[1] *F. O. Despatches.* Gower to Canning 1807.

enterprise more immediately concerned. Since the Convention of St. Petersburgh in 1801 restored friendly relations between Great Britain and the Baltic States, the reins of absolute power in Denmark had, in consequence of the incapacity of the King Christian VII, been held by his eldest son Frederick as Prince Regent, a man, by universal consent, of high principles and firm purpose, who pursued peace and neutrality as the policy most advantageous to his country. On the other hand, his nearest neighbour, Gustavus IV, the crazy King of Sweden, whose fanatical devotion to the exiled Bourbons of France made him, to the great discontent of his own people, an active adversary of every other form of government in that country, spared no effort to draw the Regent into war with Napoleon, and sow suspicions of his hostile intentions to itself in the mind of the British Government. For a long period these attempts availed nothing. In the beginning of 1806, when Prussia, at Napoleon's dictation, shut her ports against British commerce, Fox instructed Mr. Garlyke, Minister of George III at Copenhagen, to come to a frank but perfectly friendly explanation with Count Joseph Bernsdorff, Danish Secretary for Foreign Affairs. All the British Government required of the Regent, Fox wrote, was neutrality, which, if he needed help, it would aid him to maintain. But if he followed the example of the King of Prussia, under pressure from France, Great Britain, though most reluctantly, must treat Denmark as an enemy. Bernsdorff's explicit assurances of the Regent's determination to observe strict neutrality at all hazards were accepted in London as quite satisfactory. And in regard to complaints from the Danish Minister that the British blockade of North German rivers excluded Danish trade from its own ports on the Elbe and the Trave, Fox recognised them as legitimate, and took measures to redress them. Nothing further seems to have occurred to ruffle amicable relations till the battle of Jena, in the autumn of the same year, made Napoleon master of Prussia, and altered the situation. Then Lord Howick, giving undue attention to the wild suggestions of Gustavus of Sweden, and his own alarms lest the progress of French conquest should shut the ports of Holstein against Great Britain, pressed the Danish Government to join forces with those of Sweden for the defence of North Germany. The Regent refused to have any dealings with his crazy neighbour, or to depart from the line of policy he had deliberately adopted. He held his ground later on as firmly against appeals to the same effect from his powerful friend the Emperor Alexander. At the same time, he declared in the most emphatic terms his intention to resist to the last extremity any attempt at dictation on the part of France. His brother-in-law and confidential adviser, the Duke of Augustenburg, assured Garlyke that if force were used against Danish independence it could only succeed by passing over the Regent's body. Count Bernsdorff, with equal emphasis,

told the British Minister that the Danes would suffer themselves to be exterminated rather than yield to foreign compulsion. Mr. Garlyke, while faithfully obeying his instructions and completely identifying himself with them in conference with Bernsdorff, invariably expressed in his own confidential reports to London, unhesitating belief in the sincerity of these Danish declarations. Howick himself, when better informed of the situation in North Germany, approved of the Regent's conduct, and conveyed to him the assurance of George III's perfect confidence in his spirit and honour. He also directed Mr. Pierrepoint, British Minister at Stockholm, to disabuse Gustavus of his groundless suspicions ; whereupon the latter, in fantastic emulation, bore testimony to the Danish ruler's unimpeachable rectitude. During the course of this discussion, Mr. Garlyke sent authentic information to the Foreign Office with regard to the naval and military forces of Denmark, well-calculated, it might be thought, to allay English suspicions of danger from that quarter. According to a report drawn up, with every facility for investigation, by Captain Dunbar, R.N., all Danish ships of war, with the exception of a very few in use, were in accordance with ancient custom, laid by in perfect condition, but unarmed and unequipped. The naval force on active service, amounting to 15,000 men, were nearly all away, some at Constantinople, on board not only of Danish and Norwegian, but also of British merchantmen, filling the places of native sailors impressed for the British navy. The Danish army on active service numbered 33,000. Of these, about 28,000 had been carried across to Holstein by the Prince Royal to defend its neutrality against incursions of French or Prussians ; leaving Zealand which contained the capital of the kingdom, practically unguarded except by its belts of water.

In January, 1807, the Order in Council issued by the Coalition Government in consequence of the " Berlin Decrees," provided neutral powers, especially Denmark and the United States of North America, with new matter of complaint against Great Britain. In times of peace, the coasting trade of France had been carried on by native vessels exclusively. The Order debarred neutral ships from trading between two ports under French sway, on the ground that neutrals should not enjoy, to the benefit of one belligerent and the detriment of another, a privilege during war denied to them during peace. But in framing the Order the British Board of Trade seems to have overlooked one important circumstance. Danish and American vessels conveying goods to Southern Europe, were accustomed to carry mixed cargoes, which they unloaded at different ports of France and adjacent countries according to local requirements ; and all these were now captured and detained by English cruisers while following an established practice. Count Bernsdorff protested vehemently that the new Order

thus interpreted meant the utter annihilation of Danish foreign trade. Lord Grenville afterwards explained in the House of Lords that his Ministry had not contemplated any interference with ordinary usage. But Lord Howick's reply to the angry remonstrance of Mr. Rist, the envoy of Denmark in London, was not conciliatory. He charged the Danish Government with using a hostile tone towards that of Great Britain it did not use towards France. Bernsdorff, however, informed Garlyke that the Prince Regent's representations against the Berlin Decrees had been answered in friendly terms by Napoleon, who had made no demand in any way inconsistent with Danish neutrality. In fact the French Emperor interfered little, if at all, with neutral trade till after the Treaty of Tilsit had terminated war on the Continent, and made Russia his ally. The British Government, on the contrary, had asked Denmark to renounce its neutrality, and, as Bernsdorff more than once complained, showed, after receding from that demand, a suspicious and exacting temper towards the Prince Regent, wanting in friendly consideration for a very difficult position. Canning took up new ground. He told Rist that the British Government was entitled in retaliation for the Berlin Decrees to forbid all neutral commerce with France, but exercised its right with moderation as a favour to Denmark. He sent Rist's angry protests against this repudiation of the treaty of St. Petersburgh, and what was commonly received as the law of nations, to Garlyke, to be shown to Count Joseph Bernsdorff, as offensive in tone and language ; with a private intimation that the envoy's recall would give satisfaction in London. Bernsdorff, very indignant in turn at a new doctrine so destructive to Danish prosperity, remarked in reference to it that neutral nations also had rights which must be maintained, but expressed a wish to let the subject drop, so as to avoid a quarrel. The question of Rist's recall he seems to have shelved by referring it to his brother, the Prime Minister, then at Kiel in Holstein with the Regent. On July 4, Garlyke sent to Canning an extract from a letter which had just reached Copenhagen by a round-about course from Memel, where the Prussian Court resided, giving an account of the battle of Friedland, the armistice, and the meeting of the contending sovereigns on a raft at Tilsit. This seems to have been the first authentic intelligence from the seat of war received at the Danish capital since the opening of the last campaign in Poland. On July 10, Canning wrote two letters to Garlyke, filled with reproaches for neglecting to send home accounts of the progress of the war in Poland ; for not insisting on the recall of Rist ; and particularly for omitting to report the naval preparations now making at Copenhagen. Garlyke was ordered to send information on the last subject without further delay. Another letter from Canning followed on July 14, censuring Garlyke's remissness in not pressing Rist's

misconduct on the attention of the Prince Royal. And a fourth, dated July 18, instructed him to proceed at once to Memel as British Minister at the Prussian Court, in place of Mr. Frere, detained in England; and to present Mr. Brooke Taylor, the bearer of this order, to the Prince Royal, as his substitute at the Court of Denmark. The British Government, the letter continued, had arranged with M. Jacobi in London to grant King Frederick William a subsidy of 1,000,000*l.* on condition of his not negotiating with Napoleon except in concert with George III. It would appear, therefore, that nothing was known in London on July 18 of the treaty signed at Tilsit on July 8. Canning, a few days later, wrote confidentially to Lord Granville Leveson Gower at the Russian Court that Brooke Taylor was going to Copenhagen "to coerce the Danes in consequence of rumours that Napoleon is about taking possession of the ports of Holstein, to exclude British goods from the Continent."[1] On July 23, Garlyke repelled, with evident indignation, Canning's charges of neglect of duty. He had not, he wrote, informed his Government of naval preparations at Copenhagen "*because there have been none.*" On July 25, he wrote again in cipher that Captain Beaumont, R.N., had just completed a thorough inspection of the Danish fleet; and that Beaumont's report fully confirmed that of Captain Dunbar, sent to Lord Howick in December, 1806. "There is not," it said, "the smallest preparation for equipping a fleet. If Government had sailors on the spot he thought it might be got ready in six weeks; but the Danish and Norwegian sailors were away in England and other countries in Danish and English merchant ships." The Admiralty at Copenhagen could not send out more than five ships of the line.[1] On July 28 Garlyke sent home a report of a long conference with Count Joseph Bernsdorff, during which the latter repeated the most solemn assurances that no threat or overture of any kind had been made by France to the Regent in regard to Danish neutrality; and that the Prince would consider any demand from Napoleon detrimental to Great Britain as a cause of war. This language, Garlyke averred, was in entire accordance with all the declarations on the same subject made to him by the Danish Minister during the last two years. In two final despatches, dated August 1 and 8, Garlyke informed Canning of his approaching departure for Memel, to await there further instructions before presenting his credentials, the King of Prussia having agreed at Tilsit to close his ports against British trade.

In the meantime, on July 19, a powerful fleet under Admiral Gambier, carrying about 20,000 British troops, had sailed from England to a northern rendezvous, where Lord Cathcart was to join it with the Hanoverian legion from Rügen, and take chief command of the expedition.

On July 28 Canning wrote as follows to Mr. Jackson, a diplomatist of some experience:—In consequence of

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, July 1807.

intelligence from various quarters of Napoleon's intention to occupy the ports of Holstein and use the Danish navy for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, Jackson had been appointed to obtain the most prompt and decisive satisfaction from the Regent. He was to go at once to Kiel, demand audience of the Prince, and while assuring him of the most friendly feelings and intentions, to insist on the satisfaction and security which the intentions of Napoleon and the situation of Denmark made necessary for Great Britain. The forward state of the equipment of the Danish fleet would alone have justified the British Government in demanding such a pledge, as it could have no eventual object but hostility to Great Britain; the tone assumed in regard to mitigated measures of reprisal to which the British Government had been driven by French Decrees, in contrast to absence of remonstrance against French measures, naturally excited suspicion if not of ill-intention, at least of ill-disposition towards Great Britain, and complete subserviency to France, which would have justified the British Government in demanding that all naval preparations at Copenhagen, of which Great Britain could alone have been the object, should cease. So long, however, as there was any reasonable chance that Denmark, however prepared to comply with the requisitions of France, might not be immediately called on to do so, the British Government refrained from severe measures. But the increased preponderance of France left George III no option if he wished to preserve his country from invasion by means of the Danish fleet. Therefore the immediate delivery of that fleet to Great Britain must be insisted on; but in consequence of the British Sovereign's anxiety to spare Danish feelings, two proposals were sent by which the measure could be effected. (1) The delivery of the fleet to be held as a *sacred deposit* and returned fully equipped and undamaged at the end of the war; with a secret article allowing 100,000*l.* a year for the use of it. (2) A treaty of alliance, placing the Danish fleet under the command of a British Admiral in the Baltic. The whole thing was necessary for the ultimate prosperity of Denmark. By additional instructions on July 29, Jackson was informed that the one *essential point* to be kept in mind was *possession of the Danish fleet.* Nothing else was important in comparison. Even if the Danes consented to treat for an alliance, they must give up the fleet *at once.* He was to lose no time in starting for Tonningen. The vessel conveying him had orders to proceed from that port to the place of rendezvous and report his landing to the British commanders. Eight days were allowed for his journey to Kiel, his negotiations with the Prince Royal, and his communicating the result to Lord Cathcart. He was to use all the arguments at his command to bring the Prince to submission; should these fail, he was to announce to him that active hostilities would begin at the expiration of the eight days. It is plain that this

language, so provocative and insulting to a near kinsman of George III, and in whose honour and good faith Fox and Howick had professed entire trust in their Sovereign's name, was completely at variance with the information supplied by the British Minister at Copenhagen, a man of distinguished ability and unblemished character. As to "the most friendly feelings and intentions" professed towards Denmark, the British Government, before any account of its envoy's reception could possibly reach it, seized all Danish merchantmen in British ports, and made prisoners of all Danish seamen it could lay hands on. Mr. Jackson reached Kiel on August 6. He found Holstein swarming with Danish troops, whose return to Zealand was barred by a British squadron under Admiral Keats—which had silently occupied the Belts. He first saw Count Bernsdorff, who told him he could only be received as a traveller, all official business being transacted at Copenhagen, and asked him the meaning of British proceedings. In reply, Jackson began reading his instructions, but after the words "having learned through various channels," Bernsdorff exclaimed violently, "Great Britain had no such information. You are adducing false reports and surmises unworthy of credit to fill the measure of British injustice in forcing Denmark into a ruinous war. Napoleon could have no interest in throwing the most valuable part of her (the islands and Norway) into alliance with England and Sweden. The Regent had shown that he knew how to defend his neutrality." Then Jackson continued, "It might be possible, though appearances have much against that supposition, that the Danish Government *did not wish* to lend itself to hostile views, still it could not resist France," and so on. "Because you think," broke in Bernsdorff, "Napoleon has the intention of wounding us in the tenderest part, you would struggle with him for guilty priority, and be the first to do the deed." "Yes," answered Jackson, greatly nettled by this home-thrust, "Great Britain would insist on a pledge of amity." "What pledge?" was demanded. "Uniting Danish forces to those of Great Britain," answered Jackson. "Destroy our independence, because France has acted so to others?" "Nothing of the kind, but confer great benefits," Jackson went on at great length, making the best of the case. Next day he was received by the Prince Royal, and demanded the immediate surrender of the Danish fleet. The Prince denied that he had departed in any way from his policy of neutrality, and asked that hostilities might be deferred till the result of the Emperor Alexander's offer to act as mediator in a negotiation for peace between England and France became known. Jackson answered that he had no power to grant any delay, and the audience terminated. Next day, being informed that the Regent had passed over to Copenhagen in the night, he followed him, to find on his arrival that the Prince had quitted the capital, taking the King with him.

Eight days allowed for negotiation being now expired, he asked for passports, and retired to Landscrona to await events. The British army landed in Zealand, and, as the Governor of Copenhagen refused to capitulate, raised batteries to bombard the city.

When the British Government learned that the Prince Regent refused to submit to its demands, it resolved to keep possession of the island of Zealand. Canning instructed Mr. Jackson to ascertain from Lord Carthcart what force would be required for the purpose; to transmit this information to Mr. Pierrepoint, British Minister at the Court of Sweden; and not to resume negotiations with the Danes. Gustavus had returned to Sweden with his troops after the surrender of Stralsund. According to reports received in London from Pierrepoint, his mad antics, and his reckless foreign policy had already driven his army and people to the verge of revolt. Nevertheless, Canning, on September 5, directed Pierrepoint to sound the King as to his willingness to supply 20,000 Swedes as a garrison for Zealand, in addition to the Hanoverian legion which would be left with him. The subsidy hitherto paid to the King for the defence of Stralsund had expired with the loss of that city, but the British Government, Pierrepoint was to say, would renew and increase it to any amount required; and would, moreover, transfer to Gustavus Surinam and other colonial conquests for the benefit of Swedish commerce. Though his recent experience of British co-operation was hardly encouraging, and his present position was beset by manifest perils, the prospect of acquiring colonies allured the King. He asked for Buenos Ayres, in addition to Surinam, and to keep Zealand in his own hands; and promised to consider the British proposal when officially made. On September 7, Copenhagen, almost reduced to ruin by bombardment, surrendered on terms. The Regent had sent an order to the Governor to burn the ships and stores, but the messenger being intercepted, swallowed it. It was agreed that the citadel, arsenal, dockyards and all their movable contents should be handed over to the British commanders on condition that they departed from the island with their booty in six weeks. News of this convention, followed by a declaration of war by the Regent, caused great dissatisfaction to the English Ministry, completely thwarting their designs on Zealand. Lord Castlereagh wrote to Lord Cathcart to find some pretext for breaking it, or at least for postponing evacuation, either in some incautious act of the Danes, or some ambiguity of phrase which required reference to England. The Danes, however, scrupulously observed the conditions; and the commanders being, no doubt, heartily sick of the whole business, in which they had strictly followed their instructions, refused to lend themselves to any trickery,

Then the affair took another turn. Lord G. Leveson Gower had followed the Czar to St. Petersburg to ask on behalf of

the British Government for a copy of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit before accepting the offer of mediation made to it by Alexander, through M. Alopœus, his Ambassador in London ; and to press for the renewal of a treaty of commerce between Russia and Great Britain. He was secretly advised by Canning of the expedition against Copenhagen, and instructed to keep silence on the subject unless questioned ; in which case he was to reply that it had been sent to frustrate a design of Napoleon to use the Danish fleet for the invasion of Scotland and Ireland. Gower failed to obtain audience of the Emperor, and was received with great reserve by Baron Budberg, who refused or evaded his demands. When news reached St. Petersburg of the attack on Copenhagen Budberg wrote officially to Gower for an explanation, which was given in the terms prescribed by Canning. After which, the British Minister reported, so far from encountering any display of resentment, he found Budberg's attitude much more friendly. Sir Robert Wilson, who carried this despatch to London, and was thought by himself at least—"credulous but zealous," Malmesbury describes him—to enjoy Alexander's confidence, also reported that a most influential party at St. Petersburg favoured the political action of Great Britain. Canning and Malmesbury, discussing the situation thus disclosed at Bulstrode with the Duke of Portland, appear to have jumped to the conclusion that the presence of a British armament in the Baltic had thoroughly frightened Alexander ; and that the Russian Government was disposed to acquiesce in the capture of the Danish fleet, and a continued occupation of Zealand by British troops. On this hypothesis they framed their next proceeding, which Wilson returned to Russia to support with his influence ; and they wrote the despatches—"incomparable instructions," Malmesbury calls them—required to give it effect. One despatch directed Mr. Merry, of the British diplomatic service, to go to Denmark and offer the restoration of all Danish merchantmen and sailors detained in England, and ample security for Danish commerce, on condition that the Regent should consent to the occupation of Zealand by troops in British pay till the conclusion of a general peace. Another despatch instructed Lord G. L. Gower to ask the Czar to persuade the Regent to accept these terms, and to guarantee his observance of them. By a third, Mr. Pierrepoint was directed to bring the influence of Sweden to bear at St. Petersburg in favour of the British proposals. The project failed in every part, being based on self-delusion. The Danish Prince would not receive Merry or any communication from him. Alexander refused to see Wilson, who returned crest-fallen to England. Gower's application to Count Romanzow, who had succeeded Budberg at the Russian Foreign Office, met with a curt refusal. The King of Sweden, warned by his Minister at St. Petersburg of the real disposition of the Russian Government, declined, in spite of Pierrepoint's repeated

appeals to his vanity and his self-interest, to furnish troops for the occupation of Zealand, or to allow the German legion to land in Sweden.[1] And the British commanders, when the six weeks stipulated by the articles of capitulation had expired, departed with their plunder for England, to the intense annoyance of the authors of the expedition. Canning left his opinion on record that through Carthcart's blundering the expedition had done more harm than good; and Malmesbury wrote "they (the Commanders) did what they were ordered, but did not go a step beyond their instructions, like unwilling servants."[2] The Regent, as Pierrepoint reported, immediately returned to his ruined capital, and set vigorously to work to put Zealand in a state of defence; and Danish gun-boats captured a number of English merchantmen in the Baltic. "We lost nearly as much in naval stores captured by the Danes,"[2] Malmesbury writes, "as we had gained by seizing their fleet." The public language, however, of the Ministry and the Ministerial Press was that of unalloyed triumph. They claimed by an act of vigour, in brilliant contrast with the impotence of the Coalition Ministry, to have baffled the designs of Napoleon, and preserved Ireland and perhaps also Scotland to the British Crown. Surely a strange confession of misgovernment in Ireland and Scotland. And the British public, depressed by a series of failures at Constantinople, Buenos Ayres, and Alexandria, which the Turks compelled General Frazer to abandon, seems to have indulged in patriotic rejoicing for a glorious exploit, which foreign opinion condemned as a dastardly and treacherous outrage. That it strengthened the hand of Napoleon, and caused an immediate breach with Russia can hardly be doubted. Alexander, as Lord Hutchinson afterwards declared in the House of Lords, had been compelled after the defeat of Friedland, to negotiate wth Napoleon. At Tilsit, under the sway of a master mind, dazzled by the prospect of becoming a partner in the conqueror's scheme of universal empire, he had embraced with ardour a French alliance. But after his return to St. Petersburg, notwithstanding frequent conferences with General Savary, sent by Napoleon to keep him steady, this enthusiasm began to cool. He had in fact gained nothing at Tilsit beyond vague promises, in return for a positive engagement in certain eventualities, to adopt the Berlin Decrees; which meant a line of policy injurious to Russian trade, and certain to be unpopular. But the bombardment of Copenhagen stung him to the quick. The testimony of Lord Hutchinson, to whom he opened his mind freely on the subject, leaves no doubt of it. An appeal from the Prince Regent worked strongly on his feelings. And he resented Canning's demand that he should incur the disgrace of making himself an accomplice in such shameful violence as an intolerable insult. For a time he restrained his anger in order that the Russian naval squadron in the

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807. [2] *Diary of Lord Malmesbury.*

Mediterranean might return home in safety. But Lord Gower's imperious insistence with Count Romanzow to be shewn the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, and for the renewal of a commercial treaty, provoked an explosion. The British Minister, to his astonishment and indignation, received for answer an official intimation that the Emperor, having recalled the Russian embassy from London, no longer desired his presence in St. Petersburg. Nothing was left for him but to demand his passports, and quit Russia at once.[1] Then, on October 31, Alexander issued a declaration that Great Britain having twice induced him to take up arms, deserted him in his greatest need. Instead of interfering to divert French efforts from concentration in Poland, the British Government sent one part of its forces to conquer Buenos Ayres and another to conquer Egypt in its own interests. Contrary to a treaty concluded in 1801, it vexed the commerce of his subjects all the time when they were fighting France. When Alexander, having made peace with France, offered to mediate peace for England on honourable conditions, the latter refused ; but used the troops it had withheld from assisting Russia, to commit an outrage against Denmark, for which history had no previous example ; turning on a small, peaceful power, with which it had no quarrel, in order to despoil her, and that too in the Baltic, which the British Government knew to be closed against foreign hostilities under a Russian guarantee. For these and other reasons the Emperor broke off all relations with Great Britain, and put an end to existing treaties with her till reparation was made. Canning's answer, in the shape of a declaration of George III, dealt very shortly and ineffectively with those charges, but, after the manner of a counsel with a weak case, taunted Alexander with deserting his ally, the King of Prussia. It must be admitted that only the clearest evidence of national peril and of guilty intent could justify Great Britain in despatching secretly an overwhelming armament which she had withheld from allies fighting to the last extremity in a common cause, to destroy the capital of one of the smallest states of Europe, for which she professed friendship and trust, in order to obtain possession of some vessels of war, laid by, unequipped and unarmed, which might possibly be used at some future time against her. What was the evidence relied upon ? An entry in Lord Malmesbury's *Diary* tells us, as follows :—" Capture of Danish fleet by surprise on account of *most undoubted information* received from the Prince Regent of Portugal of Bonaparte's intention to use the Portuguese and Danish fleets for invasion of England. First hint of the plan given by the Prince of Wales to the Duke of Portland. The Portuguese refused the demand, and told British Government of it ; the Danes accepted, kept silence, and afterwards denied it." Canning also refers to the *undoubted information*, without specifying it, in a

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807.

despatch to Lord G. Gower.[1] This statement may have been merely a fiction of the Prince of Wales's fertile imagination. It was quickly discarded, the Portuguese Regent having supplied no information whatever in regard to Denmark. In the "Declaration of George III," and in his defence of the Government in the House of Commons, Canning afterwards indicated secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit as the source of the information on which he acted. But Opposition speakers in both Houses of Parliament showed by a comparison of dates that those articles could not have been known to the Minister when the expedition left England. Then Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to Lord Sidmouth, shifted the defence to the shadowy ground of secrets leaking out during the conferences at Tilsit; and there it has rested ever since.[2] If any authentic information which justified the action of the British Government was received, why was no record left of it? And even if there had been hostile intention, did it become a maritime power which had swept the historic navies of Spain, France, and Holland from the seas, to shrink from open conflict with the small fleet of Denmark, and seek safety in such questionable proceedings? Canning's mode of defending the expedition in the House of Commons laid him open to general reproach. He seems to have thought that in an assembly so composed he could venture to set fair dealing at defiance. In support of his assertions of hostile intentions on the part of Denmark, he brought down unpublished official papers from the Foreign Office, read out passages from them, and immediately put them away, refusing then and afterwards to submit them to inspection, as a course injurious to the public service. Lords Howick and Hutchinson and Mr. Garlyke, writers of the despatches quoted, protested against this proceeding as being contrary to all precedent, and declared the evidence garbled. It was only when the outcry had become too damaging to be longer defied, that Canning consented, for the sake of his own reputation, to publish extracts selected by himself which, read apart from what preceded and followed, the authors of the papers still insisted gave a false representation of what they had written. Garlyke's protests, under the stress of honourable obligation, and in the cautious language of a subordinate, are published in this volume.[3] Admirers of Mr. Canning, and he had qualities and talents well deserving of admiration, have ever since exercised more or less ingenuity in framing theories as to the source of the intelligence which inspired the raid upon Copenhagen. The key of the mystery should perhaps be sought in Canning's own character. His complaints of M. Rist, his unfounded charge of serious neglect of duty on the part of Mr. Garlyke, and Garlyke's sudden removal to Memel, the offensive and unwarranted language of his instructions to Mr. Jackson, seem to indicate a deliberate purpose to fasten a quarrel on the Regent of

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807. [2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1808. [3] pp. 182–192.

Denmark. Nor is it altogether impossible that a propensity to theatrical display and secret manœuvre, ambition to become the hero of some achievement which should electrify the world and make its author the theme of all tongues, may have impelled a vivid imagination to invest suspicion and rumour, rife at the time, with all the authority of authentic information.

Russia and Denmark were not the only countries in dealing with which, professedly on a friendly footing, Canning's "vigour" provoked relations little productive of credit or advantage to Great Britain. In the Introduction to the last volume of these papers, some account was given of a conference held in London during the autumn of 1806, to examine into and, if feasible, satisfy complaints from the Government of the United States of America in regard to breaches of international law alleged to have been committed by captains of British cruisers in American waters; and of their practice of overhauling American merchantmen on the high seas, and carrying off some of the crews as British subjects. The latter point of dispute was the more difficult to arrange, because it sometimes involved a conflict of legal right. By English law, a native of the British isles could not divest himself of his nationality. American law allowed foreigners, after a prescribed period of residence, to become citizens of the United States. So it happened that in many cases each power was able to claim the captured seamen as its own subjects. The discussions in London had been carried on in a most friendly spirit; and Messrs. Munroe and Pinkney had taken on themselves the responsibility of signing a treaty *sub spe rati*, which Congress refused to ratify as not affording adequate redress for the grievances complained of. Negotiations, however, were resumed in London in 1807. In June of that year Admiral Berkeley, in command on the American station, hearing that some deserters from the British navy were serving on board the *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, ordered the captain of the *Shannon*, a British frigate of heavier metal, to demand and, if necessary, compel their surrender. The *Chesapeake* resisted; but after some loss in killed and wounded, yielded to superior force, and allowed some of its crew to be carried away as prisoners. One of the men thus captured was tried and executed as a deserter. President Jefferson, on receiving a report of this outrage, issued an order, dated July 4, that all British ships of war should quit the ports and rivers of the United States, and return no more. The British Government disavowed and recalled Berkeley, giving him another command; and professed willingness to release the seamen taken from the *Chesapeake* and compensate the families of the killed and wounded, on certain conditions. And as the American Commissioners in London were precluded by their instructions from dealing with the matter except in connection with acts

of violence of older date, for which they sought satisfaction, Canning sent Mr. Rose, son of his old friend the Treasurer of the Navy, on a special mission to Washington, to discuss this particular question with Mr. Madison, American Secretary of State. Rose's instructions directed him if, on arriving at an American port, he should find any impediment or delay to his landing in consequence of the President's proclamation, to return at once; also, if he reached Washington, to insist on the immediate withdrawal of the proclamation as a preliminary to negotiation. He found himself welcomed on arrival in the United States, and at every stage of his journey to the capital, as the envoy of a friendly power; and made the prescribed demand, for which the disavowal and recall of Admiral Berkeley were alleged as a sufficient reason. The British Government, Rose continued, as instructed, would be justified in refusing the compensation at first promised by the insults since offered in American harbours to British naval officers; but the withdrawal of the proclamation would afford evidence of good intention, and prevent George III from authorising his naval commanders to follow the course Berkeley had taken without authority. This harangue was hardly a message of peace. Madison replied that the disavowal of Admiral Berkeley was an act which the British Government owed to itself; that the proclamation had been the consequence of an outrage for which reparation, although promised, had not as yet been made; and that by a premature withdrawal of it, the American Government would proclaim itself the wrong-doer, a course to which it could not submit. Mr. Rose could go no further in his official capacity. But by the advice of leaders of the Federalists, the party in opposition, which desired alliance with England, as against the neutral policy of the Democrats, then in office, he, although with fear and trembling, took it on himself to inform Madison that in his own opinion the terms of settlement he had to offer would be found acceptable. This concession led to others, equally unauthorised, in the cause of peace. It was arranged that at an unofficial conference, the draft of a new proclamation by the President, to be substituted for that of July, should be read, after which Rose should announce the British proposals. The proceedings were to be confidential, and binding on neither party, unless formally adopted at another official meeting. The draft having been read, and obtaining his approval, Rose declared, as instructed, that the disavowal of Berkeley would be repeated in writing; that the men taken by force from the *Chesapeake* would be released, and compensation would be given *as a favour* from George III to the families of those killed or wounded, if it could be proved that they were not British subjects; on condition that the American Government should disavow the enticing of British sailors to desert, and refusing to give them up when claimed, as practised by Commodore Barron and other of its officers; and should also disavow the injuries and

insults to which British officers had been lately exposed in the harbours of the United States. The accusation of enticing British seamen to desert appears to have been founded on a statement made by the seaman taken from the *Chesapeake* and executed. Commodore Barron, however, declared this statement to be false; and that in all other respects he had adhered strictly to instructions from his Government. As to the remaining points of the indictment, Madison replied that Berkeley's act had been only the most flagrant of many of the same character, which he specified, committed by British commanders, and for which no reparation or apology could be obtained; and that the British captains on whose behalf complaint was made had set the President's proclamation at defiance, and continued to use American ports for purposes condemned among civilised nations. Rose admitted this charge of refusal to quit to be true, Congress, as he informed Canning, when authorising President Jefferson to issue the order, not having enabled him to enforce it. If disavowals, Madison concluded, were required from one party, they must also be given by the other. This put an end to the negotiation, and Rose returned from a mission foredoomed to failure by Canning's instructions. Before leaving Washington, he reported confidentially to his chief, that if the negotiation had gone on he should have been under the necessity of asking for some modification of the British demand for disavowal of refusals to discharge or deliver up deserters; having ascertained that papers had come into Mr. Madison's hands which showed that the British Admiralty had declined to send back deserters from the American sloop *The Wasp*, when lying in the Downs during the summer of 1806, on the plea that by service or marriage they had become British subjects.[1] In fact, it is not easy to see what purpose Canning meant this mission to serve except to exhibit on a wider stage his own spirited foreign policy. Even before Mr. Rose left England, Orders in Council had been framed to give effect to Canning's dogma of retaliation, which raised a new and fatal obstacle to reconciliation with the United States. Since Tilsit, Napoleon had enforced the Berlin Decrees more strictly, and made a rule that a neutral ship destined for a port under French control should provide itself with a certificate from a French agent at a neutral port that the goods it carried were neutral by origin and ownership. Canning's Orders in Council declared all neutral vessels provided with French certificates, or which did not touch at an English port before proceeding to one under French control, lawful prize for a British ship of war. By these arbitrary edicts, France and England declared war against neutral nations. The Government of the United States of America replied by a Non-intercourse Act, forbidding trade with France or England until the obnoxious regulations were repealed; and enforced this Act at home by laying an embargo on all North American ships trading with either belligerent.

[1] *F. O. Despatches*, 1807–8.

Canning and his colleagues seem to have believed that their Orders in Council would give British merchants a monopoly of commerce on the high seas. The leaders of the Opposition, especially Lords Grenville and Auckland, who had learned political economy from Adam Smith, denounced them as founded on an immoral principle, and furthering the policy of Napoleon, with disastrous consequences for Great Britain. After a little, the French ruler had the good sense to withdraw from a false position by making concessions which restored friendly relations between France and the United States. The British Government, by obstinate adherence to its "Orders," not only aggravated severe industrial distress and discontent in England, but provoked a war unprofitable and inglorious in itself, and leaving angry feelings and bitter memories, which did much to keep two great nations of the same blood and language in a state of estrangement for more than two generations.[1]

So many matters of policy, internal and external, vitally affecting the honour and interests of the monarchy, could not fail to provoke long and animated discussion in both Houses of Parliament. But the new Ministry, although fiercely and ably assailed, were fortunate in being confronted by an enfeebled and disorganized Opposition. Lord Grenville had welcomed dismissal as a happy release from the trammels and cares of office; and the successful tactics of his political antagonists in arousing, with the open support of the Court, the forces of bigotry and prejudice to expel him from power for fulfilling his plain duty as a constitutional Minister of the Crown, so dismayed and disheartened him, that it was only the pressing entreaties of his brothers and his nephew, Lord Temple, that prevented his retiring altogether from political life. And although he consented to retain his position as a party leader, he set his face firmly against retaliating on his successors in office by persistent and harassing warfare. This was not from any personal leaning towards men "whose system I abhor and whose talents I despise," as he wrote of them in defending the course his judgment led him to pursue.[2] But he argued that nothing useful could be effected by the Opposition in Parliament under existing conditions; whereas debates in the House of Commons might probably bring out fundamental differences in its own ranks. He appears to have particularly feared the reforming zeal of Mr. Whitbread, Lord Howick's brother-in-law, and leader of the Radicals. The proposals with which this distinguished politician had hitherto identified himself, such as the establishment of parochial schools, and the improvement of the Poor Law System, can hardly be considered Jacobinism; but in the dominant opinion of the time, they were dangerous innovation. It was due to the public and to himself, Lord Grenville declared, that he should express

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1808–9.
[2] *Court and Cabinets of George III.*—Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

his views fully and clearly on all points of ministerial policy which he believed to be hurtful to the interests of the State. Having accomplished this duty, he thought it wiser and more patriotic to abstain from further criticism which could only tend to weaken a Government they could not replace, at a time of great national peril. To this rule he allowed an exception, namely, the condition of Ireland; being convinced that it was on the adoption of such remedial measures as would effect a real union of interests and good will between that island and Great Britain, the salvation of the whole monarchy depended. "For daily opposition," he wrote somewhat later, "I am too old, too scrupulous, and in the present state of the country, much too timid."[1] In this view, having, as opportunity offered, condemned with his usual force and clearness the acts and omissions of the Irish Government; the Orders in Council of October, 1807, as disastrous to British industries, and British relations with the United States, and founded on a theory of retaliation obviously unjust and immoral; and, more cautiously, when the various pretences alleged for the expedition were shown in succession to be untenable, the raid on Copenhagen, he left London for the remainder of the Parliamentary Session. In debates on Ireland in the House of Lords, his most vigorous supporter was Lord Holland. Lord Auckland gave him valuable aid in exposing the impolicy of the Orders in Council. On the Danish question, he found an unexpected ally in Lord Sidmouth. Although his overture for a coalition was rejected by the Portland Ministry, Sidmouth had carefully abstained from giving any vote against their measures which might bring him into disfavour with the King. He had, however, as Prime Minister been responsible for the Convention of St. Petersburg, by which peace was restored between Great Britain and the Baltic Confederation in 1801. And having good reason to believe that it was only with difficulty George III had been brought to sanction hostilities against his kinsman, the Regent of Denmark, he proposed that the Danish merchantmen and sailors seized in British ports in time of peace and professed friendship, should now be set free. But the Government would only consent to relinquish their booty as the price of a treaty dictated by themselves. Lord Grenville's plan of occasional attendance in Parliament seems to have commended itself also to Lord Howick, for private rather than public reasons. The consequence was, Messrs. Sheridan and Whitbread, as independent Liberals, led opposition in the House of Commons with a power and freedom which threw members of the late Cabinet, with the exception of Windham, completely into the shade. On matters requiring redress in Ireland, Sheridan especially spoke with knowledge and sympathy which compelled the admiration of a reluctant House, but had no effect on its votes. Windham also fully sustained his established renown as an orator in discussing military organization and

[1] *Court and Cabinets of George III.*

questions of general policy. In the higher qualities of eloquence, in wit, fancy, power of argument, lofty sentiment and good taste, he far excelled the brilliant but sophistical rhetoric of Canning. Some of the speeches, indeed, which he delivered in the closing years of his life appeal to the modern reader as more nearly approaching perfect specimens of Parliamentary oratory than those spoken by any contemporary statesman, however powerful in debate, during the same period. But though distinguished members of the Opposition in the House of Commons maintained or enhanced their reputation, party discipline vanished. The rank and file voted or abstained from voting as "inclination lawed," and argument availed nothing against an overwhelming majority. The death of Earl Grey towards the end of 1807, by removing Lord Howick to the House of Lords, did not improve the situation. The appointment of George Ponsonby, leader of the Irish Whigs, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the Coalition Ministry, and uncle of Lady Grey, to the vacant post, seemed to Thomas Grenville to be that which offered most advantages and fewest drawbacks. Ponsonby had won reputation in the Irish Parliament, but was almost unknown in that of Westminster. Lord Grenville, however, demurred, influenced probably by lingering distrust of an old foe of the Marquis of Buckingham. They had not, he objected, sufficient personal knowledge of Ponsonby and his opinions to commit themselves hastily to such a hazardous experiment. Better, he thought, let things drift in the House of Commons until further experience should direct their choice. But his brothers thought any leadership which promised to restore something of order and cohesion in the ranks of their party preferable to Mr. Whitbread and anarchy. The Duke of Bedford provided Ponsonby with a seat. Lord Grey approved of the choice, and Lord Grenville gave way. But English members of the House of Commons did not welcome the control of a stranger from Ireland; and Ponsonby lacked the force of character which might have made the experiment a success.

Lord Grenville's reluctance to weaken the authority of a Cabinet which he despised, but saw no prospect of ejecting from office, sprang no doubt in great measure from his deep sense of the dangers to which the British monarchy was now exposed. Its mortal foe, Napoleon, had reached the summit of power and renown. Nearly all Europe was his vassal. Even the Emperor of Austria, who for twenty-five years had maintained friendly relations with George III, on his renewed offer to mediate between France and Great Britain being rejected by the British Cabinet, found it necessary to recall Prince Stahremberg from London, to send passports to Sir Robert Adair at Vienna, and to shut his ports in the Adriatic against British commerce. In the French Empire, Napoleon's authority became more absolute every day. The Conservative Senate intended by Sièyes, the legislator of the French

Revolution, to be the guardian of a constitution so scientifically framed that liberty and order should work in harmonious co-operation, Napoleon perverted into a servile instrument of despotism. One Senatorial decree abolished the Tribunate, and with it the right of testing the Acts of Government by public discussion and criticism. Another, under the guise of raising the character and efficiency, greatly restricted the independence, of the French judicature. All open opposition to his will had died out. At the same time the condition of France as exhibited in the annual report for 1807 of M. Mollien, the Minister of Finance, had, in spite of wars and exclusion from the seas, risen to a state of extraordinary prosperity under his rule. His victories opened vast markets for her industries, of which his policy spared no effort to secure for her the monopoly. Under the new systems of indirect taxation and gathering in of taxes which he introduced, the annual deficits which had so long been a normal feature of French finance, disappeared; ordinary revenue not only covered ordinary expenditure, but afforded a large surplus for carrying on and developing those great creations of Imperial policy which signalised every year of his reign. The 5 per cent. *Rentes* which had fallen in price below 10 at the time of his return from Egypt, stood at 99 after the conclusion of peace at Tilsit. Contributions from vanquished nations not only defrayed the costs of his various wars, but provided ample means for the endowment of his new Imperial nobility, for permanent provision on a generous scale of pensions and rewards for the veteran warriors who had served him and France so well, and for rebuilding the French navy. The clang of labour already echoing along the Scheldt from the magnificent dock-yards Napoleon had constructed at Antwerp, was a far more worthy cause of patriotic solicitude for a British Ministry than unarmed hulks laid by under the protection of international honour in the silent arsenal of Copenhagen. Finally, the new University of Paris, which a few months later crowned the system of public instruction he had gradually elaborated, brought French education in all its branches under State control. And while France had grown so formidable in power and prosperity at the end of 1807, the conduct of the Portland Ministry had not only inflamed disaffection in Ireland, but left Great Britain without a single ally on the Continent except Gustavus IV of Sweden. Its mode of dealing with this infatuated monarch did not enhance the national reputation for generosity or good faith.

The disposition shown by Gustavus to lend himself to the British design of a hostile occupation of Zealand after the evacuation of Copenhagen by Lord Cathcart, gave grave offence to the Prince Regent of Denmark and to his own brother-in-law and ally, the Emperor of Russia. Towards the end of 1807, Alexander invited Sweden to join Russia and Denmark in a renewal of their old league to defend the neutrality of the Baltic.

This invitation being declined by Gustavus as hostile to England, a Russian army invaded Finland in the following spring. Gustavus attacked the Danes in Norway, and called on the British Government for the aid which he was entitled to demand. They granted him a subsidy of 100,000*l.*; and early in May, Lord Castlereagh sent 12,000 British troops to Gothenberg, under Sir John Moore. But this expedition brought no real help, being despatched only to save appearances. Moore's instructions directed him to land in Sweden, to keep his men in a separate body sufficiently near the coast to be in touch with their transports; and to reserve to himself full liberty to re-embark without delay if ordered elsewhere. To these instructions Gustavus at once demurred, having already had bitter experience at Stralsund of the value of such succour. He did not want British troops in Sweden, he told Moore, but to act against the Danes in Zealand or Norway, or to defend Finland against the Russians. As auxiliaries, they must fight under his own command, and in co-operation with his other forces; and he required a week's or fortnight's notice of an intention to withdraw them from his standard. The British General could only refer these objections for decision to Lord Castlereagh, while his troops lay pent up at anchor before Gothenberg, being refused permission to land. Moore reported, as Mr. Pierrepoint had already done, that the reckless mis-government of their monarch had extinguished all feelings of loyalty among the Swedes, who detested an English alliance as fatal to their national interests. And, being ignorant no doubt of the diplomatic wiles which had been so freely used to enthrall Gustavus, he suggested that the best way out of the present situation was to recall the armament to England. Such open desertion, however, would be in too glaring contradiction with previous solicitations, and flatteries, and pledges, for Lord Castlereagh to venture on it. Gustavus had broken no engagement with a Government which deliberately, for its own purposes, exposed him to peril by practising on his weaknesses, and promising him not only protection but reward. So the War Minister supplied what seemed to him a better way by modifying his original instructions into a strange muddle of contradictory directions which the General could not act upon or even understand. The British troops were not to be sent to Zealand, or Finland; or even to Norway, if in the opinion of their commander it would compromise their safety. The notice of withdrawal required was allowed, and the King's supreme authority was to be acknowledged in Sweden; but the orders he gave were to be referred to England for approval; and in case of sudden emergency the General must exercise his own discretion. Moore's attempt to explain these new instructions seems to have thrown Gustavus into a paroxysm of rage. The General, a straightforward soldier of great merit, chafed by the false position in which he was placed, and anxious no doubt for the health of his troops, also lost

his temper; and threatened to depart at once for England unless his men were allowed to land. As this would be a breach of the new article allowing a week's notice of departure, Gustavus put the British general under arrest for disobedience to the orders of his own Government. After a short detention, Moore escaped in a mean disguise, reached the British transports, and set sail for England without further parley.[1] This proceeding did not please Lord Castlereagh; and still less did the returned Commander's out-spoken criticism of the War Minister's prodigious capacity for blundering. Gustavus, left to his fate, without further pretence of help, was deposed by his subjects in favour of his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, who purchased peace in the following year by ceding Finland to Russia. The discrowned monarch retired to Switzerland, where he lived as Count Glossorp, ignored in his fall by all the world except by that other champion and martyr of "divine right," the Count de Provence, who sent him a letter of condolence. This mark of sympathy had been earned by service recently rendered in characteristic fashion. The course of events in the earlier half of 1807 deprived Provence of his refuge under Russian protection at Mittau; and he went in consequence to take counsel with Gustavus, then in the island of Rügen. Being apparently filled thereby with a spirit of enterprise altogether foreign to his natural disposition, the French prince suddenly took ship for England, sending only at the moment of departure a brief announcement to George III of his approaching visit to London. News of the landing of the Corsican ogre himself could not have so dismayed the British monarch as this unlooked for epistle from his good ally and brother the Most Christian King. Lord Hawkesbury, as Home Secretary, despatched messengers in hot haste to the authorities of the ports on the Eastern coast to board the vessel carrying the illustrious traveller and direct its course to Leith on the Forth, in order that he might enjoy the satisfaction of joining his brother, Count d'Artois, at Holyrood House, with the least possible delay. Provence, however, eluded this mark of attention by landing at once at Yarmouth, and refusing to turn his face northwards. Then Canning took charge of the business in more courteous fashion, sending the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to receive and confer with the unwelcome guest, whom the British Government had recognised as Louis XVIII, King of France. But before the Under-Secretary reached Yarmouth, the Marquis of Buckingham had placed at the service of the French prince Gosfield Hall, in Essex, where he was allowed to remain; the distance from the capital being sufficiently remote to allay the inhospitable alarms of the British Court. Ministers do not appear to have relished this "mad prank" of Gustavus being played off on themselves.[2]

[1] See Fortescue's *History of the British Army*.

[2] Count de Provence had long sought, in vain, permission to reside in England. See correspondence printed in the Appendix of this Volume, p. 443.

But Napoleon, instead of bringing all the advantages he derived from his victories, increased resources, and the faults of the British Government in concentrated effort as "Liberator of the Seas in the interests of Europe," against his sole remaining foe, plunged into new conflicts of a character which not only dwarfed that foe's misdeeds into comparative insignificance, but enabled her to win immortal renown as leading champion of human rights against an all-embracing tyranny. The sobering effect of the check his arms sustained at Eylau, vanished in the triumphs of Friedland and Tilsit; and dreams of military invincibility and world-wide empire resumed their sway over his mind. Because Pope Pius VII refused to descend at his bidding from the position of independent neutrality proper to his sovereignty to that of mere tool of Imperial policy, he annexed his dominions, assailed his spiritual authority, deprived him of personal freedom, and held him for years as a prisoner of State under very harsh conditions. He thus cast away the support of religious sentiment which had hitherto been a main prop of his own power. The effect thus produced being chiefly moral, was gradual in operation, gathering force from time and the increasing rigour of tyrannical violence. As to the result in France itself, we have his own avowal. Discussing after his return from Elba with a friend of his early days, who had come to serve him in adversity, the chilling attitude of the French people towards him, notwithstanding his late triumphal progress to the capital, they agreed in attributing it mainly to his treatment of the Pope, which "had turned against him half of the men and all the women of France."[1] His attempt to conquer Spain was a still more disastrous blunder. The cause of Spain appealed to the sympathies of men of all creeds; the resistance being prompt and vigorous, aroused instant attention; it broke the spell of invincibility which held the Continent in awe, and shattered his Continental system; and combining, as Napoleon's proceeding did, with fraud and violence, base dissimulation and treachery, it incurred such general odium as scared even Talleyrand, the callous sceptic who had advised it, into a show of virtuous disapproval. No doubt Napoleon had strong ground of complaint against the Spanish Government. Godoy's proclamation in the autumn of 1807 calling the Spanish people to arms, was a stab in the back, which might well have proved, what it was certainly intended to be, mortal. When authentic news of it reached him on the morning after his victory at Jena, he, as we are told by an eye-witness, "grew white with anger."[2] And although he found it expedient to dissemble his resentment at the moment, political prudence forbad him to forget the offence. Had he therefore after making peace at Tilsit provided for his own future security by ridding Spain, even by force of arms. of a Government which ruined and

[1] *Memoirs of Count Mio de Melito.* [2] *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier.

degraded her, that kingdom would have had little reason to complain. An opportunity offered, however, in the revolution of spring, 1808, which hurled Godoy from power, deposed Charles IV, and raised his son Ferdinand to the Spanish throne, of accomplishing peaceably both of the objects which he professed to have equally at heart in relation to Spain. While acceding to Ferdinand's appeals to him to recognize this change, which had the sanction of national opinion, and to give him a princess of the Bonaparte family in marriage, Napoleon could have imposed conditions which might have secured France against future invasion on her southern frontier, and established a better system of government in the Peninsula. This at least would have been a more feasible method of binding the two countries in durable alliance by a new "family compact." But the course which he pursued of a perfidious treaty with Godoy, under cover of which a French army was poured into Spain to seize possession of its unguarded fortresses and its capital, and over-awe the nation while the more shameful scenes of a historical drama were enacting at Bayonne, must have kindled a spirit of resistance in any people not content to be slaves. Tame submission to wrong was not the temper of the Spaniard. Napoleon's triumphs in Germany and Italy, where national sentiment was weak and divided against itself, and where the organised force at the command of Government once beaten decisively, resistance to an enemy collapsed, led him into a fatal error in dealing with Spain, against which a well-known saying on the subject of his ablest predecessor on the French throne, Louis XIV, might have warned him. Though still ranking among the great powers of Europe, and possessing undiminished the richest colonial empire in the world, Spain was now weaker in military or naval force than Sweden or Denmark. The deteriorating influences of incompetent, corrupt, and arbitrary rule which had operated with little intermission since the death of Philip II, turning a race of nobles renowned for chivalrous enterprise and heroic exploits into sauntering courtiers, and busy turbulent cities into magnificent solitudes, reached a climax under the long and disgraceful ascendancy of Godoy. All of the navy that survived Trafalgar was allowed to fall into disrepair. The army, once the terror and admiration of the world, had sunk so low in strength and efficiency, that in the plans shaped for Lord Grenville by his military adviser, Sir Arthur Wellesley, some 20,000 British troops sufficed to conquer and hold all Spanish America. The main cause of this degeneracy was not any dearth of admirable material from which to recruit the ranks, but want of officers capable of training and leading men, and want of money to equip and pay them. Under Godoy, all the military colleges but one had been closed; and the tributes from American mines, on which a discredited Government depended mainly for funds, were cut off or carried off by British cruisers. Nevertheless, though apparently without means of repelling invasion, no

country of Europe, from the conformation of the land and the qualities of the people, was so difficult to conquer as Spain. It had never known systematic or continuous oppression. The Moslem yoke had been light and precarious throughout the greater part of the peninsula, calling the energies of those subject to it into perpetual action to cast it off. A crusade of five centuries, which united all classes of Christians in a long struggle for faith and freedom, saved peasant and citizen from the feudal bondage which prevailed throughout the rest of Western Europe. And no Spanish Government, even in the worst of times, ventured to alienate the support of a brave, hardy, and patriotic population, by any systematic violation of the anicent laws and customs by which habits of personal freedom were cherished and preserved. Even the imbecile Charles IV, the puppet of a profligate Queen and her worthless favourite, was personally liked. His eldest son, Ferdinand, although hardly more worthy, was extremely popular; the Bourbon dynasty itself was cherished as the nation's own choice, representing a victorious struggle against the armed dictation of Austria, England and Holland. And thus a country intersected by steep mountain ranges and unproductive wastes, was occupied by the proudest, most temperate and loyal peasantry in Europe, able by extraordinary aptitude for guerilla warfare to make, in case of invasion, every steep defile a death-trap for the enemy, and every barren fastness a stronghold of national independence. It resented the perfidious wiles by which its young monarch was trapped and held captive as a mortal injury; and the despatch of Joseph Bonaparte to rule over it, in virtue of a sham election at Bayonne, as an intolerable insult; and every province not held by a French garrison in overwhelming force, sprang to arms at the call of local juntas to repel a foreign yoke.

Unfortunately, a monarchy prolific beyond example during the whole of the 16th century in great statesmen and soldiers, did not produce in this supreme emergency a single individual of sufficient eminence in war or civil life to take the lead in a struggle for national existence. Public enthusiasm contributed liberally men, money and necessary supplies. Deeds of heroic valour proclaimed the countrymen of the Cid. But generals were too often ignorant of war, and too jealous of each other to co-operate; and prominent civilians, immersed in local interests and provincial rivalries, seemed incapable of rising into any higher sphere of statesmanship. On the other hand, Napoleon, having left the bulk of his grand army to occupy Prussia until the war indemnity had been paid, and expecting little resistance, sent raw troops to take possession of Spain. These, led by experienced officers, easily defeated untrained peasants in the open field. But they were repelled with great slaughter from walled towns, such as Saragossa, Valencia, and Gerona; and on July 29, 1808, one body of 17,000 under General Dupont, being surrounded at Baylen, surrendered

to the Spanish General Castanos. When news of this disaster reached Madrid, Joseph Bonaparte, who had entered that city on the day when it occurred, and been proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, fled in panic from the capital, carrying with him the Crown jewels. The French troops scattered throughout the provinces, pressed hard by fiercer assaults, retired behind the Ebro. The French Mediterranean fleet, besieged in the harbour of Cadiz by Lord Collingwood, was forced by the citizens to surrender. And in September a Central Junta, composed of delegates from the provincial juntas, met at Aranjuez to govern Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII.

The national rising in Spain and the astonishing success that crowned its first efforts against the French, created an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe. England responded with enthusiasm to Spanish appeals for help. In the House of Commons, Sheridan, seconded by Whitbread, gave voice nobly to popular sympathy ; and Canning replied in a generous spirit, which raised the foreign policy of the monarchy to a worthier level. All that was great within him responded to the call, and rose to the height of a great opportunity. Throughout Germany the shock was electrical. It inspired a movement for national emancipation, which took form in the secret association of the Tugenbund. In Prussia the patriotic Ministers, Stein and Scharnhorst, secretly took counsel with Gneisenau, a soldier of organizing genius, how best to retrieve the late disasters of the monarchy. In Austria, the Emperor and Count Stadion urged forward with renewed hope the re-organization of the military forces of the empire, on which Archduke Charles had been steadily at work since the peace of Presburg. And the Governments of both countries made secret overtures at St. Petersburg for the formation of another coalition against the grinding domination of Napoleon.[1]

The first army despatched by the British Government to the Peninsula was in aid of Portugal, an old ally. After the secret treaty of Fontainebleau for a partition of that kingdom, concluded by Napoleon and Godoy in October, 1807, General Junot, with a small French force, had advanced by forced marches on Lisbon, hoping to capture the Portuguese fleet in the Tagus. The Prince Regent, however, without attempting resistance, embarked on it with his whole Court for Brazil, leaving his capital to the enemy. At the same time, a body of Spaniards took possession of the northern provinces of Portugal for the King of Spain's daughter, lately Queen of Etruria. When Napoleon's designs revealed themselves more fully in the following spring, the Spaniards withdrew to defend their own country ; and a Council of Regency formed at Oporto, with the Bishop as President, raised troops, and appealed to the British Government for help. Lord Castlereagh, instigated by General Miranda, had assembled a military force in the south of Ireland under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for another expedition

[1] Fournier—*Life of Napoleon.*

against the Spanish colonies in South America; and these, reinforced from England, were despatched to help the Portuguese. General Moore's unexpected return about the same time from Sweden with 12,000 men, and events in Spain, led the British Government to enlarge its plans and to send Moore's army also to stiffen the general insurrection against the French. But here a hitch occurred which had important consequences. Moore's undisguised contempt for Lord Castlereagh and his instructions involved him in a violent quarrel with that Minister. As his distinguished career had not only made him the pride of the British army, but gained him the favour of the King, Castlereagh did not venture to remove him from his command; but he virtually superseded him, by ordering two generals, senior to him in service, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, to join the British forces in Portugal.

Meantime Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay, and being joined by 6,000 British troops from Gibraltar, under General Spencer, and about 2,000 Portuguese, advanced to Vimieiro, where Junot attacked him. The French, much inferior in numbers, though stronger in cavalry, were repulsed with considerable loss at all points. The almost simultaneous arrival of Dalrymple and Burrard to assume the chief command, deprived Wellesley of an opportunity to improve his victory; but the Convention of Cintra, signed by the three generals with Junot, closed the campaign by delivering Portugal from the French. Moore did not reach the scene of hostilities in time to take part in the negotiation. News of the convention excited an explosion of public wrath in England, which can only be explained by the exaggerated expectations raised by accounts published in the official press at this time of every success of the British arms. Victories such as those of Maida and Vimieiro, undoubtedly glorious when modestly described, figured in the narratives of inflated patriotism as not inferior in importance to those of Jena and Friedland; and inadequate results of what had been pictured on authority as crushing defeat caused keen disappointment. In this case, facts brought to light by the Military Commission of Enquiry, which the Cabinet appointed in order to divert the storm of popular indignation from themselves, do not appear to have justified it. The almost bloodless expulsion of the French from Portugal, leaving that kingdom as a safe base for British operations in the Spanish peninsula, together with the surrender of the Russian warships in the Tagus to Admiral Cotton, was an advantage of the highest value which the convention secured. What seems to have been chiefly blameworthy in the transaction was the contemptuous treatment of the Portuguese Government and army by British generals, in assuming the sole right of concluding a treaty which concerned Portugal; and their permitting Junot and his officers to carry away from Lisbon an immense

quantity of public plunder as personal baggage. The proceedings in London, which the incriminated generals were summoned home to attend, seem for a time to have paralysed British action in the Peninsula.

Napoleon had returned to Paris from Bayonne in the belief that any serious opposition to his brother in Spain had been effectually quelled by Prince Murat's bloody repression of an insurrection at Madrid. The general uprising of the Spaniards and their successful resistance in the provinces were events as unexpected by him as they were unwelcome. It was too late to abandon an enterprise of which he had already incurred the infamy, and which, even from a Machiavellian point of view, could only be excused by success. He still believed that Spain could be subjugated by his arms as completely as Austria or Prussia had been, in one campaign. But to accomplish this he must withdraw his veteran troops from Germany, and thus incur the risk of having to face a second national insurrection in the North. The Austrian Emperor, he had reason to know, notwithstanding Count Metternich's pacific language in Paris, was arming to throw off an ascendancy which constant slights and menaces made more irksome every day. Prussia, groaning under the hard conditions imposed on her at Tilsit, was only held down by fear. And Napoleon's relations with Alexander had sensibly cooled. The Czar, in his invasion of Finland, stubbornly resisted by the Swedes, had received no support from the French troops in North Germany. Neither had Napoleon, who feared to drive Turkey into an alliance with Great Britain to the detriment of French commerce in the Mediterranean, shown any disposition to further Alexander's cherished designs on the Danubian Principalities. The consequence was that the enthusiastic friendship of Tilsit was rapidly on the wane, when reverses in the Peninsula made it of urgent necessity for Napoleon.

Then again, the prospect of a new war for the object of seating Joseph Bonaparte on another Bourbon throne, had already seriously impaired the French ruler's popularity at home. Up to this time he had succeeded in identifying in public opinion his own power and glory with the safety and the greatness of France. In his proceedings since the peace of Tilsit, and particularly in those affecting Spain, Frenchmen of all classes began to discern an insatiable lust of personal aggrandisement; the sacrifice of national welfare to selfish ambition. The population at large had counted on the termination of the late Continental war for relief from the grievous drain on it by conscriptions, levied two years in advance. The trading community saw one of its best markets closed against it. The army, which, especially in its upper ranks, had looked forward to enjoying the fruits of its toils and victories during a long period of glorious repose, entered with profound discontent upon a conflict to impose a Bonaparte

dynasty on an unwilling people with which France had no quarrel. Even confidential Ministers and Councillors of State, such as Talleyrand and Fouché, wary politicians, steeped in all the demoralising experiences of the Revolution, who from merely selfish motives had attached themselves to the fortunes of Napoleon, and had already gained all they could hope for by the establishment of the Empire, seeing the dangerous courses into which boundless ambition lured him, began to waver in their fidelity, to pose as patriotic statesmen solicitous for the welfare of France, and even to intrigue against him. This Spanish difficulty "was a nettle which pricked on every side," which must be grasped at once and crushed with a mailed hand. His first care, therefore, was to obtain a free hand for the operation. In September he signed a treaty with Prince William of Prussia, who had come to Paris to seek some alleviation of the burdens which oppressed his country, to evacuate that kingdom with the exception of three fortresses on the Oder, and to remit twenty million francs of the indemnity, on condition that the Prussian army should be limited to 42,000 men.[1] Then, taking Prince Talleyrand with him, he went to Erfurt for another meeting with the Emperor of Russia. The personal intercourse of the two sovereigns at Erfurt was by no means so unruffled as it had been at Tilsit. Each had a specific object to gain, which the other was reluctant to concede. Alexander wanted the Danubian Principalities; Napoleon wanted to bind Russia in an alliance offensive and defensive against Austria. As a result of their conferences, Napoleon guaranteed the possession of Finland to Russia; and, influenced to some degree by the recent deposition of the Turkish Sultan Selim for innovating on Moslem custom under the sway of French ideas, he consented to a Russian annexation of Wallachia and Moldavia. Alexander recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain; and, Napoleon having received a letter from the Emperor Francis pledging himself to discontinue military preparations and to maintain peace, agreed to join France against Austria if the latter power began hostilities. In regard to Prussia, the treaty concluded at Paris was confirmed, and Napoleon remitted another twenty millions of francs from the amount due for ransom, thus reducing the sum total of the imposition to 120,000,000 of francs. In return he exacted from King Frederick William the dismissal of his able and patriotic minister, M. Stein. These arrangements enabled Napoleon to pour the bulk of his veteran troops into Spain, while leaving 60,000 men in garrison on the Elbe, and 30,000 in South Germany to keep watch on Austria. Both Emperors wrote in identical terms to George III, offering to treat for peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, accepted by the British Government in 1806. And Napoleon employed Prince de Talleyrand to sound Alexander in regard to a marriage with the Czar's

[1] Thiers—*Consulate and Empire.* Fournier—*Life of Napoleon.*

sister, in the event already contemplated of his obtaining a divorce from the Empress Josephine. Alexander put off discussing this subject, on the ground that the consent of the Empress-Mother must first be obtained, and it was allowed to drop. But in the course of intimate conversations in the *salon* of the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, which both frequented, Talleyrand came to a personal understanding with the Russian autocrat which boded ill for the interests of his master. For, although the sovereigns parted with every demonstration of cordial friendship, Alexander now thoroughly distrusted Napoleon, and sought only in Continental affairs to turn the needs of his ally to his own profit.[1] Being anxious to keep Napoleon engaged in Spain while he conqureed the Principalities, he had advised the German monarchs, who secretly applied to him for help, that the time was not yet ripe for joint action. After the breaking up of the conference at Erfurt, in order to avert Austrian interference with his project of despoiling Turkey, he, notwithstanding his recent engagement to Napoleon, pledged himself secretly to the Emperor Francis to take no active part in hostilities against him, even should he declare war against France. Canning, in a reply addressed to the French and Russian Ministers for Foreign Affairs, accepted the proposal made by the Emperors to George III, on the understanding that the King's allies, Gustavus IV of Sweden and Ferdinand VII of Spain, should be represented in the negotiation. No objection was taken to Gustavus, who had not yet been dethroned; but as the Emperors would only acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, Canning, on the part of his sovereign, rejected their offer to treat in a second despatch written, as was too much his manner, in a tone of needless acrimony. Having, as he hoped, taken effectual precautions against any immediate danger from Germany, Napoleon left Erfurt on October 11, 1808, and reached Bayonne on November 3.

In Spain, the spirit of patriotic enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which animated the mass of the popualtion remained unabated; but want of administrative ability in the Government, and of capable military leaders prevented the respite of three months allowed for preparation and energetic attack since the surrender of General Dupont, and the general retreat of the French behind the Ebro, from being turned to good account. Much valuable time was wasted in the petty strife of provincial jealousies and personal pretensions, notwithstanding the counsel and encouragement afforded by Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Frere, whom Canning sent to represent Great Britain at Aranjuez and arrange for a co-operation of British troops from Portugal. In October three Spanish armies, commanded by Generals Castanos, Blake, and Palafox, badly trained and equipped and not exceeding altogether 100,000 men, took the field against the

[1] Fournier—*Life of Napoleon.*

French, under the nominal direction of an incapable War Council, but had made little progress when Napoleon appeared on the scene. By a masterly plan of campaign, carried out with all the vigour he was wont to infuse into military operations, the political situation in Spain was changed as if by magic. In less than a fortnight, November 10 to 23, two of the Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed, and the third, under Palafox, only escaped the same fate by a rapid retreat across the Ebro. Then forcing his way by a memorable charge of his Polish lancers over what the Spaniards fondly believed to be the impregnable pass of Somo Sierra, he entered Madrid on December 4 as a conqueror. The Spanish nation, he announced in a proclamation, might still if it chose enjoy constitutional government under his brother Joseph. If it refused, he would place the crown on his own head and rule it by the sword. The Junta, though forced to flee from Aranjuez to Seville, set him at defiance, and proclaimed a system of guerilla warfare throughout the Peninsula. "A whole people," it retorted with patriotic presage, "is more powerful than disciplined armies."

The English War Office seems to have been almost as dilatory in forming its plans for the expulsion of the French from Spain as the War Council at Aranjuez. Sir Harry Burrard, in virtue of seniority, commanded the British troops in Portugal; but Sir John Moore, second in command, was in general estimation the most capable officer then in the British service to lead an army in the field. Moore had, however, powerful enemies in the Cabinet. Lord Castlereagh he had derided and defied. And Canning exclaimed against the absurdity of despatching an officer to act as Commander-in-Chief upon instructions from which he dissented. For Moore's views in regard to the probable success of a campaign against the French in Spain, as arranged in London, were far from hopeful. Objections to him, however, were over-ruled; and Castlereagh, at all events, appears to have accepted the decision with a good grace. Moore's instructions were to lead 21,000 men into Spain, 10,000 remaining with Burrard for the defence of Portugal; and when joined by 12,000 more under Sir David Baird sent by the British Government to Corunna, to co-operate against the French with the Spanish army of General Castanos. He did not, however, assume the command till October 8; and as no preparation had been made for the proper equipment of the expedition, his troops did not all leave Lisbon till the end of that month. Further delay occurred when he crossed the Spanish frontier, in consequence of the difficulty he found in obtaining trustworthy information. Pursuing the direct road to Salamanca, at the head of his infantry, he reached that city on November 13; but misled by exaggerated accounts of the difficulties of the way, he had sent General Hope with his guns and cavalry by a circuitous route to the same destination, and Hope did not rejoin him

till December 4. In the meantime, news reached him at Salamanca on November 28 of the total defeat of Castanos at Tudela. He therefore resolved to return to Portugal on the arrival of Hope; and he wrote to Baird, who had now reached Astorga, to retrace his steps to Corunna, and re-embark his troops for Lisbon. But his army, officers and men, murmured loudly against this decision; an announcement reached him of the determination of the Spaniards to defend Madrid against Napoleon; and messages from Mr. Frere at Aranjuez summoned him to advance against the French. So, having countermanded his orders to Baird, he moved northwards from Salamanca on December 13, was joined by Baird, reached Sahagan on the 21st, and was about to fall upon a French force under Marshal Soult, which seemed to invite attack, when an intercepted French despatch completely altered his purpose. Napoleon, having received intelligence at Madrid of the British General's march northwards, sent orders to Soult to draw him on as far as possible into the interior of the country, and himself led 40,000 troops over the snow-clad chain of the Guadaramas into Old Castile, to take him in the rear. It was a marvellous expedition in frightful weather over rugged passes and boiling torrents; but when the French under his immediate command reached Astorga, it was to find that Moore, retreating with head-long speed to Gallicia, had already passed through Astorga, and thus escaped the trap laid for him. Here also, letters found Napoleon which compelled him to return at once to Paris, without accomplishing his purpose of first subjugating Spain and Portugal. He left 16,000 of his men with Soult, who took over the command. Moore was now joined by the Spanish army of the Marquis de la Romana, which had been carried back from North Germany in British ships of war to defend the national cause. But his own troops broke up under the fatigues and hardships of the retreat into a mob of licentious marauders, which committed the most revolting excesses. In the words of their commander, their conduct was "infamous beyond belief." It was only by an urgent summons to face the enemy that he could rally them for brief intervals and reform their ranks. Valour in battle was, in fact, the only military virtue they displayed; and for this Soult showed no eagerness to give them opportunities. They reached Corunna in miserable plight on January 12, and began to embark in transports on the 16th. Then Soult attacked them, and was repulsed at all points. Moore was killed in the action; Baird was severely wounded; Hope took charge of the embarkation on the 17th, and brought off the survivors to England. They buried Moore by torch-light on the ramparts of the town, where Marquis de la Romana afterwards raised a monument to his memory. The losses of this campaign in men, guns, and military stores of all kinds were enormous; and the consequent discouragement was

so great in England that the war in Spain became unpopular. Canning however had signed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish Government in this same month of January, 1809, two days before the battle of Corunna.

It cannot be said that the attitude in opposition of the leading members of the late Coalition Cabinet towards the Peninsular war entitles them to credit for enlightened views or political sagacity. It is difficult to understand how Whig statesmen, bred and nourished on the traditions of English freedom, failed so completely to discern in the spirit which animated the Spaniards and was spreading rapidly in Germany, the force that would prove most effective in shattering to pieces the colossal despotism of Napoleon. Lord Holland, indeed, whose travels in Spain had given him insight into the character of the people, embraced their cause with enthusiasm, and went out again from England to encourage and help them. The sympathetic and hopeful accounts contained in his letters from the Peninsula[1] contrast strangely with the pessimistic views of the old friends and colleagues for whose information they were written. Lord Grey seems at first to have shared Holland's feelings and hopes; but the disasters of Moore's retreat quenched them for him till the battle of Salamanca in 1812 opened new prospects of success. On the other hand Lord Grenville regarded the Spanish policy of the Government from the first with a cold disapproval, which deepened every day. He had, unfortunately, as Prime Minister, fallen back, under discouraging circumstances, into the selfish, short-sighted, and ineffective war policy of Dundas during the earlier years of Pitt's conflict with the French Revolution, a policy which Sheridan now described as "filching sugar islands"; and to it he adhered with strange obstinacy to the end. This brought him into avowed antagonism with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, old personal friends whose political opinions had hitherto been in general agreement with his own; and provoked discord and almost revolt in his own party. George Ponsonby now led it in the House of Commons, as organ of the views of Lords Grenville and Grey, who acted in complete accord. In a speech delivered during the session of 1809, censuring the treaty concluded with the Spanish Junta, Ponsonby permitted himself to indulge in illiberal and prejudiced strictures on the Spanish character, for which he received severe castigation from Canning, with the undisguised approval of a large and distinguished section of his own nominal following.[2] The gloomy forebodings of the Grenvillites are most clearly revealed in the numerous letters of Lord Auckland, published in this volume. These letters are interesting in other respects, not as expressions of generous sentiment or far-sighted statesmanship, but because Auckland's earlier associations and family

[1] Lord Holland to Earl Grey, April 27, 1809.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1809.

alliances placed him in intimate social contact with some of the Tory leaders ; and he used the confidential information thus obtained from official sources, to throw light for Lord Grenville's benefit on the political situation. So far however as they deal with affairs in Spain, they are a series of jeremiads. Every success reported from the Peninsula is a false gleam luring a British army to disaster and disgrace ; every reverse a deeper plunge into a vortex of inevitable destruction.

In the Session of 1808, during the debates on the Catholic petition presented by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons and by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, a secret negotiation came to light, after ten years of silence and apparent oblivion, which caused extraordinary commotion in Ireland, and seriously affected for a time Lord Grenville's relations with the Catholics of that country. When Pitt in 1795 obtained the sanction of Parliament to a grant for educating Irish priests in the College of Maynooth, he intended it as the initial step in a larger project of paying the Roman Catholic clergy on conditions which should bring them under the control of the secular power. What he chiefly aimed at seems to have been that Government should have a voice in the selection of Catholic bishops. Mr. Pelham, then Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle, broached the subject to Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, a zealous upholder of English connexion in opposition to the revolutionary policy of the United Ireland Society. Dr. Troy thought that the Pope might be induced to allow Government to exercise not a *positive* but a *negative* authority in filling vacant Sees. By existing practice, the parish-priests of the diocese chose three candidates to fill a vacancy, whose names were forwarded in order of merit to Rome for the guidance of the Pope, in whom the right of appointing lay ; and the Archbishop thought that, in case of payment by the State, Government might be permitted to reject for secular reasons any of these candidates before the list was transmitted to the Holy See. But a Council of Bishops to which he referred the project declined, with his own concurrence, to entertain it, fearing it might be prejudicial in its operation to the character and the spiritual influence of the Catholic episcopate. In 1799, during the reign of terror that preceded the passing of the Act of Union, Lord Castlereagh, Pelham's successor, revived the subject. He told Dr. Troy that the conduct of some Irish priests during the recent rebellion had raised doubts in the mind of Government in regard to the loyalty of the whole body of the Catholic clergy ; and that therefore Government wished to secure their allegiance by paying them and exercising a *veto* on the selection of their bishops. The Archbishop, greatly troubled by this language of the Chief Secretary, laid the matter before the three other Archbishops and six bishops who, with himself, formed the governing council of Maynooth College. These

prelates, more or less in touch *ex officio* with the Castle authorities, and swayed no doubt by the hopes and fears of the time, resolved unanimously that the arrangement desired by Government ought, if sanctioned by the Pope, to be thankfully accepted by the Catholic Church in Ireland.[1] There the matter rested, a secret of State unknown, so far as appears, to the general body of the bishops and clergy concerned, until 1808. Early in that year Napoleon had taken forcible possession of Rome. Grattan, who presented the Catholic petition in the House of Commons, wishing probably to calm Protestant fears lest the French ruler might now use the Pope's authority to inflame disaffection in Ireland, announced that as a safeguard against possible danger of this kind Government would be allowed a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops. At this time the Catholics of Great Britain, numbering about 200,000, were governed in ecclesiastical affairs by Vicars-Apostolic, the most eminent of whom, Bishop Milner, of the Midland District, resided at Wolverhampton. He was a man of unusual ability, learning, and religious fervour; but of an ardent, indeed combative temper, which sometimes led him into indiscretions, particularly in letters thrown off in the heat of controversy. The Irish Catholic Bishops had made him their agent in England for transactions with the British Government. In this capacity he seems to have acquired a knowledge of Archbishop Troy's secret negotiations at Dublin Castle before the Union; and being a frequent visitor at Stowe, he, at Lord Buckingham's request, had used whatever influence he could exert in Ireland in 1807 to stop the petition which so vexed the Coalition Ministry. Grattan's statement in regard to a *veto* having caused considerable sensation in the House of Commons, Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Grenville asked Dr. Milner if he could confirm it. Milner replied that he had not been in communication with the Irish bishops on the subject; but very imprudently, though in good faith, authorised both statesmen in writing to accept the decision of the Maynooth Council in 1799 as expressing the view of the whole Irish episcopate in 1809.[2] Ponsonby, when pressed for information in subsequent debate, quoted Milner's letter; and then, carried away apparently by eagerness to improve the favourable impression thus created, went on to say that this concession would make the King as much head of the Catholic Church in Ireland as he had always been of the established Protestant Church. These ill-judged and unauthorised words which Mr. Ponsonby seems to have forgotten when they had been uttered, excited an extraordinary ferment among the Irish Catholics, already exasperated by the policy of an

[1] *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation* by Monsignor Ward.
[2] Dr. Milner to Lord Grenville, May 26, 1808.

Administration which gave them Coercion Acts as a remedy for grievances, and took its views of "just and enlightened toleration" from Dr. Duigenan. They read in them the surrender to an implacable enemy of the religious independence for which they and their forefathers had fought and suffered during two centuries and a half, by the same body of prelates who had allowed themselves to be beguiled by Lord Castlereagh into aiding him to carry the Act of Union. For, had Irish Catholics been willing to accept Henry VIII or any of his successors as head of their Church, they might have avoided confiscations and plantations, exile and penal laws, all the tragic incidents of a miserable history. Popular indignation vented itself against Dr. Milner, who was publicly burned in effigy. In autumn 1808 the whole of the Catholic episcopate, numbering with suffragans about 30, assembled in Council to consider the situation, and unanimously resolved that the grant of a *veto* to the Crown would be inexpedient. Dr. Milner had gone to Ireland to face the storm, which, as well as this resolution of the Council of Bishops, seems to have taken him by surprise. A very short personal experience of the state of religious feeling convinced him that the decision announced in 1799 to Lord Castlereagh was in direct conflict with it, and could not be carried out. And having acceded to a request from the bishops that he should continue to act as their agent in England, he gave public expression to this change of view. Unfortunately also in a hasty letter to an Irish newspaper, he threw the blame of the late commotion on the exaggerated language of "our orators." The censure was, no doubt, aimed at the unguarded language of Mr. Ponsonby, who, oblivious of his own oratorical comment in the House of Commons which had mainly stirred up Irish wrath, quoted Milner's written words as justifying himself, and convicting the Bishop of bad faith. Lord Grenville, another "orator," had adhered strictly to the text. And friends of both statesmen denounced the Vicar-Apostolic as an unprincipled time-server, with whom no honorable man could safely hold parley.[1] Dr. Milner's own explanation of his change of view in a letter to Sir J. Hippesley, is also printed in this volume.[2] Independently, however, of personal vituperation, the decision of the Irish bishops retarded the progress of the Catholic cause in England. Influential friends of religious toleration who had been parties to Pitt's Irish policy, regarded the concessions approved by the Maynooth Council as most important for the security of the Established Church in Ireland. The English Catholics with whom they were in habit of communication, as the eminent lawyer Charles Butler, seem to have favoured State control. And Sir J. Hippesley, a staunch friend of Catholic emancipation,

[1] Sir J. Newport to Lord Grenville, October 20, 1808; Lord Grenville to George Ponsonby, November 3, 1808; Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, November 8, 1808.

[2] Dr. Milner to Sir J. C. Hippesley, M.P., October 28, 1809.

who had had opportunities of conferring on the subject with various ecclesiastical authorities at Rome, gave the impression in letters to Lord Grenville that the guarantees desired might be obtained without much difficulty from the Pope. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lord Grenville, who still resented as well as deplored what he considered the irrational violence with which the Irish Catholics had pressed their claims in 1807, should have regarded the ferment of 1808 as an ebullition of the same character, and from his narrowly English stand-point, failed to discern the strength of national sentiment and the historical consistency which it revealed. At the same time, he did recognize that concessions which might be expedient in dealing with a friendly Government might well be refused to a declared enemy. The consequence was that while still firm as ever in opinion for an entire repeal of Catholic disabilities, he declined for a time to take the lead in advocating the measure while absolute freedom from State interference was insisted on. Lord Grey seems at first to have been even more intent on requiring the *veto* as a condition of strenuous support; while the other Whig members of the Coalition Ministry, and especially all those, including Ponsonby himself, who had taken part in the Irish administration of the Duke of Bedford seem to have regarded such a demand as not only impracticable but unnecessary. To this opinion Grenville and Grey gradually became converts.—But in the Session of 1809, when Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore took charge of the Catholic petition, both the Whig leaders absented themselves from the debate on it in the House of Lords; and Mr. Canning took a prominent part in its rejection by the House of Commons.

The intelligence which recalled Napoleon to Paris in the midst of his victorious campaign in Spain was of the gravest character. Prince Eugene Beauharnais, his step-son, wrote to warn him that Talleyrand and Fouché, old flatterers of his ambition, rivals for his favour and declared enemies of each other, were united in factious intrigue against him with members of his own family, the Murats, disappointed in their hopes of the Spanish Crown. This aroused his anger; but a despatch from Count Champagny, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave him serious ground for alarm. The political horizon in the North, which seemed so clear when he left Erfurt, was already dark with war-clouds. At any moment all central Europe might be ablaze. No sooner had he gone to Spain, than the Austrian Emperor, incited by the spirit of revolt from French thraldom in Germany, which appealed to him for help; by the secret promise of Russian neutrality from Alexander; by encouraging reports from Count Metternich, his Ambassador in Paris; resumed his preparations for war, sent Count Walmoden to London to solicit aid, refused to acquiesce in recent French usurpations in Italy and Spain, and threw open Austrian ports to British commerce. Meantime Stein, the Prussian Minister, whom Napoleon had

compelled King Frederick William to dismiss, joined Gentz at Vienna ; and both worked in secret concert with his late colleagues at Berlin to unite the two great German powers in a national struggle for independence. Napoleon reached Paris on January 26th. He reproached Talleyrand before the Council of State with treachery and ingratitude in language of coarse insult, which, though not unmerited, was not likely to be forgiven ; but which answered its purpose of quelling domestic cabal, and allowing him to devote his whole attention to the public situation. The enormous cost of the war in Spain had already disordered his finances and impaired national credit. French *rentes* fell again from 99 to 78. He had only 30,000 French troops in Lower Germany to oppose the onset of the new Imperial army on the organization and equipment of which Archduke Charles had been strenuously employed during three years.[1] And although the Archduke's labours were still incomplete, they enabled him at any moment to place in the field 250,000 excellent troops.[2] Napoleon, by recalling every man that could be spared from Spain, and calling out in advance the conscription for 1810, a most unpopular measure, might raise the French army defending the Confederation of the Rhine from 30,000 to 200,000 ; but the 80,000 conscripts, mere boys of 18 years, would require several months' training to fit them for active service. The Turkish Sultan, Mahmoud, having been abandoned to Russia at Erfurt, made peace with Great Britain in a treaty signed at Constantinople by Sir Robert Adair in January, 1809, a serious blow to French interests in the Mediterranean.[3] And the tone of Canning's reply to Count Champagny, rejecting the overture for peace from Erfurt, announced plainly that the British Government would eagerly embrace every opportunity for the overthrow of their formidable enemy. It was a situation which must tax all the French ruler's genius and good fortune to extricate himself from with advantage ; which an enterprising and capable Government in Great Britain might easily make disastrous for him. Unfortunately for Austria, there was no such Government in England as the crisis demanded ; only a loose bundle of Ministers separated by rivalries and discords, and held together by the frail link of a life that became more precarious every day. During a great part of 1808 the Duke of Portland seems to have been disabled by illness from performing the function allotted to him of presiding in silence over jarring Councils. Canning, very dissatisfied with Lord Castlereagh's management at the War Office, and at his own want of weight in a Cabinet where most of his colleagues followed Eldon and Percival, who, content with the King's special confidence, opposed everything in the shape of change, sought to arouse in the mind of the Premier some sense of responsibility for

[1] *Consulate and Empire*—Thiers. *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier.
[2] William Wickham to Lord Grenville, May 12, 1809.
[3] Sir Robert Adair to the Duke of Bedford, January 6, 1809.

efficieney in military administration. Outside the Cabinet, Lord Wellesley, having been acquitted of the eharges of misgovernment in India brought against him in the House of Commons, was again free to take a leading part in the conduct of publie affairs. Since separating from Lord Grenville he had drawn closer his allianee with Mr. Canning. Both were men of great ambition, who had enjoyed the intimate friendship of Pitt; who of the party now in power most nearly represented Pitt's views and principles, and were best qualified by superior abilities to fill his plaec. Wellesley was the older by ten years, and now in the full lustre of the great reputation he had brought back from India. But he had no political following exeept his brothers, who owed their places in the Ministry to their connexion with himself. Canning, on the contrary, had attracted to himself not only experienced officials sueh as Messrs. Rose and Long, who had enjoyed Pitt's friendship and eonfidence, but younger members of the party, already distinguished or giving promise of high distinction, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, Sturges-Bourne, Huskisson, Monckton Milnes, and Lord Palmerston, who revolted from the narrow bigotry of Eldon and Pereeval. In their views of foreign policy, and partieularly of the advantage of arousing and arming national resistance on the Continent against the domination of Napoleon, Wellesley and Canning were in eomplete accord; and eaeh of them was eager to play a prominent part in the deliverance of Europe. When, therefore, Austria applied for aid towards the close of 1808, Canning urged Portland to transfer the conduct of the war with Franee to the more eompetent hands of Lord Wellesley. And as the Emperor Franeis and George III were still nominally hostile to each other, he, in order to gain time for the change, while profuse in promises of support, postponed any definite engagement on the subject till peace had been signed between the two sovereigns. Portland, according to his habit, listened to Canning's representations with apparent acquieseenee, but did nothing. At the beginning of 1809 the fate of Moore's army in Spain engrossed the attention of the Ministry and the country; and no sooner had the welcome news of its embarkation relieved the intense strain of national anxiety, when Colonel Wardle's charges of corrupt administration against the Duke of York monopolized public attention during two months of the Parliamentary Sessions. Here again Canning found himself in collision with the majority of the Cabinet, who in order to please the King assumed the entire responsibility of defending the Duke, notwithstanding his refusal to place his case in their hands. Pereeval indeed allowed zeal so far to outrun discretion as to insist on the charges being brought openly before the House of Commons in full Committee, in order that the acquittal might be more triumphant. Lords Grenville and Grey held themselves altogether aloof from the inquiry, in the belief that it must prove injurious to the prestige of the Crown; but the

attack was followed up with the utmost vigour by Messrs. Whitbread and Tierney, Sir Francis Bardett and other members of the Radical wing, for the purpose of exposing abuses of personal government then rampant in every branch of the public service. What chiefly damaged the Duke seems to have been disclosures extracted from his own witnesses. In the excitement that followed these revelations Perceval completely lost control of the House ; and though the Duke was acquitted of personal corruption, by a comparatively narrow majority, public opinion compelled him to resign his office of Commander in Chief. In the meantime, preparations for a more strenuous prosecution of the war made little progress. One important point was gained by its advocates. Sir John Moore had expressed the opinion that if the French conquered Spain, an event which now seemed only too probable, Portugal could not be held against them. In the discouragement caused by the failure of his expedition, this view had great weight. Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the contrary, contended in an elaborate memorial that 30,000 British troops, and the same number of Portuguese trained by Marshal Beresford, who had been recently selected by the Portuguese Government to organize and command a national army, would be able to hold their ground against any French force less than 100,000 strong. This opinion, backed by the powerful influence of Lord Wellesley and accepted by Lord Castlereagh, a personal friend of Sir Arthur, prevailed with the Cabinet, which had also sanctioned Canning's treaty with the Spanish Junta ; and Sir Arthur himself, notwithstanding the loud outcries of older generals, was sent to Lisbon with reinforcements to take the chief command. In other respects there was no improvement. The Austrian Government pressed in vain for such immediate financial help as would enable it to take Napoleon at a disadvantage. The German Tugenbund, in secret concert with Scharnhorst and Gneisenau at Berlin, sent Kleist, son of the late Governor of Magdeburg, to London to negotiate for a British expedition to the Elbe in aid of a national insurrection. National aspirations had little meaning for Lord Castlereagh. At length, when April arrived, Canning wrote to Portland declaring his resolution to resign office unless Wellesley was placed at the head of the War Office. The Duke laid this letter before the King, who, we are told, consented to the measure proposed on condition that it was carried out with proper consideration for Lord Castlereagh's feelings, who might be transferred to some other office at the end of the Parliamentary Session. In the meantime secrecy should be observed in regard to it, and the good offices of Castlereagh's relative, Lord Camden, enlisted to prepare him for the change.[1] The King no doubt disliked the proposal. Lord Castlereagh had worked in complete harmony with the Duke of York, and supported

[1] *Life of Spencer Perceval*, by Spencer Walpole.

Mr. Perceval in the Cabinet. Wellesley's autocratic conduct in India, and his bitter complaints of a want of appreciation of his services as Governor-General by the Crown, had given deep offence to his Sovereign, who dreaded the introduction of such a domineering spirit into a submissive Cabinet. Canning acquiesced in the King's views as reported by Portland. This was a concession disastrous not only for himself, but for the policy which Wellesley and he represented. If he really considered the change he desired at the War Office of vital importance to the public interests at that particular crisis in European affairs, he should have pressed it unflinchingly; and a scrupulous regard for fair dealing with a colleague with whom he necessarily worked in confidential intercourse, should not have allowed him to keep that colleague in the dark as to their real relations. But having personal objects of his own in view which depended on the King's good will, he probably shrank from incurring his Sovereign's displeasure by opposition to the Royal wishes. His own explanation of his conduct on this occasion was that he regarded Castlereagh's immediate resignation on other grounds as certain. For the reformers in the House of Commons had been stimulated by the intense popular feeling aroused by the Duke of York's trial, to inquire into alleged malpractices in other departments of the Administration. These investigations brought to light the recent use of corrupt means by Lord Castlereagh to procure the election of an adherent in Ireland; and fraudulent practices on a gigantic scale on the part of officers of Excise in the same country, by which Irish brewers and distillers had been enabled to rob the Government of one million sterling. Mr. Perceval, however, not only excused Lord Castlereagh's lapse into earlier practice as a mere indiscretion, but actually condoned the dishonesty of the tax-collectors on the ground that the salaries paid to them by Government had been inadequate; and the offences being merely Irish matters, which as Sir J. Newport and other reformers complained excited no interest in the House at large, all the culprits escaped censure.

In the beginning of April, 1809, Austria being no longer able to bear the strain of preparation without British help, the Emperor, by advice of Count Stadion, though against the opinion of Archduke Charles, declared war against France. He announced in a Proclamation written by Gentz[1] that he had drawn the sword to deliver Europe "from universal slavery under the personal rule of one who represented the revolutionary system of centralised equality." And for the first time in an eventful reign, all ranks and classes of the various peoples under his rule rallied to his call with enthusiastic support. Archduke Charles, as Commander in Chief, issued a stirring address to his troops in the same exalted vein. "The freedom of Europe," he told them, "has taken refuge under your banners; your victories will

[1] *See* letters from Gentz printed in the Appendix.

loosen its fetters, and your German brothers in the ranks of the enemy long for deliverance."[1] Three Austrian armies took the field: one under Archduke Ferdinand advanced to Warsaw; a second under Archduke John invaded Italy; Archduke Charles at the head of the main body crossed the Inn, and for a time over-ran Bavaria; while the Tyrolese rose in arms and expelled their Bavarian masters. Meantime Napoleon, keeping vigilant watch at Paris, had worked with superhuman energy and resourcefulness to raise the strength of his troops to the standard required by the emergency. The condition attached to Russian aid by Alexander at Erfurt, and the raw condition of a great part of his own levies compelled him to await the enemy's onset. But the Confederation of the Rhine had been warned in time to place its contingents on a war footing; the French army acting with them had been raised to 200,000 men; and he had sent his Chief of the Staff, Prince Berthier, to concentrate the united forces in South Germany in a position tenable against sudden attack. Berthier, however, blundered in this task; and when the French Emperor, travelling day and night without halt, reached Donauworth on April 17th, he found only confusion and dismay. The Austrians, however, had not yet learned the value of time against such an antagonist. The Archduke's movements, however able, were too slow, and disclosed flaws which Napoleon's eagle glance discerned at once. "They are lost," he exclaimed, "we shall be at Vienna in a month." By a series of moves executed with extraordinary celerity and vigour and culminating in the victory of Eggmuhl, he cut off the Austrians from their line of retreat to the Inn, and drove them across the Danube with the loss of 50,000 men and 100 guns. The Archduke hurried back along the left bank of the Danube to defend the capital, only to find it in possession of the French, after a campaign of three weeks. It was Napoleon's *chef-d'œuvre*. He seems to have begun the war with a determination to destroy the Austrian monarchy, or at least to reduce it to the dimensions of a mere German power. At Vienna he invited the Hungarians to declare their independence, and offered to guarantee it. But he had raised up for his own destruction an avenging spirit whose power was as yet unknown to him. The Hungarians rejected his alliance. Meantime Archduke Charles had encamped on the Bisenberg, a hill overlooking Vienna from the opposite side of the Danube; and seeing the very existence of Austria now at stake, recalled Archdukes Ferdinand and John from Warsaw and Italy to defend it. Napoleon, therefore, pressed on to force a passage across the river, and bring the war to a close in a decisive battle. Eight or ten miles below Vienna, opposite the village of Kaiser-Ebersdorff on the right bank of the Danube, two islands lying 800 feet apart, break the current of the river; the larger island, named Lobau, being not far from the left

[1] *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier. *Consulate and Empire*—Thiers.

bank. Having on the night of May 20 thrown bridges across the three channels, Napoleon moved over 35,000 men from Kaiser-Ebersdorff, and occupied the villages of Aspern and Essling on the March-feld, a plain adjacent to the Bisenberg. On the 21st the Austrians descending in force, carried Aspern after a fierce struggle, but failed to dislodge the enemy from Essling. During the following night Napoleon led across 40,000 more French troops, recovered Aspern, broke the Austrian centre by a charge of Cuirassiers led by Marshal Lannes, and seemed on the point of victory when intelligence reached him that fire-ships, boat-loads of stones, trunks of trees, as the various accounts have it, sent down the flooded tide of the Danube by order of the Archduke, had swept away the bridge connecting the islands and thus severed his communications with Kaiser-Ebersdorff, where a large part of his army and artillery, and his whole reserve of ammunition still remained. Alarmed by this news, he held his troops in check; and the Austrians, coming on again with tremendous vigour, beat them back across the plain to the villages, and again took Aspern by storm. The conflict was now of the fiercest, the slaughter terrible on both sides. Never within living memory had an Austrian army fought so well. On the other hand the French fought at a disadvantage. Ammunition failing them, their fire slackened just when the battle became hottest; and they lost many of their best officers, including Marshal Lannes, who exposed themselves recklessly to sustain the courage of their men. By heroic efforts, Marshal Massena held Essling against repeated assaults; and, when evening fell, Napoleon with admirable skill withdrew his whole force across the bridge to Lobau, leaving only three guns as trophies to the enemy. Both sides claimed the victory; but the result, being the first serious check Napoleon had experienced in his German campaigns, completely restored the hopes of the Emperor Francis and Count Stadion. The disproportionate loss in French officers also taught Napoleon that he could no longer rely as heretofore on the superior steadiness of his soldiers, a large proportion of them being young recruits. Having carefully fortified Lobau, and restored his communications, he returned to the right bank of the Danube, and laboured during the following seven weeks to compensate for the loss of quality by raising the strength of his army to a decisive superiority over that of Austria, more particularly in artillery. Archduke Charles occupied Aspern and Essling, threw up entrenchments around them, and awaited in a strong position the next movement of his antagonist.

Now was the time for a British expedition to the mouth of the Elbe. The continued operation during two years of the military system he had restored of recruiting the army by drafts from the militia, must have given Lord Castlereagh temporary command of an abundant supply of troops. But

he did nothing to redeem the promises made to Austria. He appears to have had no sympathy for the spirit of national independence at work in Germany ; no understanding of its power and contagious influence as a factor in human affairs. Unfortunately also nearly all the smaller German Sovereigns were vassals of Napoleon in the Confederation of the Rhine. The King of Prussia urged by his Ministers to join forces with Austria for the liberation of Germany, could not make up his mind to risk so bold a step against the advice of the Russian Emperor. For Alexander, while refraining from taking an active part in hostilities against Austria, discouraged the national movement against Napoleon in Germany. And although the Duke of Brunswick and Colonel Schill, at the head of small bodies of troops, traversed Saxony and Westphalia, calling on the people to rise and shake off the yoke of France, the great mass of the population, restrained by their native rulers, cowed by the rapid successes of Napoleon, and above all disappointed of the English succours they had been led to expect, did not respond to the call.

Having completed his preparations, and carefully surveyed the Austrian positions from Lobau, Napoleon, on the wet and stormy night of July 4th, threw four new bridges from that island to a point on the left bank of the Danube, which enabled him to turn the intrenched villages of Aspern and Essling, and passed across 170,000 men. The Archduke, finding his communications with Moravia endangered by this unexpected manœuvre, withdrew to another position on the March-feld, with his headquarters in the village of Wagram. On July 7th he attacked the French. He had only 135,000 troops against 170,000, but was in hourly expectation of being joined by his brother John from Hungary, with 20,000 more. The battle was contested with great spirit during many hours ; but at three o'clock in the afternoon the immense mass of artillery which Napoleon brought into play had told with decisive effect, giving victory to the French. The Austrians admitted a loss of 31,000 men ; the French estimated their own casualties at 5,500. Archduke John did not reach the field of battle till six o'clock in the afternoon. Having by his unexpected appearance thrown a raw French division into disgraceful panic, he vanished again into space. Archduke Charles retired to Bohemia, and four days after the battle sent Prince John of Lichtenstein to the French headquarters to solicit an armistice in order to treat for peace. It was only granted on condition that the Emperor Francis abandoned his faithful Tyrolese to the King of Bavaria, whose yoke they had thrown off. But this humiliating sacrifice did not bring peace. The terms demanded still showed an intention on the part of Napoleon to cripple Austria permanently. Archduke Charles, despairing of foreign aid, and convinced of his inability to prolong the contest alone with any prospect of advantage, resigned his command into the hands of his brother. The Emperor and Count Stadion, still buoyed

up with fallacious hopes, negotiated only to gain time. The King of Prussia, always vacillating, had sent another secret envoy to Vienna to confer about co-operation for the liberation of Germany. Fresh assurances had come from Prince Stahremberg in London of British expeditions against unguarded points of Napoleon's Empire. And the heir of all the Cæsars naturally shrank from returning to what he had proclaimed as "bondage under personal rule representing centralised equality." So negotiations dragged along for three months more, during which Napoleon remained at Vienna, holding Austria in an iron grasp.

After Napoleon's return to Paris in January, 1809, his lieutenants in Spain pursued his plans for the subjugation of the peninsula. Saragossa, after a second heroic defence by Don José Palafox and the Maid, was captured by Marshal Lannes. Marshal Soult, after the departure of Moore's army from Corunna, entered Portugal with ten or twelve thousand French troops and took Oporto by storm. Marshal Victor, at the head of another French force, advanced towards the Portuguese frontier along the valley of the Tagus, and seemed to threaten Lisbon, when Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived from England in April to take supreme command of the British and Portuguese forces. In estimating the achievements of this great commander during the Peninsular war, the advantages and opportunities he derived from the discontent of Napoleon's veterans who, after so many years of toil and triumph, found themselves doomed to perish slowly in wasteful and inglorious warfare, must fairly be taken into account. It was not only that many of the chiefs of the French army, old Jacobins like Bernadotte and Augureau, or officers who had won rank and fame in the campaigns of the Rhine under Hoche and Moreau, had never cordially accepted the empire, or served Napoleon with entire loyalty. Nor was it merely that his most faithful marshals, when holding separate commands, could seldom be brought to discard personal jealousies and unite zealously in executing his plans. It is clear from Lord Malmesbury's correspondence[1] that the conditions under which the French troops now served in Spain aroused in all ranks a spirit of insubordination which did not always stop short of treachery or open revolt. The Spaniards hated them as enemies whose rapacity and licence respected nothing sacred or profane, and spared no means of retaliation to make their hatred felt. And when, in the course of 1809, Napoleon had been excommunicated by the Pope, national fervour was quickened by religious zeal. The French could easily rout Spanish armies in pitched battles, but guerilla warfare, universally organised at the end of 1808, was literally "war to the knife," which slowly destroyed them. Intelligence was intercepted, supplies cut off in a country that afforded little food; and their pay was allowed to fall

[1] Captain Bowles to Lord Fitz-Harris, May 25, 1809. *Malmesbury Correspondence.*

many months in arrear. Small detachments of them were surprised and cut in pieces, larger bodies starved. Sir Arthur Wellesley had hardly landed in Portugal when agents of a military conspiracy, which seems to have comprised some of the chief officers of Soult's army, came to solicit his aid in a revolt against Napoleon.[1] The principal emissary employed in this negotiation was Captain Argenteau, of a French hussar regiment. Passing backward and forward between the two camps in the disguise of a Portuguese peasant, he gave the British General minute information of the strength and positions of the Marshal's forces. The conspirators refused to listen to overtures for a restoration of Louis XVIII ; their project seems to have been a march on Paris to restore the French Republic, and the recall of General Moreau from exile. Wellesley laid his plans with Marshal Beresford, commanding the Portuguese, to take full advantage of the information thus supplied. At the last moment they were nearly frustrated. One of the minor French agents disclosed the existence of the plot to Soult, without, however, being able to furnish any particulars of it. But Argenteau's frequent absences had been noticed. He and the colonel of his regiment were arrested on suspicion ; and secret correspondence with the enemy being proved by letters found on them, were condemned to death. Before the sentence could be executed, Wellesley crossed the Douro, burst into the French lines and drove Soult out of Oporto. The French Marshal, finding himself over-matched, and his line of retreat into Spain occupied by Beresford, destroyed his artillery and baggage, and by a march of almost incredible hardships over steep mountain tracks into Gallicia, saved the bulk of his army from destruction or capture. Wellesley at Oporto released Argenteau, and invited him to join in eating a dinner which had been cooked for Soult. Having thus delivered Portugal from its invaders, Sir Arthur returned South, and in June led his troops into Spain to join the army of Estremadura under General Cuesta. The combined forces advanced to meet the French under Marshal Victor. Captain Bowles describes the Spanish soldiers as splendid men, and well-equipped, but led by "an old woman." In July, Victor, with inferior numbers, attacked the allies in a strong position at Talavera: The battle was fierce and obstinate, the loss great on both sides and about equal, but the French were repulsed in all quarters. Although the cause of great rejoicings in England, it was only a barren victory except of laurels to the British Commander, whom George III created Viscount Wellington. For, Marshal Soult, having effected a junction with Marshals Ney and Mortier, moved down from Salamanca with intent to cut off his late antagonist from Portugal. The English General, hastily separating from the Spaniards, and leaving behind him 1,500 wounded, beat a rapid retreat, hardly less painful than that of Soult from Oporto, over the mountains of Estremadura to the

[1] Captain Bowles to Lord Fitz-Harris, May 25, 1809, *et sequitur. Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

neighbourhood of Badajos, where malarial fever made great havoc in his ranks. Thence he withdrew in December to healthier ground on the heights of Guarda, between the Tagus and the Douro, within the frontier of Portugal; and, owing in great measure to a want of reinforcements from England to repair his losses, remained there inactive during many months, while the French Marshals brought all Spain, with the exception of Cadiz and some territory adjacent to it, under the nominal sway of Joseph Bonaparte. Captain Bowles's letters to Lord Fitz Harris, which speak with great admiration of the bravery of the French, and of their extraordinary kindness to the 1,500 British wounded who fell into their hands after Talavera, tell also of intercepted reports from Marshals Victor and Jourdan to King Joseph, of dangerous symptoms of disaffection in the armies they commanded.[1] But although reduced apparently for more than a year to the inglorious situation of being a mere spectator of French conquest, Wellington was silently engaged in constructing the famous lines of Torres Vedras, which saved Portugal from Massena in 1810–11, and formed an impregnable base for the subsequent operations that expelled the French from the entire Peninsula.

Among the plans of the British Government for aiding Austria against Napoleon was that of an invasion of the Kingdom of Naples by Sir John Stuart, commanding its troops in Sicily, in co-operation with Archduke John's descent into Northern Italy. Stuart, however, did not embark for a month after the Archduke had been recalled to Germany to aid his brother after the fall of Vienna. Setting sail in June with a powerful fleet carrying 20,000 men, of whom three-fourths were British, he captured the little islands of Ischia and Procida, spread alarm along the Neapolitan coasts for several weeks, and, without attempting to land, returned to Sicily and disembarked his men, after an inglorious display of force.

On June 28th the session of Parliament at Westminster closed. On the same day Lord Castlereagh obtained the sanction of the Cabinet for an expedition which he had been engaged in preparing during several months. A statesman of larger views and more generous sympathies would no doubt have aimed at taking a leading part in the liberation of Europe by sending a British force to the Elbe to help a German insurrection; or by enabling Wellington to act with vigour in Spain, while Napoleon was in deadly grips with Archduke Charles on the Danube. Castlereagh adhered to the insular policy too much favoured by English Ministers, of using opportunities afforded by Continental warfare to accomplish objects of special advantage to England. In this case, however, the temptation to follow that line was unusually great. The magnificent arsenal and dockyards Napoleon had created at Antwerp, where ten French men-of-war were

[1] *Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

now on the stocks, constituted a formidable menace against the maritime supremacy and even the safety of the kingdom. With Belgium under the sway of such an able and ambitious ruler, this was an inevitable consequence of the opening of the river Scheldt, which Pitt had made a cause of war with the French Republic. The French Emperor, however, after his check at Aspern, had stripped the Netherlands of troops, in order to re-inforce his army in Germany ; and it seemed quite feasible, by a sudden attack in overwhelming force, to capture Flushing and Antwerp, destroy the enemy's docks and shipping, and by holding possession of Walcheren to close the Scheldt more effectually than before. The success of this enterprise, besides dealing a crushing blow to the hostile designs of Napoleon, and being a great triumph for England, would certainly restore the popularity of the Government, particularly among the mercantile classes, which saw with jealousy the reviving prosperity of Antwerp, the old commercial rival of London. It is not surprising, therefore, that it found favour in the Cabinet. On the following day, the Duke of Portland informed Mr. Perceval for the first time of the modification in the Ministry, to which the King had given his consent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer represented to the Duke and to Mr. Canning the unfairness of depriving a Minister who had planned and prepared a great public operation, of all opportunity of carrying it through. Canning replied that the arrangement had been made by the King, and again forbore to press his demand.[1] And Lord Wellesley accepted a temporary mission as Ambassador to the Spanish Junta. It is noteworthy that in all these discussions no one asserted on Castlereagh's behalf any particular fitness for the post of War Minister, or any meritorious service he had rendered the State during his tenure of that office. The armament, alleged to be the most powerful that ever left the coast of England—from thirty to forty men-of-war with an immense crowd of frigates, and gun-boats, and transports carrying forty thousand troops—sailed amidst a burst of national enthusiasm, but not until July 27th, in the height of the summer heats, and three weeks after Napoleon had relieved the strain on his resources by his victory at Wagram. And this delay made more imperative the observance of two conditions obviously essential to success : (1) energy and decision in the Commander ; (2) proper precautions for the health of troops about to encamp on a pestilential soil. Surely the total neglect of both conditions, with such fatal results, fully justifies Canning's contention that Castlereagh was an incompetent War Minister. Lord Chatham, whom he placed in chief command, had long before won for himself the reputation of being the laziest and most dilatory of all the public men of his time. As 1st Lord of the Admiralty, from which high post his brother Pitt had been compelled by public clamours to remove him

[1] *Life of Spencer Perceval* by Spencer Walpole.

for neglect of business, he was known throughout the naval service as the *late* Lord Chatham. And Thomas Grenville's letter of July 28th, 1809, published in this volume, shows that neither humiliating experience nor the manifest exigencies of an important command could induce him to shake off for a brief interval the love of ease and personal convenience which seems to have been his dominant characteristic. He compelled Flushing to surrender, but delayed advancing against Antwerp until that city had been placed in a state of defence; and when the troops in Walcheren began to suffer from the exhalations of a swampy soil, it was found that no proper provision had been made to prevent or mitigate the ravages of disease in a situation so notoriously unhealthy that when news reached Napoleon at Vienna of the landing of the expedition, he predicted its speedy destruction by the operation of the climate. After a fortnight of bickering and indecision, Chatham, with the consent of the Cabinet, returned with part of his forces to England, leaving 15,000 troops in Walcheren to perish of malaria. Canning again resigned; and a few days afterwards the Duke of Portland, now in the last stage of decrepitude, handed in his own resignation to the King, but consented at the royal request to withhold it till his remaining colleagues had considered the situation. Lord Castlereagh, on learning for the first time from Lord Camden all that had passed in regard to his own tenure of office, also resigned. Later on he sent a challenge to Canning; a meeting followed, in which Canning was wounded. Castlereagh's proceeding was not due apparently to any sudden impulse of angry feeling, but was a result of mature deliberation. And however much in accord with Parliamentary practice in Ireland before the Act of Union,[1] seems to have been contrary to the received traditions of English public life. As Windham, than whom there was no more competent authority on such a question, remarked, "a gentleman does not fight to avenge his political wrongs, but to vindicate his character." There had been no aspersion on Castlereagh's personal reputation, no private insult.[2] Nevertheless, when the facts were generally known, public sympathy declared itself strongly on the side of Castlereagh as a victim of treacherous intrigue; and his mode of avenging the injury went far to redeem in popular opinion the most discredited Minister of that day.

Lord Castlereagh, although the least promising subject of them all for panegyric, has had the full benefit of a disposition shown in recent times to exalt the merits or extenuate the short-comings of politicians who, claiming to be disciples of Pitt, repudiated most of Pitt's avowed principles; but had the fortune to be officially concerned with the glorious struggle in the Spanish Peninsula, which broke the power of Napoleon, and for a time gave the British Government a commanding position in the councils of Europe. To him has been ascribed

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[1] *Memoirs of Sir Jonah Barrington.*
[2] Lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party.*

the merit not only of appointing Sir Arthur Wellesley to command in Portugal, against powerful opposition, but also of framing the military system which supplied that great general with the means of expelling from Spain and finally vanquishing at Waterloo the veteran legions of France. But it seems to the Editor that this praise can only be awarded to Lord Castlereagh by detracting unfairly from the just claims of two contemporary statesmen, with whose reputations time has dealt rather unkindly—the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Grenville. Apart from his own merits, which were only slowly recognised in England, Sir Arthur owed his early advancement mainly to the affectionate care of his eldest brother, which indeed never relaxed till he had attained to unrivalled eminence in his profession. Through friendship for the Marquis, Lord Grenville, as Prime Minister, made Sir Arthur his chief military adviser, and designed for him an important command. When the Spanish insurrection broke out, Lord Wellesley's influence was at its highest. The Portland Ministry courted his support, and had shown deference to his wishes by giving office to his brothers, and to Sir Arthur expressly as a pledge of high military command. And of all the British statesmen of that time, Lord Wellesley was the most persistent for a strenuous prosecution of the war against Napoleon in Spain. Lord Castlereagh lived no doubt on friendly terms with Sir Arthur, and aided him to the best of his power. But he had little if any personal weight in the Portland Cabinet. Instead of being a source of strength to that Ministry, his evil reputation made him a weakness and a reproach. For, of all prominent British politicians of his time, he seems to have been the most deficient in any moral sense to guide his political conduct. His suggestion to Lord Cathcart, at Copenhagen, to find some pretext for breaking the articles of capitulation, was the most shameful incident of a discredible enterprise. He seems also to have furnished the only example in modern record of a British Cabinet Minister convicted of corrupt practice, who brazened the matter out by remaining in office without even the decent formality of tendering his resignation. Thomas Grenville, as his letters show, was an easy-going, tolerant politician, except when some family interest or radical innovation came in question ; and even on those points he always inclined to conciliation and timely concession. He fully approved of the Act of Union, of which Pitt and Lord Grenville had been the chief authors. He was only a luke-warm friend of the Catholic cause. The disgust so strongly expressed in his letter to Lord Grenville, dated April 7, 1809,[1] at Castlereagh's political profligacy, may therefore fairly be taken to express, not personal nor partizan bias, but rather the common sentiment of honourable men of all shades of political opinion. Nor had Castlereagh's dealings with Sir John Moore enhanced his authority as a War Minister. Therefore the merit ascribed to him for selecting Sir Arthur

[1] *page* 291.

Wellesley to command the British forces in the Peninsula, and for afterwards sustaining him in that position, is, to say the least, a modern exaggeration. But Lord Castlereagh had two qualities which served him well in public life, as became more apparent after his duel with Canning had raised his character in popular estimation. One was cool, steady, calculating courage, which flinched neither from physical danger nor from moral obloquy. The other was loyalty to his colleagues, a supreme virtue in party politics, which Canning, to his own misfortune, and probably also that of the State, conspicuously lacked. These qualities, combined with a habit of conforming to dominant ideas, and abilities of a useful order, never rising above the safe mediocrity which neither excites admiration nor provokes jealousy, won for him the confidence and attachment of the party to which the political conditions of the time gave a long monopoly of office.

As regards the military system by which Lord Castlereagh replaced that of Mr. Windham, the subject has been already dealt with. It may be sufficient to add that the Castlereagh system has had the good fortune of being highly commended by a very distinguished military historian; and no doubt it answered for a time to a considerable extent, its immediate purpose of providing troops for current needs.[1] But it seems to have failed at the end of 1809; the severe losses in northern Spain and in Holland having perhaps exhausted the supply of substitutes on which its smooth working so much depended. Otherwise how can the inactivity to which Lord Wellington was reduced for so many months after the battle of Talavera, although no new English expedition was undertaken after the failure of Walcheren, be accounted for. But in 1809 a reservoir of military strength which, as already related, had been to a great extent closed by religious intolerance at the Horse Guards, re-opened with results which amply vindicate the policy for which Lord Grenville was expelled from power in 1807, for the remainder of his public life. The Peninsular War gave the question of recruiting a new aspect in Ireland, and again allowed natural tendencies, which were stimulated by social misery, free play. Spain and Ireland had been connected from time immemorial by national and religious ties. The best Spanish officers in the Peninsular War, as Generals Blake and O'Donnell, represented old Irish families which had been deprived of lands and exiled for adherence to the common faith. And while Napoleon's oppressive treatment of Spain and of the Pope quenched to a great extent the feelings of admiration and hope his marvellous career had hitherto inspired in a large proportion of the Irish population, the circumstance that the seat of war was a country which allowed Irish soldiers every facility for attending their religious worship, not only removed the objections of Irish priests to military service, but enabled them cordially to promote

[1] *History of the British Army*, by the Honourable J. Fortescue.

enlistment. Thus it came to pass that Ireland, instead of contributing much less than her proper proportion to the armed forces of the empire, as in the years following the Union, contributed much more, as was manifest from the composition of British armies during nearly forty years, when a great famine and the annual emigrations to North America, which then set in, reduced her male population of serviceable age by more than one-half. Of this we have clear testimony.

In 1812, during the debate on the Mutiny Bill in the House of Lords, Earl Grosvenor drew attention to a report that orders had been issued from the Horse Guards to the recruiting sergeants of certain English regiments not to enlist Irishmen. Lord Liverpool, representing the Perceval Government, expressed surprise at this statement. "Surely," he continued, "the noble earl must have known that the people of Ireland formed the great strength and stamina of the British army, and to imagine that such an order could ever have issued from Headquarters was simply ridiculous." This was only a few months before the battle of Salamanca, the turning-point of the Peninsular war. It was also stated, in the same debate, that the military regulation compelling Catholic soldiers to attend Protestant religious services, was no longer enforced.[1]

In 1817 the Liverpool Ministry, as Lord Grey stated without contradiction in the House of Lords, composed of "the very same men" who had raised the storm in 1807 which overthrew the Coalition Ministry, passed a Bill repealing completely Catholic disabilities, so far as they affected service in the army and navy; and "this took place quietly without a single observation being made upon it, although, a few years before, a less comprehensive measure caused an alarm to be sounded which could only be allayed by a change of administration."[2] The Duke of Wellington also in the course of the same debate,[3] taunted Lord Eldon with inconsistency for declaring immutable in 1829 disabling oaths which he had joined in repealing in 1817. So "quietly" indeed was the Act passed that no record of it is to be found in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* for the year 1817. It seems to have been enacted at the close of the Session, in the midst of the excitement produced in both Houses by Lord Sidmouth's repressive legislation, which quite disorganised the Opposition, and severed the political connexion of its leaders, Lords Grenville and Grey. No one has ever attributed this measure to the growth of a more tolerant spirit in the Irish policy of the Liverpool Government. The feeling at Court, though not in the constituencies, had become under "Manchester House" influence, as anti-Catholic in 1817, as it was in 1806. But the Government absolutely required the support of military force against popular disaffection so prevalent at the time in England; and their Relief Bill affords strong evidence of the altered composition of the British army.

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[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, March 18, 1812.
[2] Do. Do., April 4, 1829.
[3] Do. Do., April 2, 1829.

Sir Thomas Wyse, afterwards British Minister at Athens, in his "*Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association of Ireland*," of which he had been a leading member, dealing with the circumstances that influenced the Duke of Wellington in conceding Catholic emancipation in 1829, thus describes the British Army; "Recruited chiefly in Ireland, it was more than half Irish, more than half Papist." These are the words of an unexceptionable witness concerning a circumstance of which he was in a position to be well-informed; and which lent overwhelming force to the Duke of Wellington's argument for concession in the House of Lords.[1] Service being then for life, it was substantially the same army—"the best that ever existed," the Duke said[2]—which in the hands of its great leader proved such an efficient instrument in demolishing the colossal dominion of Napoleon. And the service thus rendered to the British Monarchy is the highest tribute to the wisdom of the policy to which Lord Grenville's Administration fell a sacrifice in 1806.

Canning's resignation, accompanied by those of Lord Granville Leveson Gower from the Cabinet, and Messrs. Rose, Long, Huskisson and other able and experienced officials from lower ranks of the public service, broke up the Portland Administration. The great majority of the Cabinet, however, adhered to Mr. Perceval as the chosen Minister of the King. Before his departure for Spain, Lord Wellesley left with Mr. Canning a written resignation of his post of Ambassador in order that his friend might use it when the proper time arrived for the accomplishment of their common objects; and this Canning, in order to strengthen his own situation, now handed in to the King. A short time before this crash came, Perceval and Canning had a frank and not unfriendly exchange of views in regard to Portland's successor.[3] They agreed that the next Prime Minister should be a member of the House of Commons, exercising, as Pitt did, efficient control over his colleagues in charge of other public departments; but neither would consent to serve under the other. Perceval, however, suggested that in order to avert a complete disruption of the present Administration, they should both continue to hold their posts under another Premier in the House of Lords, naming Lord Wellesley or Lord Harrowby. This proposal Canning did not accept. Perceval, on his side, seems to have indignantly rejected a suggestion that he should become Lord Chancellor in place of Eldon, made by the Duke of Portland on behalf of Canning. Then began a conflict of tortuous and somewhat obscure intrigue between the rivals, in which Canning proved no match for his astute antagonist. In order to fill the gaps in the

[1] *See also* on this subject an essay entitled *Plea for the Peasant* by the late General Sir William Butler, K.C.B., in his *Far Out: Rovings Retold*; which John Ruskin commends so highly in the Preface to *Our fathers have told us*.

[2] *Diary of Charles Greville*, January 25, 1823.

[3] *Life of Spencer Perceval*, by Spencer Walpole.

Cabinet, Perceval offered to take into it Mr. Saunders Dundas, Lord Melville's son, then Chief Secretary in Ireland. But Lord Melville claimed the seat for himself; and when Perceval, deterred by Melville's great unpopularity in England, offered him an earldom to forego his pretensions, the veteran statesman, in high dudgeon, refused to allow his son to accept a position denied to himself. He afterwards relented so far as to consent to Mr. Dundas holding subordinate office in England, as leader of the members for Scotland in the House of Commons. The Speaker Abbot, and Mr. Yorke, in deference to Lord Hardwicke who condemned the policy pursued in Ireland, having also declined his overtures, Perceval, by advice of his colleagues, informed the King that they could not hope to form a stable Government from their own connexion; and therefore asked his permission to invite Lords Grenville and Grey to join them in framing an administration on a broader basis. The King cried aloud that he was driven to the wall, and delivered into the hands of Lord Grenville. But being enlightened as to the real motive of this manœuvre, and re-assured in regard to the resolution of his Ministers to stand by him to the last extremity in resisting any further repeal of religious disabilities, he consented to the experiment being tried without his personal intervention. In fact the purpose of the application was too transparent to deceive for a moment those to whom it was addressed. As Thomas Grenville wrote to his brother: "If any offer is made it will be framed for the purpose of inviting a refusal, and with the desire of acquiring new strength to the Court by appealing to the people from what will be called the intolerable pretensions of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville."[1] Both of the noblemen applied to were absent from London, one in Northumberland, the other in Cornwall. Grenville, on receiving Perceval's invitation to a conference, with his usual scrupulous respect for what he took to be an intimation of the King's wishes, travelled up to the capital and wrote a refusal from Camelford House, there being, as he said, no common ground of political principle on which he and the present Ministers could unite with any prospect of public advantage. Grey had already replied to the same effect from Howick. In the meantime, Canning had audience of the King, and having explained his political views, offered to form an administration in accordance with them. His Majesty being, as he told Perceval, utterly amazed at an offer so confidently made, but obviously impracticable, as hardly one of Canning's late colleagues would consent to serve under him, appears to have returned no answer. The invitation to the Whig leaders having failed to produce the effect desired, the Cabinet asked the King to name a Prime Minister, advising that he should be a member of the House of Commons. George III responded by nominating Perceval in flattering terms, with cordial assurances of full confidence and support, and severe reflections

[1] Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, September 22, 1809.

on the conduct of Lord Grenville. This was a clever move on the part of Perceval, which disarmed both Canning and Lord Sidmouth, neither of whom could venture to oppose a leader of the King's choice. But none of their followers would consent to join the new Administration, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, who by Lord Malmesbury's advice, accepted the post of Secretary at War, while declining a seat in the Cabinet, which was not opened to him again for nearly twenty years. In particular the new Prime Minister sought in vain the aid of a capable financier to relieve him of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which he had proved utterly unfit. Finally it was announced amidst general astonishment that Lord Wellesley had accepted the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in succession to his friend Mr. Canning. Canning, as we have seen, had handed in Lord Wellesley's resignation, and subsequently induced the King to appoint Mr. Frere Ambassador to Spain. Perceval, by a counter-move, won over to his side Lord Wellesley's brothers, more particularly the elder, Wellesley Pole, whom he promoted to the office of Irish Chief Secretary in succession to Saunders Dundas. They sent a Mr. Sydenham, a particular friend of the Marquis and formerly his Treasurer in India, to Spain, to give him an account of the political changes at home, and persuade him to fill the vacancy at the Foreign Office.[1] The representations made to him by Pole and Sydenham led Lord Wellesley to believe, not without grounds, that Canning had resigned rather than serve with Perceval under Wellesley as Prime Minister; and that he had used Wellesley's resignation for an object of his own, not for the common object of bringing new strength to the Portland Ministry, for which it had been entrusted to him. Under these impressions, the Marquis closed at once with Perceval's invitation. His brother Henry, then Secretary of the Treasury, succeeded him as Ambassador. His short mission to Spain had not been without beneficial results. After a brief examination of the existing system of national government, he pointed out to the General Junta, which exercised supreme authority, that it was too numerous for an efficient executive, without being sufficiently comprehensive for a representative assembly. He therefore urged it to nominate a small Council of Regency to discharge the functions of their captive Sovereign; and to turn its attention to the measures required for holding at the earliest possible moment an election of the Cortez. This advice, pressed on the ruling body both orally and in writing, the Junta consented to adopt, though after a delay occasioned by natural hesitation and reluctance to put an end to itself. In his resolution to leave the Peninsula without further delay Lord Wellesley was, no doubt, influenced by a knowledge of the political situation in England. During the previous session, Perceval

[1] *Life of Spencer Perceval* by Spencer Walpole.

had quite lost command of the House of Commons; the protection he extended to every corrupt abuse had left a very unfavourable impression on the public mind; and the Ministry he had succeeded with the King's help in getting together, was probably the weakest in point of efficiency hitherto known in England. There was very little prospect of its living through the next session. Wellesley, therefore, seems to have returned home in the confident belief that the chief direction of public affairs in England lay within his grasp. But, like Canning, he was either ignorant of, or did not take sufficiently into account, the disposition of the King.

The disaster of Walcheren, the collapse of a national movement in Germany, the inaction of Wellington after Talavera, the inglorious return of General Stuart to Sicily, quenched all hope remaining to the Austrian Government of casting off the yoke of Napoleon. The Conqueror also had now become desirous of ending the war, without utterly crushing his antagonist. A Continental alliance with one other great power he considered necessary for France; and Alexander's failure to afford him the aid against Austria, promised at Erfurt, convinced him that he could no longer rely on the friendship of Russia. Disquieting reports from Paris of renewed intrigues on the part of Bernadotte and Fouché recalled him to his capital; and an attempt to assassinate him by Frederick Staps, a German enthusiast who had sworn to liberate his country or die in the attempt, brought home to Napoleon's mind a new danger to which his ambition exposed him, and the instability of dominion that hung upon a single life. He therefore reduced the terms he had intended to impose on the Emperor Francis; though still those accepted by this unlucky monarch in a treaty signed at Schœnbrunn on October 13, 1809, involving the cession of over two thousand square miles of territory, and a payment of eighty-five millions of francs, were sufficiently hard. Saltzburg went to Bavaria, in addition to the Tyrol. To the great disgust of the Emperor Alexander, who feared nothing so much as a restoration of an independent Kingdom of Poland, in regard to which Napoleon refused to give a written pledge, nearly all Gallicia, including Cracow, went to enlarge the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; only a small strip of the province, instead of the lion's share, as he had expected, being allotted to Russia. Trieste and all Austrian territory bordering the Adriatic became, under the name of Illyria, a province of the French empire. Francis also agreed to enforce Napoleon's Continental system, to recognise all the changes Napoleon had wrought by force or fraud in Southern Europe, and to reduce his own army to 150,000 men. Count Stadion now retired from the political stage, and was succeeded as the Emperor's chief adviser by Count Metternich, who, yielding to the necessities of the situation, introduced a complete change of system at Vienna. Instead of incessant war during nearly twenty years with

revolutionized France, Europe saw a revised edition of Prince Kaunitz's programme of political alliance with that country cemented by marriage; the part played in a great historical drama by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette being destined under less tragical auspices for another princess of Hapsburg-Lorraine, her grand-niece Marie Louise. After Napoleon's return to Paris, his wife Josephine having consented to a divorce, it was effected by a Senatorial decree; and although the Pope refused to sanction these proceedings, the negotiation already opened at Vienna for a new marriage was hurried forward to a conclusion. "Sa Majesté três Corse" was now at the very summit of human greatness, wielding and abusing an authority which no other man had achieved for himself. The whole Continent of Europe, except Turkey, Portugal and a small corner of Spain, was either subject to his sway or conformed to his public decrees. His presence in France silenced there every murmur of discontent; and his approaching marriage was joyfully welcomed throughout his empire as a pledge of security and peace. Unfortunately the tone of his speech at the opening of the Legislative session in December, 1809, gave little indication of a pacific disposition. It has been aptly described as "a memorable record of human arrogance and pride; a striking monument of the existence of a power beyond comparison, the greatest that ever tyrannised over civilised man."[1]

The death of the Duke of Portland in October, 1809, opened the way for the greatest triumph, and perhaps the most gratifying event of Lord Grenville's public life: his election as Chancellor of Oxford University. The state of political parties which seemed at this moment to point with certainty to his early return to office, no doubt paved the way in a constituency so largely clerical to a success which not even his most ardent partizans had ventured to hope for earlier in the year. But the event was mainly a tribute to high personal character. In spite of his advocacy of the Catholic claims, and of the fact that his chief opponent, Lord Eldon, a leading champion of "Church and King," enjoyed the undivided support of the Court and the Government, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Lincoln, and St. Asaph, worked zealously for Grenville's election, and a majority of their episcopal brethren, who took part in the contest, are said to have given him their votes. As might have been expected from the known tactics of the Court party, every expedient for arousing bigotry or otherwise influencing voters was brought into play against him. The principles which guided himself under such unworthy provocation are expressed in a letter to a supporter dated December 10, 1809: "But I should earnestly wish to have it to say at the end of this contest, what I can safely say at this hour, that, however provoked by calumny and falsehood, I have not in any single instance made myself a

[1] *Annual Register*, 1809.

party to that course of personal attack in which Lord Eldon and his friends appear to have placed their best hopes of success. I have rested my pretensions, such as they are, on my own character and conduct, and have wished to succeed because I am thought worthy, not because others are thought unworthy of the honour to which I aspire."[1] There was another feature of the conflict which must have been especially gratifying to Lord Grenville, and which testifies to the deep affection which one so cold and reserved to the outer world was capable of inspiring in those who enjoyed his friendship; this was the ardent zeal and unstinted devotion with which a host of voluntary workers, members of his own family and old official or college friends, laboured in his cause. Eldon's friends threw the blame of the Chancellor's defeat on the third candidate, the Duke of Beaufort, for dividing what they termed the Protestant interest. But this seems to have been an erroneous view. Although thirty of Beaufort's supporters went over at the last moment to Eldon, to the utter dismay of the Grenvillites, the Duke told the Archbishop of York that had he retired from the contest, the great bulk of the 238 voters who remained constant to him would have transferred their suffrage, with his own good wishes, to Lord Grenville. Some ludicrous incidents seem to have enlivened the struggle. The Duke of Cumberland "cursing and swearing" in wild fury along the streets of Windsor, amidst the howlings of a No-Popery rabble, after hearing of his friend Eldon's defeat, must have been an exciting if not altogether edifying sight. And there was a delightful frankness in the answer of an elector, who being canvassed for Lord Eldon, replied, "I shall certainly give my vote to Lord Eldon, as I look upon Lord Grenville to be a bigger rascal even than his lordship." This unflattering verdict notwithstanding, Lord Grenville's election as Chancellor, under circumstances of such extraordinary disadvantage, was a tribute to high principle in public life of which a British statesman might well feel proud.

After Lord Wellesley's return to England rumours, preserved in Thomas Grenville's letters, were afloat of his forming a Ministry to include Perceval as Lord Chancellor; Canning, with whom he had become reconciled, as leader of the House of Commons, Huskisson as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other new elements of strength. The announcement of his approaching investment with the Order of the Garter, which the King, at the Prime Minister's urgent request, most reluctantly and ungraciously conferred on him, was supposed in Opposition circles to lend countenance to these surmises. They were probably suggested by the manifest weakness of a Ministry faced by a Walcheren inquiry in a mutinous House of Commons. On the other hand, the state of the Opposition in that House was not more hopeful. George Ponsonby had

[1] Page 404.

been a failure, but would not resign. Whitbread, leader of the Radicals and foremost in debate, had pursued on the question of Parliamentary reform an independent line, which Lord Grey, as well as Lord Grenville and his brethren, repudiated as dangerously progressive. Lord Henry Petty, the only member of Conservative views in accordance with their own, on whom Grenville and Grey could count as possessing sufficient weight with the whole party to restrain Whitbread and his friends, had just been removed to the House of Lords by the death of Lord Lansdowne. It might answer to retain Ponsonby as leader while the party remained out of office, if he would consent to return to his former post of Irish Lord Chancellor, should it return to power. But on this point he kept his own counsel. Finally, any reviving speculations in the Grenville wing of the party as to Canning's joining it in order to become its leader in the House of Commons, were ended by Lord Grey, who confidentially informed Lord Grenville that he could not bring himself to act with Canning as a colleague. So, all was doubt and confusion as to the future tactics of the Opposition; and in these distracted counsels lay the chief prospect of stability for the Perceval Administration.

From a national point of view the year ended in gloom. Notwithstanding some colonial conquests of no very great importance, and Lord Cochrane's brilliant exploit at Basque Roads, its annals on the whole were a record of disastrous failure and waste of resources abroad; of weakness, dissension and scandalous corruption in the conduct of affairs at home; of a tendency to decline in commerce and industry, which boded ill for the immediate future; and of increasing discontent in large sections of the population throughout the three Kingdoms. Never, perhaps, before had the monarchy been in greater need of a strong, wise, and comprehensive Government, which should unite all its subjects in its defence.

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The letters from Gentz to Lord Grenville printed on pp. 457 *et seq.*, which immediately precede or follow in point of date the *Journal of M. de Gentz*, printed in the Appendix to Volume VIII of these Papers, should be read in connexion with it, as they complete the history of the overthrow of the Prussian Monarchy in the autumn of 1806 given in the *Journal*. They were found quite recently, put away in a portfolio of miscellanies relating to tithes, coinage, and other subjects of domestic interest.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF

J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ.,

PRESERVED AT DROPMORE.

VOL. IX.

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1807, January 1. Downing Street.—"On an examination of the army estimates previous to their being presented, it appears that Craufurd is put down there with the allowances of a *Commander in Chief* (3,400*l. per annum*) the same which the Duke of York enjoys! and four aides-de-camp as given to that rank. I am fully persuaded this can never have been your intention, when you consider, on the one hand, Craufurd's rank, and, on the other, the very lucrative nature of the service on which he is employed.

"The utmost that he could have any pretence to claim according to my conception would be the local rank of Major-General (instead of that of Brigadier-General which he holds) and the allowances usually given to that rank on service. As there can be no doubt that this would be made matter of observation (indeed Lord H. Petty has already mentioned it to me as such) and as I do not think any of us could in conscience contend that it is right, I trust you will approve of my desiring this may be rectified in the estimate.

"I cannot write to you on any subject connected with army estimates without again adverting to what I consider as a most enormous job, the Inspector-General's Office. Among many other objects which I have directed to be distinctly stated in the estimate this year, instead of being covered in the former slovenly way by the vote of extraordinaries, is the expense of that Office, which you will there find is above 30,000*l. per annum*, every farthing of which, in my opinion, might be saved with great advantage to the service. I am confident there is but one opinion on this subject at the Horse Guards, at the War Office, and at the Comptroller's Office. I do not wish to do anything hasty or violent, but I am sure you are as unwilling as I am to let the public incur such an expense without adequate and manifest advantage, and, in the course of this year, we certainly

must make up our minds either to abolish this Office, or to be able to show more clearly than I fear it can be shown that its continuance is of any use to the public. The Duke of York has formally signified to me his opinion that two or three clerks in the Quarter-Master-General's Department would transact the whole business, not only as well but much better for the service than by this enormous establishment of a separate Office. Such an intimation I cannot neglect, but must either act upon it, or be prepared to show how and why it is wrong. At present I believe it to be perfectly right." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1807, January 1. Downing Street.—" The Duke of Richmond's death opens a second Blue Ribbon. In consequence of what passed with Fox at the time the Garter was given to Lord Stafford, I am under a positive obligation to recommend the Duke of Norfolk for the first. If you would allow me to submit your name to the King for the other, you will enable me to do a thing peculiarly proper in itself, and highly gratifying to me as affording the means of marking by some public testimony the very sincere feelings of respect and regard which I bear towards you." *Copy.*

Private. VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 2. Stratton Street.—" I have just seen Brown of the War Office. He came to speak to me about the army estimates, apprehending that some doubt you entertain about the 2nd battalions might prevent their being presented to-day. He says that no saving would accrue from their reduction during the present year, as it was not done before Christmas; the colonels, according to the established practice, being entitled to the clothing. Besides that, the Duke of York by his circular letter has given a kind of assurance that they shall be continued till the 25th June. Probably all this is not new to you, but I thought it as well to state it, that if it should have any effect as to your determination about presenting the army estimates to-day, you may consider it in time.

" Brown says that there are several precedents in the last war of officers lower in rank than my brother having the appointment which he now has; particularly that of Frank Dundas. I have desired him to get an account of them for me.

" I take it for granted Sir F. Vincent has sent you the account of the recapture of Buenos Ayres; it bears too strong marks of authenticity.

" I find Lord Yarmouth had some written instructions from Fox, of which there is no trace whatever either in his private correspondence, or in the Office. The letter enclosing the memorandum respecting Sicily and Dalmatia, contains

nothing of any consequence in addition to what is in the memorandum ; except a recommendation to gain time, which was in consequence of d'Oubril's request, and in no way applicable to the case which arose after he had signed the treaty.

"Lord Yarmouth promised to send me a copy of the instructions this morning, but I have not yet received it."

Lord Holland to The Same.

1807, January 3.—"I shall have the pleasure of meeting you at the Cabinet on Monday, but, to prevent delay, and bring the treaty with America to a conclusion, should wish to have ten minutes conversation with you on the subject before the Cabinet meets, as I should be sorry they should part without having finally approved the colonial article and the note."

Postscript.—"After seven hours discussion we have brought the Americans to a final acquiescence in the treaty as you saw it."

Private. Viscount Howick to The Same.

1807, January 3. Stratton Street.—"Lord Yarmouth has just been with me to complain of an assertion made in your speech, as published in the newspapers. The passage is marked in the enclosed paper. He says that he had no instruction to insist upon a *written* acknowledgment of the proposed basis ; and, in looking at the different despatches which were sent to him, this certainly appears true, the directions given to him being not to produce his powers till the French returned to the ground of their own proposal, without specifying that it should be in *writing*. I was in the same mistake, and probably should have stated it generally in the same way. It is not in itself of much consequence, except as far as this is the point most in dispute, and one on which our opponents will be glad of any opportunity to raise a cavil ; for Lord Yarmouth being instructed not to produce his powers without an acknowledgment, his having done so without any acknowledgment at all, would be liable to the more objection.

"He expresses a strong desire that this point should be cleared up, and wishes that you should take an opportunity of explaining it in the House of Lords. He of course will state what he has to say himself in the House of Commons."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Howick.

1807, January 3. Downing Street.—"You know how difficult it is to answer for words used in a debate, and much more for newspaper reports of them. It is, however, unquestionably true that I was under the impression, and did probably so state it in substance, (if not in the exact words reported), that a written acknowledgment of the basis would have been

necessary before Lord Yarmouth produced his full powers. I take it for granted from what you say that you have referred to the instructions, and that they do not contain any such *express* direction. And so far undoubtedly, if Lord Yarmouth has the smallest desire for it, I am bound to concur in correcting any erroneous impression which my speech can have produced.

"But surely the whole sense and spirit of the transaction is such as I have always conceived it. A verbal proposal was made to us; we returned a verbal acceptance of it; for what purpose but that a negotiation should be founded upon it? We sent full powers to enter upon that negotiation. Had the basis so proposed and accepted been adhered to, the papers of the negotiation must materially have contained a constant and explicit reference to it. But the offer being retracted, Lord Yarmouth's orders were not to produce his full powers until it was acknowledged. It is barely possible, but surely not probable that such an acknowledgment might *in the first instance* have been also *verbal*; but, in that case as in the former, the reference to the basis so established must have been found in the very first papers exchanged in the course of the negotiation.

"The argument which I used I take therefore to be strictly correct; and that the purpose for which Lord Yarmouth was sent back to Paris was one which must have produced a *written* acknowledgment of the basis, had France acknowledged it at all. But if I have stated, or conveyed an impression, that this purpose was more distinctly expressed in the terms of Lord Yarmouth's instructions than the fact will warrant, I ought undoubtedly not to hesitate to rectify the error upon any question put to me on the subject in the House of Lords; or to authorise you to say for me in the House of Commons what I have here stated; which latter course, I should imagine, would be fully sufficient for the purpose of setting the matter completely right." *Holograph draft.*

Private. W. Elliot to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 4. Dublin Castle.—"I enclose for your consideration the sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment. It is made on the idea you suggested by Colonel Handfield, with whom I have had much discussion on the subject, and whose counsel on such topics is of great value. He is, however, anxious that his name should not transpire, *especially* at the *Horse Guards*. Though I feel very solicitous that this mode of levy should be tried, I cannot help stating to you three embarrassments, which I expect we may have to encounter.

1st. "I am apprehensive that, in consequence of the present ferment in the Catholic community, the people of that persuasion may take umbrage at the allotment of *Catholic* corps for *foreign* service *only*.

2ndly. " It is probable that they will press you to open service in Great Britain to them, and that they will also urge *strongly* their admission to the station of *general on the staff*, from which the Act of the Irish Parliament of 1793 excluded them.

3rdly. " I think it likely that they will ask for a regular *avowed establishment* of chaplains of their own religion, which is, I believe, an indulgence granted to the Highland regiments.

" I submit these points to you that you may turn them in your thoughts. If the King could be prevailed on to throw open the military profession without reserve to the Catholics, it would be a most productive source of strength to the empire. Is this so absolutely desperate ? "

Enclosing :—

Sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment.

" When the mind is doubtful as to the success of a proposed measure, it is almost impossible to enter with energy on the details of the plan ; this has been my case, and must plead my apology for not having sooner complied with your desire.

" The idea you suggested of filling up one, or more, of the skeleton 2nd battalions with Catholic recruits, officered in part by gentlemen of that persuaision, appears to possess some advantages over the plan for raising corps in the usual manner ; as, unquestionably, where a regular system of regimental economy is already established, and thoroughly understood by the officers and non-commissioned officers, recruits will be much sooner brought into a state of discipline and subordination fit for active service. I am not sure, however, but the other mode of levy possesses more extended influence for raising the men.

" In the plan I have now the honour to submit to your consideration I have endeavoured to eall forth as great an exertion of Catholic influence in raising the men as was compatible with the object of their being speedily trained. To effect the first it appears advisable that some of the leading Catholic gentlemen should espouse the plan ; that the recommendation to a certain number of commissions in each battalion should be conceded to some person of this description, confining these appointments to gentlemen of the Catholie religion, and relaxing in those instances the strictness of the regulation for granting permanent rank ; and with the view of adding to the popularity of the levy among the lower orders, the second battalion intended for receiving the men might be selected from regiments which have been prineipally formed in Ireland. The 88th, or Connaught Rangers, now under orders for this country, was originally raised under the Clanricarde influence, and seems completely to meet this idea. The 87th, raised by Sir John Doyle, and the 83rd, by the late Colonel Fitch, are equally proper.

"The extent of levy money may be regulated by the person who undertakes the levy, but it certainly ought not to exceed the bounty now given to recruits of the line, more than one guinea per man, for the purpose of covering all incidental and extra expenses. In this manner I have stated it in the annexed plan, confining the completion of the levy to four months.

"When the battalion is formed and considerably advanced in discipline, it may be found expedient to regiment it, to prevent the Catholic officers being removed by promotion into the first battalion. This will afford the opportunity, if such be desirable, of placing the person raising the levy at the head of the regiment, with the temporary rank of Colonel."

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 6. Dublin Castle.—"The situation of the judge of the court of Admiralty in Ireland has been under consideration for some time. His salary upon the civil list is but five hundred pounds a year, subject to deductions. The Lord Chancellor, to whom Mr. Barrington's application for an additional salary was referred, made particular investigation into the duties of the judge of that court, and after full consideration has stated to me his opinion that one thousand pounds *per annum* is but a fair and reasonable remuneration for the services which are to be performed; and that the judge of the court of Admiralty in Scotland receives now by Act of Parliament as large a stipend, and has not probably as much duty to perform. His lordship has also represented that, from the length of time this matter has been depending, he thinks it just that the additional salary should commence from as early a period as it may be granted.

"I have therefore transmitted by this mail to the Lords of the Treasury an official application for his Majesty's letter for placing on the civil list of Ireland an additional salary of five hundred pounds a year, to commence from the 24th day of June, 1805; having recommended by my letter to the Lords of the Treasury dated the 22nd of November last, the discontinuance from the 25th of March, 1805, of the allowance on that establishment for the speaker of the House of Lords, and of other allowances thereon, which from the circumstances stated in my said letter are no longer payable; the discontinuance whereof will leave ample provision from that period for the addition I have now recommended.

"The discontinuance of the allowance to the Speaker of the House and of the other allowances mentioned in my said letter of the 22nd November last, could not be made to take place from an earlier date than the 25th of March, 1805, because the accounts of the Civil List Revenue have been closed up to that date, and the savings thereon accounted for. I have

also to observe that the salary of one thousand pounds to the judge of the Admiralty of Scotland commenced from the 25th of June in the said year 1805.

"I trust this arrangement will meet with your lordship's approbation."

Private. Lord Grenville to W. Elliot.

1807, January 9. Downing Street.—"I imagine your letter inclosing the plan of a Catholic levy was written before mine to the Lord Lieutenant on the same subject had been received. I therefore defer answering yours in detail till I hear again from your side of the water. I will certainly keep secret the name of your adviser, whom I believe to be a man of very good counsel on such subjects. But I see great difficulties in the way of any suggestion for giving permanent rank to captains not having previously served in the army; much more to Colonels and Lieut-Colonels Commandant. Indeed I am myself so adverse to such a suggestion that I know not how to press it on others.

"With respect to your three difficulties, they are all certainly such as merit attentive consideration. But,

1st. "The service in Catholic countries only, was meant as a boon not a restriction, and if not taken in that light may easily be abandoned. And then supposing the battalion raised (as it must in all cases be) for general service, the King may employ it where he sees best.

2nd. "If *anything* is to be proposed in Parliament this session respecting the Catholics, there is no point that would be pressed with so much advantage as that of removing *all* restrictions on the employment of the King's Catholic subjects in the army indiscriminately; 1st, because the present distinction is too absurd to be defended even by Lord Redesdale; 2ndly, because that distinction is a positive breach of the faith pledged by Lord Hobart and Lord Clare; and 3rdly, because the present times are felt to call for as much military exertion as the empire is capable of making.

"The third point is more difficult. I have no means of ascertaining the fact as to the Highland regiments. The thing may be done and defended, but if it were *proposed*, it would bring all the horrors of popery in view at once, and nothing could follow but the immediate arrival of the Pope and all his Cardinals to be enthroned in St. Paul's.

"Into the other details I will not enter now, for the reason stated in the beginning of this letter; but as soon as possible I hope to hear from you again on the subject of *my plan*." *Copy.*

W. Windham to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 10. Arlington Street.—"I shall not know with certainty till to-morrow what the exact state of Cranfurd's

appointments is, but it is satisfactory to me in the meanwhile to be able to state to you that, whatever they are, they are completely owned as having been settled at headquarters without any interference on my part; the only communication from me having been that I should be ready to concur in whatever they should think right. It was this circumstance probably, joined to my absence from town soon after, that prevented any formal notification to me (and occasioned my consequent ignorance) of what the terms meant. If my information, as hitherto received, is correct, they will not at all contradict the confidence which I had ventured to express that there must be some mistake in the information which you had received."

LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 10. Bloomsbury Square.—"I take the liberty of again calling your lordship's attention to the very anxious request with which I some months ago troubled your lordship on the behalf of my brother the Rev. Dr. George Law. I am not apprized whether the Residentiaryship of St. Paul's lately held by Dr. Moss be yet disposed of; if it be, I allow myself to hope that your lordship will have the goodness to confer upon my brother some other adequate ecclesiastical dignity in the gift of the Crown at the earliest opportunity. Your lordship is sensible, I am sure, of the importance which I attach to this request, in favour of a brother of considerable station in the church, a man of worth and learning with a very numerous family. Your lordship is also aware that I neither possess, have received, or seek to derive any kind of personal advantage whatever from the share I am at all times ready to bear in any of the labours, cares, responsibilities of the Government, to the councils of which I have the honour to be associated, and in the concerns of which, your lordship will do me the justice to say, I have never borne a cold, languid, or inactive part.

"I did myself the honour of stating to your lordship sometime ago the preferment he holds, and which would in a certain event be at the disposal of the Crown. He has a living in Cambridgeshire of upwards of 800*l.* *per annum*, another in Lincolnshire of 200*l.*, a prebend of Carlisle of upwards of 400*l.* and a prebend of York of small value. I have been unwilling to importune your lordship in person on this topic upon any of the numerous occasions of our meeting, because I felt satisfied from the kindness of your lordship's former communications to me on this subject, that I might reasonably look to a speedy accomplishment of my wishes; and I flatter myself that I shall find that I have not formed a rash judgment. At the same time as I cannot but know that other claims on the ecclesiastical patronage of His Majesty, not as I conceive equally well founded and deserving of attention, are zealously urged, may have the good fortune to succeed,

and to have the effect of superseding that which I have the honour to make, unless the subject were again pressed upon your lordship's particular notice, I beg leave to do so in the most respectful, but at the same time the most earnest and anxious manner that such a request can be addressed from me to your lordship, on a point in respect of which I feel the deepest and most immediate interest which I am capable of feeling on any subject whatsoever."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1807, January 10. Downing Street.—"The arrangements consequent upon Bishop Horsley's death have long ago been settled, although by the long delay occasioned by the translations, they have not yet been carried into effect. I have been obliged to turn Moss's prebend of St. Paul's into *change*, to satisfy two most pressing and indeed indispensable engagements. I beg you to do me the justice to believe that whenever it is in my power to forward your wishes on the subject of Dr. Law it will be a sincere pleasure to me to do so." *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, January 13. Downing Street.—"I have had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 6th instant respecting the increase of the salary of the judge of the Admiralty in Ireland, and it appears to me that the arrangements which your Grace proposes on that subject are perfectly just and proper." *Copy.*

Private. THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 14. Phœnix Park.—"Your two very interesting letters of the 12th and 29th ultimo (marked private) have not ceased from the time they reached me to the present time, to engage my most deliberate and anxious attention; and my unwillingness to send a hasty or ill-considered answer, has been proportioned to the magnitude and importance of the objects they embrace. I have sought the best opinions and advice within my reach, and am prepared to submit to your lordship (with much diffidence as to the propriety of it) the humble judgment I have formed on the several points you have thought fit to submit to my consideration.

"The subject of tithes is the first in order in your enumeration of the causes which operate on the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland, and in my mind certainly the first in importance. Within the last fifty years, tithes have from time to time produced torment and irritation among the people of this country, and particularly among the town classes; but the discontent has not been wholly confined to them. Amongst the middle classes a dislike to the present system of tithes is very prevalent, which was visibly manifest during the

late disturbances in the western and north-western counties ; and among the most enlightened and unprejudiced of the higher ranks, an opinion evidently prevails that a reform of the abuses which have crept into the system, and a temperate remedy to the evils it perpetually occasions, would be a just, a wise, and a prudent measure. Here then are sufficient grounds to lead us to a discussion of the grievance, and its fittest cure, and to a consideration of the safest means of applying it, without endangering the peace or the welfare of the country. We must not conceal from ourselves that we shall have much prejudice, difficulty, and opposition to encounter ; but this alone should not deter us from attempting a great practical good, or, as you justly observe, we should be utterly unworthy of our trust. The means of success must be well considered, and amply provided for, for we should not be justified in embarking in the undertaking, with a chance of failure, which might bring with it the most alarming consequences. Disappointed hopes of a melioration in the tithe system in Ireland, might produce a ferment which it would not be easy to allay.

" I fear we should have to encounter the hostility of the whole body of the church. There might be an exception of some few liberal-minded and unprejudiced individuals, but the great weight and power of the hierarchy would be against us. If we are enabled by the justice and policy of the measures we propose to Parliament to meet with confidence this formidable hostility, and to conciliate the support of wise and moderate men among the laity, I think, we may fairly hope to silence the clamours of prejudice and violence, and to effect an object which, I am sure, would do more towards securing the permanent tranquillity of Ireland, than any other that could be suggested. For this, however, our plans must be concerted with due caution and deliberation. It would be necessary that Mr. Elliot should go to England to consult with some of the civilians there upon the measures to be submitted to the Legislature, in order to obviate the danger of an unfounded alarm arising on your side of the water ; and I should wish, at all events, to have the opinion of some of the leading members of the church in Ireland. For these reasons it would be almost impracticable to attempt anything in the present sessions, beyond the mere trying our ground, or perhaps throwing out something for the consideration of members between this and the ensuing sessions of Parliament.

" It now remains for me to take a view of the several plans suggested by your lordship, which I will do very briefly, anxious not to occupy more of your time than is absolutely necessary.

" Your first proposal is likely to be productive of some good, but its effects would not be very extensive, and would, I fear, be found inadequate to meet the evil which excites

such perpetual complaint. The Bishop and the lay impropriator have already the power to lease their tithes for a term of years, and it would scarcely be worth while to raise that clamour which the very idea of reforming the tithe system would not fail to give rise to, for the mere object of extending that power to the parochial incumbent.

"The second plan you suggest, exonerating cottagers occupying only a sufficient quantity of land for the subsistence of their own families, would be but partially operative. The tithe on potatoes is taken from cottagers in Munster only and I believe a small part of Leinster. In the provinces of Ulster and Connaught they are uniformly exempt from tithe on this essential and general article of subsistence. On the abolition of the agistment tithe, the tithe-holders in the great grazing districts in the south sought a compensation in the tithe on potatoes. The Chancellor suggests the idea of granting an exemption to the cottager of a certain number of acres attached to his cabin, say two, three, or four, as may be thought most expedient. This certainly would have the advantage over the other, from its general, instead of partial operation.

"Your lordship's third proposition of making tithes convertible into annuities, and thence convertible into land is, I think, under proper modifications in the detail, capable of producing very extensive benefits. Perhaps it might be advisable to follow as nearly as circumstances will permit, the almost uniform practice in Parliamentary enclosures in England. The chief objection to this plan is one that has frequently been urged, and with some degree of reason, against the substitution of land for tithe, namely, that it has a tendency to convert the parson into a farmer, and by employing his time and his thoughts on the best mode of managing his land, draw his attention from the more essential duties of his sacred function.

"Perhaps a more simple and efficacious plan than any of these might be to establish a *modus*, upon a fair valuation of tithes by commissioners appointed by Parliament; or jointly by the tithe payer and receiver, subject to the approbation of two magistrates, in the court of quarter sessions; not fixed, but varying with the varying circumstances of the times, by a renewed valuation of the land every seven, ten, or fourteen years, as might be thought expedient. It does not strike me that this plan is liable to any serious objection. The act may confirm and secure the distinct and inalienable property of the church. The income of the clergyman and lay impropriator will equally keep pace with the rise and fall in the value of land and its produce, and is not liable to be affected by the depreciation of money. That intolerable evil, the tithe proctor, is removed out of sight. A proper remedy being provided against losses by powers of distress, the clergy are secured against the diminution of income they

now frequently suffer by insolvency of agents or farmers. An improved system of husbandry is encouraged by being relieved of an increasing demand in consequence of increased industry and cultivation. Upon the whole I see many advantages attendant upon this proposal, and no rational objection ; and I feel anxious to recommend it to your serious consideration.

" If the payment of the tithe was charged solely on the proprietor, and not on the occupier of the land I think it would be still better. The landlord would then of course indemnify himself by an advanced rent on the tenant, which would be cheerfully paid for the valuable consideration of a tithe-free farm.

" The next subject to which you have been pleased to call my attention is that of facilitating the enlistment of Catholics into our army. Mr. Elliot has already transmitted to you a plan for this purpose, suggested by an able officer of the most correct and impartial judgment, and perhaps none better can be pointed out to attain the object you have in view. Certain it is that a vent is much wanted for the great and redundant population of this country ; and it is as certain, that the ordinary recruiting service has been for some time extremely small, and an unwillingness to enlist into the army is very manifest. Various causes operate to produce this want of activity—the most alarming, and perhaps the most prominent of which is a spirit of discontent prevailing among the town classes of the people, worked upon by the ill-disposed who are hostile to the Government and British connection, and increased by the vast and imposing successes of the enemy on the Continent. To remove this cause must be a work of time, patience, and perseverance. A system of kindness and conciliation towards the whole body of the people, particularly the Catholics, is the most likely to effect it ; but, in the mean time, we must endeavour to seek remedies more immediately at hand to cure the present evil. Plenty and cheapness of provisions, with a great demand for labour from an increasing spirit of agriculture, are in some degree also the cause of the present inertness in the recruiting service ; but there is, at the same time, an evident disinclination among the Catholics to enlist. This I am informed proceeds from a general idea that they are not allowed to attend the worship of their own religion from the moment the regiment in which they enlist sets its foot upon English ground ; and that the indulgence, even in Ireland, depends upon the will or caprice of their commanding officer. This impression, I fear, will not be removed until you can prevail upon his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief to issue a general public order to this effect ; and this I have more than once pressed upon the consideration of Lord Spencer. In regard to the proposal for raising corps for Catholic service (if I may so express myself) I must not conceal from your lordship

that I fear the idea of making them a separate distinct body would be very unpopular, and excite much jealousy and dissatisfaction among the Catholics. Their great aim, and the hope they cherish, is to be admitted in all things reasonable within the pale of their Protestant brethren, to be mixed with them as much as possible as natives of the same soil, subjects of the same King, having common feelings and common interests, and in consequence entitled to common rights. Any measure therefore which tends to separate them from the Protestants, and give them a distinct station and interests, would be received with considerable distrust.

"The last point upon which you desire my opinion is a provision for the Catholic clergy; and upon this subject I have not the good fortune to agree with some to whose judgment I look with the utmost deference; and when I name the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot among them, your lordship will not be surprised that I offer my opinion with great doubt as to its propriety. But I confess it does appear to me to be an object of great national policy, and a wise and statesmanlike measure, to make the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy stipendiary on the Government. I moreover think that this is a peculiarly fit time for carrying it into effect. From all the information I have been able to collect during my residence in Ireland, I am persuaded that the bishops and clergy are ready to accept the boon with gratitude; and the late attempts by the insurgents in the west, to regulate the dues of the priests, will naturally tend to confirm this disposition. The priest's dues have certainly risen with the rise of tithes; and whilst the peasant would be relieved from a heavy burden, the priest would gladly find the cause of dissension between him and his flock removed. I do not think that the laity in general would view this measure with feeling of suspicion, of jealousy. The most respectable members of the body have a strong confidence in the good will of the present Administration towards them, and will not readily believe that they are disposed to purchase the favour and support of one part of the Catholic community at the expense of the interests and happiness of the other. It would be in vain for any Government to attempt to obtain the confidence of the mischievous and wrong-headed, or of the determined separatist.

"With this view of the subject, and thinking that a reasonable provision for the Catholic clergy, combined with the proposed plan of extending the college of Maynooth, and enabling it to supply the full proportion of the annual Catholic mission in Ireland, is likely to be productive of incalculable future benefits, by improving the morals, the habits, and the social comforts of the mass of the Catholic population of this valuable quarter of the empire, I have little hesitation in recommending the measure you suggest, as one at least worthy of the fullest consideration.

"I have now fully expressed my sentiments upon the several topics touched upon in your lordship's two letters, and shall be happy if my judgment, imperfect as it is, should in the least contribute to assist your deliberations. The anxiety of my mind is fully equal to the importance of the matter which daily and hourly presses upon it with more force. I feel the necessity of something being done for the permanent tranquillity, safety, and happiness of Ireland.

"A temporizing policy is but ill suited to the urgency of the occasion; and if I am able whilst I remain here to lay the foundations of national union, strength, and integrity, I shall be most happy.

"Whilst the present fermentation among the Catholics of Dublin continues, these measures must of course be suspended; but you will have leisure to turn them further in your mind; and if circumstances should be favourable to the discussion of them, or any part of them, I flatter myself I shall have the advantage of your further opinions."

Private. Lord Grenville to W. Elliot.

1807, January 14. Downing Street.—"As I perceive by a letter from you to Lord Spencer that you are considering of alterations to be introduced into the Insurrection Act, I send you in confidence an extract of a letter from Lord Buck[ingha]m to myself containing some suggestions respecting courts martial, grounded on his observation of the melancholy scenes that took place in the last rebellion. You will have the goodness to keep this communication entirely to yourself, and merely to avail yourself of any of the suggestions that you may think useful. I should rather think that instead of Serjeants or K[ing]'s Counsel *eo nomine*, Assistant-Judge-Advocates *well*-selected from the Bar, would best answer the purpose.

"I am waiting impatiently for answers about tithes and Catholic levies." *Copy.*

Edmond P. Lyon to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 16. Devonshire Place.—"I think it my duty to address a few words to your lordship on the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, before Parliament should have proceeded to pass a final determination respecting that most important measure. As to the origin of the Slave Trade, it is superfluous on the present occasion to do anything more than briefly to state that it was established by royal charters and proclamations, and has been for a great number of years, from time to time, sanctioned, protected, and encouraged by divers acts of the British Legislature, which have confirmed the West India colonists in the belief and most perfect assurance and confidence that they should continue to obtain supplies of labourers from Africa; and they have been induced

to invest their fortunes in the British West India colonies by the unshaken and full conviction that assurances solemnly pledged to them would not be violated. If the West India proprietors should be able to show that they cannot cultivate their properties without having recourse to Africa for labourers, if they have the strongest reasons for dreading that the abolition of the Slave Trade will strike a deadly blow at the very existence of their fortunes, and, nay, even involve the British colonies in the West Indies and their inhabitants in one common scene of ruin, desolation, and destruction, surely it may then be confidently affirmed that to persevere in the accomplishment of such a scheme is a plain dereliction of all the principles of justice, and an attempt to promote the purposes of humanity to the sons of Africa at the expense of an immense sacrifice of the lives of British subjects and of British property. The parliamentary documents, and recent publications, which have appeared upon the subject of the West India trade, have most clearly and satisfactorily established that this country derives great commercial advantages in various ways from her trade with those colonies, and that they are the most valuable appendages of the empire. If any stroke should sever from Britain that branch of commerce, can the ingenuity of any one suggest to the nation any mode of upholding its prosperity, after it shall have sustained so severe a loss.

"It is peculiarly my business in this address to call your lordship's attention to the consequences that must result from an abolition of the Slave Trade, which are particularly alarming to the colonists of the extensive island of Jamaica. Authentic reports and returns must have satisfied your lordship that the cultivation of coffee has most rapidly increased in that colony in the last seven or eight years. A considerable number of coffee estates, which are still only infant settlements, cannot be cultivated with any prospect of advantage, without obtaining considerable supplies of labourers. An abolition will compel those coffee planters to sell their negroes immediately, and their lands will be of no value to them. Let me point out another attendant evil. The colony will also lose the benefit of their services in the various capacities of jurors, magistrates, and militia men, ready to defend it against both an internal and external enemy ; for, after they shall have been compelled to abandon their plantations, it cannot be expected that they will remain in a country, which will afford them no opportunities of improving their fortunes. Their negroes hitherto accustomed to reside in those parts of the island adapted to the cultivation of coffee, where a mild and temperate climate prevails, and to be employed in light and easy work, will in many instances be removed to a warmer climate, and will be engaged in the more laborious employment of cultivating the soil for the production of canes. They will, in short, be taken away from

their habitations, and their gardens, and from other comforts endeared to them by habits.

"Allow me to present to your lordship's view, with the utmost earnestness and anxiety, the disastrous and fatal consequences that must follow, if the measure of the abolition be adopted, from a diminution of the white population; consequences of which no one doubts, who is at all acquainted with the local circumstances of Jamaica. The business of West India estates is conducted by white persons, who reside upon them, and who are at present induced to seek their fortunes in that part of the world. The ground-work of their fortunes is laid, whenever they have acquired as much money as will enable them to purchase a few negroes. They continue to add to the number by their future savings, and their credit, and ultimately become settlers by purchasing lands. The white population of the colony is constantly kept up by such means, and a power exists which is indispensably necessary for preserving due subordination, and for affording the only effectual mode of counter-balancing the negro population. After an abolition shall have been accomplished, no method of acquiring a fortune will present itself to persons in that line of life, and no adequate inducement can be held out to tempt the description of white persons who have hitherto emigrated to our colonies, to adventure thither in future. It will be impracticable to find white persons of good education and decent manners disposed to reside in the West Indies: for, the offer even of augmented salaries, if the proprietors could afford to give them, will not induce them to hazard their lives in that unfavourable climate. It is painful in the extreme to contemplate the situation of Jamaica, which would then be left a prey to the schemes of the negroes, unrestrained by the presence of those to whom they have been hitherto accustomed to pay respect and deference. Without appealing to the powers of the imagination, we may learn from the sad experience of the disasters in Saint Domingo the fate of a colony in which the black power reigns predominant and uncontrolled.

"Much has been said by the supporters of abolition with the view of proving the ability of Jamaica to keep up its present stock of negroes without fresh importations. It may be proper to observe that, independently of any loss which may be supposed to happen among the negroes newly-imported, there is a great decrease of the negro population, which is in a great measure attributable to the disproportion of the sexes, to promiscuous connexions, and to other causes, over which no human care can exercise any control. There are maladies peculiar to the climate of the West Indies which are prevalent at all times, and reduce, in despite of all medical aid, and the utmost attention of the proprietors, an efficent labourer into a state of helplessness and decrepitude, and death often closes the scene. A disease also exists, which cuts off a great

proportion of very young children within a few days after their births. Other disorders producing considerable mortality frequently happen among the negroes, and multitudes of them have perished by famine arising from hurricanes, and have fallen victims to sickness brought on by a scanty and unwholesome diet, which is one of the consequences attendant upon that calamity. I am aware that other circumstances which attach no blame to the proprietors, may be brought forward as contributing to account for the decrease of the negro population, and which have been dwelt on by intelligent writers upon this subject. Experience upon the whole has proved, in opposition to fallacious theory, that the stock of negroes cannot be kept up without supplies of labourers from Africa. I have to ask if it shall be impracticable from any of these causes to maintain a stock of negroes adequate to the purposes of cultivation, what is to become of the unfortunate planter after an abolition shall be passed? He can no where obtain the number of negroes required to supply the losses which have happened among his labourers, and ruin soon stares him in the face. His crops are rapidly diminished from year to year, and he beholds the miserable prospect of debt fast accumulating without possessing the power by his exertions to avert a total overthrow of all his fortune. It is only proposed to give an outline here of this miserable case, but nothing could be more easy than to fill it up with a detail of particulars. Many properties are known to be encumbered by mortgages, and it is equally notorious that the mortgagees of such properties have remained in possession of them for a great length of time past. If the Slave Trade should be abolished, those estates, when restored to their owners, would be delivered to them in a state incapable of yielding any advantage to them. The number of negroes attached to those properties will be exhausted through a long lapse of years from natural causes, during which time no additions to the stock have been made by purchase, for the creditors, intent only on accomplishing payment of their demands by the crops, and possessing neither the power nor the inclination to increase their demands by purchasing negroes, will surrender the estates in want of the indispensable means of future cultivation. Infants during a long minority will be exposed in numerous instances to the same consequences. In this rapid sketch I shall only glance at another circumstance, which may be apprehended from an abolition, and which it is most distressing to contemplate. A want of labourers will be urgently felt by the planters and a supply will be sought for with avidity, as the only means of averting impending ruin. It will be impossible to prevent effectually a clandestine introduction of them. Such a mode of procuring negroes may occasionally be resorted to under some difficulties. At present, whilst a planter knows that he can at any time procure the number of negroes required

for the use of his plantation, he takes care providently to make a suitable preparation for receiving at home the new labourers, whom he is desirous of obtaining. Before he proceeds to purchase them, he provides food, clothing and lodging for them. He carries them to his property, and they are properly taken care of. Hereafter if he shall be forced, when stimulated by the irresistible desire of struggling against imminent destruction, to have recourse to clandestine purchases, he will be anxious not to forego any opportunity of procuring labourers which may present itself, and, apprehensive that if he should postpone the buying of them, his object might altogether be defeated, he will purchase them when he is not prepared to afford them proper necessaries and comforts. I need not dwell on the miserable scenes which must then ensue.

"It now remains for me to call your attention to another circumstance, which it is most painful to dwell on, and which is a source of great and well-grounded dread to the colonists. It is certain that an abolition will be considered by the negroes as connected with the prospect of an emancipation. Even the most unlettered and untutored mind is capable of discerning that the Legislature, which has proceeded to declare that no person shall hereafter be brought to the British colonies in a state of slavery, has been influenced in a great degree to adopt the measure from an abhorrence of slavery, and that much of what has been advanced upon the subject has gone the length of reprobating the existence of slavery in any shape, or under any modification whatever. It will appear to the negroes employed in the service of the planters that the supporters of abolition have done them no service by stopping there, and that on the contrary, the scheme is fraught with injustice to them. The doctrine, which condemns the trade, by which negroes are imported into the West Indies in a state of slavery, cannot be true to its own principle, except it advances one step further, and seeks to annihilate all slavery; for if the importation of a slave be condemnable, is not, according to the same train of reasoning, the keeping of a negro, who is already imported, and his offspring in a state of slavery, liable at least to equal severity of reprehension? I conceive that no one is bold enough to contend that emancipation ought to be made a part of the general plan; and indeed I have the authority of the name of Mr. Pitt for saying that such a measure would be absolute insanity. It is apprehended on very substantial grounds that the abolishing of this trade may dispose the minds of the colonial negroes to assert at their own time, and according to their own will and pleasure, their pretensions to emancipation; they may urge that the power which has put a final period to the slave trade would have proceeded at once to emancipate them, had it not been for the opposition of their masters. They may declare that the leading

abolitionists have expressed their unwillingness to tolerate for a moment any description of slavery; and that they have refrained from urging that consideration upon the attention of Parliament, either from a sense that the fit time for proposing it had not arrived, or from a conviction, that to interfere to that extent would be assuming an improper exercise of power over concerns of private property. Is it to be expected that the labourers in the British West India colonies will patiently, and with due submission, wait until they shall become qualified in the opinion of some of the abolitionists to receive the gift of freedom through their means; or until, according to the wild and fanciful notions of others, the amelioration of their condition will gradually produce their emancipation from the free will of their masters. It is to be dreaded that the negroes, sensible that they possess a great superiority of numbers, and that their constitutions and habits of life render them able to contend with manifest advantage in countries abounding in fastnesses, and peculiarly favourable to their mode of warfare, will bring forward at no distant day, after the abolition shall be passed, their claims to freedom ; and successfully defy all that can be done against them by the combined efforts of a diminished white population, and of any proportion of regular military force which can be employed in endeavouring to quell their revolt. Their minds will be discontented by the hardships produced by the abolition, for they will soon observe with pain and vexation that their owners, debarred of the usual opportunities of obtaining fellow-labourers to assist them in their occupations, will be compelled to augment their work with the view of postponing as long as they can, impending ruin. This awful crisis will come when, in consequence of the abolition, the white population of the colonies has been considerably lessened, and when the negroes, looking around them in a country almost destitute of white inhabitants, will see no force capable of affording any effectual opposition to their schemes. Desolation may then rear it's head unmolested, and the British colonies, but, more especially, the extensive island of Jamaica, at such a tremendous time could expect no relief from any number of military troops, whose efforts would be unavailing in attempting to contend against a baneful climate, and the thousands upon thousands of their opponents enured to the situation, in which they had chosen to act, and deriving a most powerful auxiliary in the nature of the country. From these considerations I am led to conclude that the abolition of the Slave Trade would occasion diminished commerce, diminished revenue, and diminished navigation; and in the end sap and totally remove the great corner stone of British prosperity by the accomplishment of the total overthrow, and destruction of her colonies.

"Many most urgent reasons impel me to write to your lordship upon this subject, and I beg leave to add that it

may perhaps be advisable hereafter to give a general circulation to the substance of this letter; but, in such an event, care shall be taken to avoid any reference to the mode of which I now avail myself, in communicating my sentiments to your lordship."

Private. The Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 18. Phœnix Park.—"Elliot has recently received the enclosed letter from Mr. Bisset. In a conversation I had with the Primate upon the professional character of some of the clergy of his diocese last summer, he spoke of Mr. Bisset in the terms of high approbation. This undoubtedly was an additional motive with me for wishing for an early opportunity of promoting your wishes in favour of Mr. Bisset, and I am persuaded that your lordship is fully satisfied with the assurances I gave you upon this subject in my former letter."

Enclosed.

Reverend William Bisset to William Elliot.

1807, January 14. Armagh.—"I took the liberty of troubling you with a letter in the course of last autumn, which you did me the honour to reply to in the most obliging manner. My object was to request, for reasons which I then assigned, that you would have the goodness to communicate to Lord Grenville the opinion respecting me expressed by the Primate in answer to the Duke of Bedford's enquiry. You were pleased to say that you thought my wish on that point very natural, and that you would acquaint Lord Grenville with what had passed when you went to England.

"I am well aware that you must have had many things of great moment in your mind at that time, but if this little circumstance did not altogether escape your recollection, you will confer a valuable obligation by letting me know what notice his lordship took of it, and what sort of expectations I may indulge.

"I hope you will consider me as the more justified in making this request, because Lord Grenville referred me wholly to you; and, may I add, because it is of the utmost importance to me to be apprized of the extent of his lordship's intentions in my favour.

"I have the pleasure to assure you that I cannot discover a symptom of discontent in this neighbourhood; none of that suspension of industry, or secret caballing, that preceded all the former disturbances, have appeared in this populous country."

Private. W. Elliot to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 18. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 14th instant (by express) with its enclosure reached me yesterday.

You will, I flatter myself, have no objection to my keeping Lord Buckingham's valuable observations on military tribunals, though they do not apply to the Insurrection Act. That law does not contain any provision for the erection of courts martial. These courts were established under the Martial Law Bill, which has long since expired, and which I sincerely hope we shall never have occasion to revive.

"The plan for recruiting from the Catholic population of Ireland, suggested in your letter to the Lord Lieutenant, seems far the most eligible of any of the schemes which have been hitherto proposed. It makes no encroachment on the regulations of your present military system, and I feel convinced it will prove as efficacious as the formation of new levies. If the experiment is tried, I conceive any of the three battalions mentioned in the paper I transmitted to you would, in point of local connection, be well adapted for the purpose, provided there is a sufficient number of vacant commissions in them. It would certainly be desirable also to select two or three Catholic field-officers, and these the Duke of York will probably be able to point out to you. If any names should occur to me, I will suggest them to you.

"The two principal objects are, as you observe, to interest the Catholic *gentry* and the *clergy* in the success of the measure.

"The first of these objects will be *in some degree* provided for by commissions; but to provide for it *completely*, you must remove the restrictions on Catholic service. With what face can Government invite a Catholic of rank and fortune into the military profession while neither merit nor experience can advance him to any command beyond that of a regiment?

"With regard to the clergy, I think their aid may be secured, 1st, by a *public* order directing that all Catholic soldiers shall enjoy the free exercise of their religious rites; 2ndly, by letting it be understood that Roman Catholic priests will be permitted to be attached to such regiments as shall be chiefly composed of persons of that persuasion, and that a proper subsistence will be afforded them.

"Whether service in South America will be considered as a boon, I doubt. On all these points I can sound some of the leading Catholics, if you have no objection to my doing so. It will, however, be better to avoid touching on such topics till we see our way further about the question of petition.

"There was another Catholic meeting yesterday, which, however, only received the report of their deputation to the Castle, and adjourned for a week. From the conferences that have passed between the Chancellor and Keogh, I should hope that, if *any* concessions can be made this session, a petition might be prevented. Hitherto all we have been able to do is to keep ourselves in such a position as may enable us to adopt such language and conduct as you may prescribe

to us from your side of the water. The deputies are to come to me again on Wednesday, when, on a consultation with the Chancellor, it is thought best that I should say the Lord Lieutenant will communicate with the English Government.

"I enclose a report, which Mr. Trail has received from a *private* informant, of the proceedings of the meeting of yesterday, and which I intended to transmit to Lord Spencer; but, as it is an early tide, and I am apprehensive of my letters being too late, I shall be obliged to you if you will have the goodness to send it him. There is nothing in it of importance. The rumour of my having been seen coming out of Keogh's house, is, you may imagine, quite without foundation. I confess I grieve to see the Catholic interests in such hands. The thinness of the attendance at the meeting is a favourable symptom, but I still think we shall find it very difficult to stop a petition; and a petition would, in every view of the subject, be most embarrassing."

Private. Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 25.—"I am so unwell this evening as to be quite unable to attend Cabinet; but, in the hope that the outline of the proposition chalked out by Lord Howick last night will be adopted, that h[is] M[ajesty] will be advised to accompany his permission to the Princess to appear again before him, with a clear and strong animadversion on the many parts of her conduct which are so justly liable to censure, I beg to be understood as giving my cordial assent to such advice, and earnestly beg to have my name recorded as doing so."*

Sir Arthur Wellesley to The Same.

1807, January 25. 11 Harley Street.—"I had a conversation yesterday with Mr. Windham upon the subject of the transmission of the orders to India, relative to the preparations to be made there, for the expedition on which I gave you memoranda in November last.

"Mr. Windham desired me to send him a memorandum upon the subject, of which I enclose a copy."

Enclosing:—

(1) Memorandum on the Subject of a British expedition to New Spain, dated January 25, 1807.

"In reference to the memoranda which I gave to His Majesty's ministers on the 20th of November last relative to the orders to be transmitted to India on the 1st of February,† I have to observe, unless those orders should be now prepared, the troops will not be in readiness to sail from the Hoogly in October next, admitting that the orders will be five months on their passage to Calcutta.

* This letter refers to the inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, particulars relating to which are printed in the Appendix to this volume.

† Printed in the Appendix.

"If on the 1st of May Government should be of opinion that the expedition, with a view to which these orders were to be issued, ought not to take place, they may then send orders to India to countermand the sailing of the troops, which will arrive there, calculating a passage of the same length, on the 1st of October; the period fixed for the departure of the expedition from the Hoogly. The inconvenience in this case will be the expense of collecting the volunteers at Calcutta, and of the preparations for their voyage.

"If on the 1st of June Government should be of opinion that the expedition ought not to be undertaken, a vessel despatched at that period from England may be expected to arrive in less than five months, or before the end of October, at Prince of Wales' Island; where it would meet the Bengal detachment at that period. The inconvenience in this case would be the additional expense incurred for transport.

"By the 1st of June it is probable that Government would have been under the necessity of deciding upon the expedition with a view to the execution of the parts of the service to be performed in this country. But if for any reason which cannot at present be foreseen, it should be necessary to give up the plan at as late a period as the 1st of August, a vessel despatched from England at that period will arrive at Botany Bay by the end of December, at which time it will find the Bengal detachment at that place.

"The only inconvenience therefore resulting from the despatch of the orders to India at the present moment will be the expense which will have been incurred, if it should be necessary to countermand them; and, on the other hand, if they should not now be sent, the expedition will not sail till after October; and possibly may not arrive in New Spain till the season when the rains will have commenced.

(2) Result of a conversation with Mr. Frazer on the 6th and 7th of November.

1st. "The best season for going to Mexico is from November to May. The rains cease in November and commence in May.

2nd. "There are many landing places on the coast of Mexico to the northward of La Vera Cruz, in countries, which at the distance of a few miles from the coast are healthy and plentiful. Mr. Frazer has had vessels in many of these places, from which he has sent his goods by a road communicating with the high road from La Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico.

3rd. "During the months of November, December, and January the northerly and north-west gales are frequent in the gulf of Mexico, and would be very dangerous to a fleet at anchor upon the coast. There is no harbour in the gulf of Mexico excepting Pensacola. The Island of St. Juan D'Alloa off La Vera Cruz would not afford shelter to more

than 35 or 40 vessels. These gales of wind, however, from the north and north-west do not last more than two or three days. Those accustomed to the navigation of these seas know from the appearance of the weather, when they are coming on; and the common mode adopted of placing the ships in safety is to go to sea, and remain at a distance from the coast till the gale is over. The interval of fine weather between these gales is commonly about 15 days; and in that time a fleet of vessels can remain in safety on any part of the coast of Mexico.

4th. "On the north and east coast of the Peninsula of Yucatan is a bank with soundings extending above 40 leagues from the land. On this bank a fleet might ride at anchor in safety, throughout one of these gales; and part of the fleet might be sheltered from its violence by some of the islands and shoals on the bank.

5th. "The coast of Yucatan, excepting Campeachy, is open and defenceless; the country very dry and healthy; and one of the most plentiful in the world in rice and fresh provisions of every kind.

6th. "A fleet would be sheltered from the northerly gales in the bays of Honduras and Amatique; and could anchor in security. Small vessels of 150 tons burden, might go up the Golfo Dolce at the mouth of Rio Grande, as far as Bodegas Altas, the principal port of the province of Guatemala on the east coast. According to Mr. Frazer's information, acquired from the captains of vessels sent to trade there (for he has never been there himself) there would be no impediment to this voyage; and troops would land in a healthy and plentiful country at the distance of about 75 miles from the city of Guatemala.

7th. "Mr. Frazer does not know the ports of the west coast of New Spain on the Pacific, excepting Panama. He says, however, that the weather is uniformly so fine, and the sea so moderate on that coast, and so many islands and banks afford shelter all along the coast, that a fleet would find no difficulty in remaining at anchor on any part of it. Mr. Frazer knows that there is a port of Guatemala in the south seas at no great distance from the city of Guatemala, but he has no description of it.

(3) Observations upon the conversation with Mr. Frazer.

1st. "Although the rains may cease in November the countries in the tropics are never healthy for one month at least after the rains have ceased. Indeed from my experience I should say that month was the most unhealthy in the year.

3rd. "I am informed that this expedient would not answer for a fleet of transports; any more than that proposed in the 4th paragraph. They might answer for a single ship, well found and manned; but not for a fleet of transports.

6th. "Information upon this point should be sought for from General Nugent; or from some person connected with the trade in the Bay of Honduras.

7th. "I doubt whether we shall be able to obtain any information upon the ports in the South seas. Dampier differs with Mr. Frazer in his account of the state of the weather on this coast. But he was there in October during the rainy season in Mexico. He found no harbour, and failed in many attempts to land owing to the surf. The harbour of the province of Guatemala on the Pacific, is called by the French authors La Trinité; and it is probably the same that is called Guatemala by Mr. Frazer."

Private. Lord Holland to Lord Grenville.

1807, January 26. Pall Mall.—"The paper is in a state to be submitted to the Cabinet whenever you think proper. I shall beg you and Lord Howick to look it over to see if it is what you intended; but till you wish to see it, I shall continue to write copies of it, as it is my only way of correcting inaccuracies."

Private and Confidential. W. Elliot to The Same.

1807, January 27. Dublin Castle.—"As I fear many difficulties would be experienced in attempting too sudden or extensive a change in our staff, I am at present only induced to suggest that, if the efficient Major-Generals could be spared for service in Ireland, an opening might be made for them by the removal of Generals Waller and Peter. I am told that Major-Generals Payne and Cotton gave great satisfaction while they were on this establishment.. They are now both on the English staff, and I therefore presume they would not like to be transferred to Ireland; especially General Cotton who, I understand, is soliciting a station in the West of England in consequence of the infirm state of Mrs. Cotton's health. If, however, General Payne could be provailed on to come hither, he would, from the report I have heard of him, prove an useful acquisition to this staff.

"The Duke of York may perhaps feel an embarrassment in moving a *Lieutenant*-General, but it would be a very beneficial arrangement if an active and able officer of that rank could be sent in the room of General Trench, who, though a man personally much esteemed in his district, is certainly not competent to the very important charge which is entrusted to him.

"We have had no letters to-day from Serjeant Moore, but I yesterday saw a letter from General Campbell to the Adjutant-General giving a favourable description of the state in which he found the County of Sligo.

"We are most anxious for your instructions on the subject of the Catholics. I fear much that you have great obstacles

to encounter at Windsor, and, if they should prove insuperable, it will be a sad calamity."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1807, January 28. Downing Street.—" In consequence of the termination of the enquiry relative to the conduct of the Princess of Wales, and of the answer this day sent to her Royal Highness from his Majesty through the Lord Chancellor,* I have suggested to his Majesty the propriety of his taking an opportunity to converse personally with your Royal Highness on the subject; and his Majesty has commanded me to express to your Royal Highness His desire that your Royal Highness should go to Windsor for that purpose to-morrow." *Copy.*

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 28. Carlton House.—" I have this moment received your lordship's letter, and shall make a point of obeying his Majesty's commands, by paying my duty at Windsor as early as possible to-morrow morning. Lord Moira has been so good to inform me how kindly active you have been, for which I return you many thanks."

LORD GRENVILLE to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, January 30. Downing Street.—" As I well know the interest you take in the success of our measures here, I take the liberty of enclosing to you a statement which I have drawn up of the plan proposed last night by Lord Henry Petty to the House of Commons.

" It is still imperfect by the absence of some of the tables which are not yet delivered from the printers, but I preferred sending it to you in this shape to delaying it longer, because I was anxious to put you in possession as early as possible of the outlines of the measure, and to learn your sentiments and suggestions upon it." *Copy.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 30. Pall Mall.—" I wish very much to have ten minutes conversation with you on a subject that will not admit of delay; and as I am not enough recovered from a severe pain in the face to expose myself to the air, venture to hope that you can make it convenient to call here in the course of to-morrow.

" I wish you joy of the brilliant manner in which the financial plan was both opened and received in the House of Commons."

AN OLD PLANTER to THE SAME.

[1807, January.]—" The abolition of the Slave Trade is a subject which has long agitated the public mind, and as there

* Printed in the Appendix.

is now a prospect of its being speedily effected, I beg leave to convey to the public the sentiments of an old planter thereon. I am proprietor of two estates in the West Indies, and feeling as I do, the expediency as well as humanity of the measure, I most cordially wish it success. I am happy in this opportunity of bearing testimony to the philanthropy of Mr. Wilberforce, whose unwearied exertions in its support, from motives of the purest benevolence, merit a higher eulogium than my feeble pen can bestow.

"I have passed upwards of 50 years of my life in the islands, during which time I have been actively engaged in the manufacturing of sugar and rum, and have had the care and management of upwards of 3,000 slaves; I am therefore willing to persuade myself that my observations may carry some weight with them on the score of experience, and I shall be happy if they tend to remove any unfavourable impressions from the minds of gentlemen having property in the islands and resident in this country, who may possibly conceive the intended abolition will lessen its value. Very different, I confess are my views of the subject. The general average of a gang of negroes on an estate was formerly looked upon to be about 60*l*. sterling per head; at present, I consider them to be worth 100*l*. Proprietors of land in an infant state may perhaps think themselves aggrieved, as they cannot be any longer supplied with new negroes; but I am decidedly of opinion that, if due attention be paid them, the number of slaves at present in the islands will not only be kept up, but will increase in proportion to the care taken of them. It may not be amiss to state the method I pursue in the management of my own slaves. It is a rule with me never to push them for the sake of making a few hogsheads more of sugar. I never suffer them to be punished with undue severity, always wink at trifles, attend to their complaints and redress their grievances in the best manner I am able. However pressing the work on the plantation, I never debar them of one day in the week, out of crop, exclusive of Sunday; which day is chiefly employed in working their own grounds, and planting provisions. I allow them as much land as they can cultivate for their provisions, and a good piece of cane-land, as contiguous to their houses as circumstances will admit, that they may be able the better to attend to it. In the month of May I allot a piece of cane-land to my negroes to plant yams and potatoes; they dig them in December following, and the same land is in January holed and planted in canes, and will produce more sugar than if it had not been given them, because it is well turned up by drawing the yams. Were this method duly attended to, I will venture to say it would be productive of great advantage not only to the slaves, but to the proprietors of every sugar estate throughout the islands. The negroes should be encouraged to keep their little stock of pigs and poultry, and when they ask for half a

day or a day and assign good reason for their request, I never refuse it, particularly to women who have children. I regularly give them clothing once a year, and to the poorer negroes as often as they need it. With regard to the sick, I have generally found the cook to be the best doctor. Should there be symptoms of fever, which chiefly arises from colds, a few grains of James's powders and calomel, given in time, will generally effect a cure. A proper woman should be selected as a nurse for the sick. If a negro complain of being unwell he or she should be sent to the sick house, and they will generally return the next morning to their work, with more vigour and spirit. Pregnant women should not be put to hard labour, as digging cane-holes or carrying heavy burdens, but some light work should be assigned them, such as weeding. A careful and trusty woman should have the care of the children, and great attention should be paid to keeping them clean, and a proper quantity of flour and sugar should be allowed the mother per week. Mothers of young children should be allowed at least an hour more than the other negroes, morning and afternoon, before they go into the field; and they should not be required to carry grass, noon and night as other negroes do. Particular attention should also be paid to the building of their huts; they should be erected in a healthy situation, and kept dry and warm. Some situations are so unhealthy that even the negroes, inured as they are to hardships, cannot enjoy health for any time; and in such, an increase cannot be expected; but were they removed to some more healthy spot, and properly treated, according to the plan I have here laid down, they would soon become healthy and their numbers increase. Some gentlemen, resident in England, are in the habit of giving their managers or attorneys a guinea for every hogshead of sugar shipped; but, in my opinion, if they would allow them a handsome premium for every negro child reared on their estate, and also the means of taking care of them, independent of their salaries, they would find it turn to much better account; and I am thoroughly persuaded (and I speak from long experience) that by pursuing the mode of treatment here pointed out, the population of negroes would so far increase as to render any further importation unnecessary.

"There is another material point to which I would particularly wish to call the attention of the Legislature, that is the repeal of some of the colonial laws where the life of a slave may be taken away by a summary process. This, it is well known, is the case in most of the islands; and I earnestly wish to see such laws totally abolished, and that no slave should be condemned to suffer death but by the verdict of a jury of twelve men, in the same manner as is done by the worst of his Majesty's subjects. I have seen enough to authorise me to say, the life of many a valuable slave would be saved.

"Many gentlemen have supposed the abolition of the slave trade would affect the minds of the negroes when they come to understand no more are to be imported. But I am of a very different opinion, and from the knowledge I have of their general disposition, am firmly persuaded they will rejoice at it. They will say, if there are no more slaves to be brought to us, master will for his own interest take the better care of us. Had the trade continued without any restriction, there would be such a quantity of sugar made, that, in my opinion, the old estates that did not make a superior quality, must in a few years be absolutely ruined. Sugars of an inferior description would not sell for as much as would pay the expenses; indeed I will venture to say they do not much exceed this at present. For the reasons above mentioned, I give it as my decided opinion that both interest and humanity combine in putting an effectual stop to the further importation of slaves.

"This is not an opinion lightly taken up, but is founded on observation and confirmed by experience; and I am fully persuaded that, were the hints I have thrown out duly attended to by those who are more immediately interested therein, they would soon perceive the beneficial effects of them."

Private and Confidential. The Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 6. Dublin Castle.—"I enclose a letter which Elliot has received from Mr. Claudius Beresford. I wish to take no step in this business without the sanction of your approbation; whilst I feel that you will agree with me in the necessity of keeping with inviolable faith the agreement made with Lord Waterford's family, in which the objects named by Mr. Beresford appear to form a leading part, Coleraine being exclusively his borough property. It would be desirable that I should have an ostensible letter from you on the subject; and as Lord Ponsonby was rather sore upon the arrangement, it might be well that your lordship should take an opportunity of coming to an explanation with him on that part of it which relates to Coleraine; or of conveying your sentiments to him through the medium of Lord Howick."

Lord Grenville to W. Elliot.

1807, February 6. Downing Street.—"I have only an instant to write to you. It happens most unfortunately that just at this moment Lord Spencer should have fallen ill; so much so that we can neither see nor concert with him.

"I cannot well anticipate the decision of Cabinet on the despatch which we have this morning received from the Lord Lieutenant, but you perceive, of course, that there is no possibility of your having that decision by the 9th, when you

reflect that, after we have determined on one of the most difficult questions that we could have to consider, we shall then have to submit that decision to the King, and to remove, (if that be possible) the objections he may feel to it.

"I have great difficulties in recommending the giving any concessions as the price of forbearance, by which means they come not as given but as extorted.

"The agitating the whole question in Parliament for the sake of the point of sheriffs, seems to me (I speak individually) a question not to be thought of. Better than that would be, if we must discuss the whole matter in Parliament, to do so in the great point. But this we cannot do without breaking up the Government; and who shall say that we shall be justified in doing this *now*, after having last year consented to come in without making any such stipulation.

"You never have told us, nor do I guess, how we can facilitate the admission of Catholics into corporations.

"The unlimited extension of the army is, I think, right in itself and might probably be carried here; but, as a means of quieting, it could not opearte beyond this year." *Copy.*

Private. Sir John Macpherson to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 9. Brompton.—"Your polite attention to my communications at a late audience, I felt and will always remember with real satisfaction.

"To-morrow I am to appear before the Carnatic Commissioners; and though the debts due to me are exclusively founded upon accepted bills of exchange, and confirmed by the two Nabobs, in accounts adjusted with my attorneys; though they were due before the act of 1784, and that the creditor might have repeatedly paid himself, had he not devoted the recovery of the debt to the most urgent exigencies of the public service, still I believe the law, which has wisely fixed the Commissioners to certain investigations, will oblige them to investigate the mission I had from the Nabob in 1777; when his Majesty, by the advice of his first Minister, accepted the trust of the Nabob's will. That acceptance and the Nabob's confidential communication of the secret offers of France, led to the reduction of Pondicherry in 1778, and the subsequent security of India.

"I felt it a duty to the present administration, as well as a respectful devotion to the best of sovereigns, to suggest certain confidential ideas to the present Minister for India, so as to obviate any unfavourable remarks that party spirit might bring forward relative to the royal acceptance of the Nabob's will, and recent changes in the Carnatic.

"Lord Sidmouth can inform your lordship of interesting particulars relative to the *Senatus Consultum*, which followed the formation and deposit of the *secret will* and *testament* of the *actual ruler* of France, with the power of altering it,

as was connected with the deposit of the Nabob's will. Were that ruler to fall in battle or by the stiletto to-morrow, his last will, when opened, will fix the constituted authorities, and form a new hostility to this country.

"The good Nabob's will, if opened, would mark the superiority of his devoted attachment to the British sovereign, and to the British nation; and a few easy regulations in favour of his family, and his grandson, the actual Nabob, would fully acquit his Majesty and his late minister, Lord North, in all that was promised, or could, under actual circumstances, be done for the Nabob's successors.

"I take the liberty of enclosing for your lordship's perusal attested copies of the Nabob's letters to his Majesty and Lord North, and their answers relative to the will. Your lordship's attentive politeness in returning the last paper I communicated, encourages me to this communication."

Private. W. Elliot to The Same.

1807, February 9. Dublin Castle.—"You must permit me to return you my best thanks for the copy, which you have been so good as to send me, of the statement of your plan of finance; and I trust it will not be unacceptable to you to know that the measure has been received with as general satisfaction and approbation on this side of the channel as it seems to have been on yours. I have really heard but one sentiment about it.

"Having regularly detailed to Lord Spencer every circumstance that has occurred relative to the proceedings of the Catholics, I have not felt it necessary to trouble you with my correspondence on the subject. It is now six o'clock, and I probably shall not have any report of the result of the meeting of to-day until after the sailing of the packet. From what dropped from Lord Fingall and Sir Edward Bellew, when they were with me yesterday, it appeared to be their wish that an adjournment should take place in order to allow more time for an answer from England; but it was rumoured this morning that there would be a resolution to petition without further delay. Much will depend on Keogh, whose influence with the Catholic Body (especially with the Dublin Catholics) is very considerable. His speech to the meeting held on the 24th of January, soon after the interview of the Deputies with the Chancellor and me, was published this morning; and I enclose a copy of it, as it affords a true specimen of the vehemence and *craft* of his character."

Private. The Same to The Same.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—"Your note of the 6th instant reached me last night. No one can, I assure you, be more thoroughly alive to the embarrassment of the subject now under your consideration than I am. I do admit that

any concessions made now would have the appearance of being the price of forbearence, and would therefore come with diminished merit in the eyes of the Catholics. It is indisputable too that nothing material could be granted without touching the Act of 1793, which would of course bring the whole question into discussion. But I do not see how the agitation of it in one way or other is to be avoided ; for though it is doubtful whether the relaxations suggested might induce the Catholics to desist from their intention of petitioning, it seems *quite certain* that *without* an assurance of such concessions they will persevere ; and if a petition should be presented and not be supported by Government, I much dread the consequence would be the alienation of the Catholic Body from the Administration. I have repeatedly stated in my correspondence with Lord Spencer that it is by no means a *clear* point that the concessions alluded to would prevent a petition. I confess myself to be *very diffident* on this head ; and Keogh's growing influence at the meetings does not diminish my distrust. No specific propositions of this nature were made to me by any of the Deputies, but the Chancellor collected them in the course of his private conversations with Lord French and Keogh ; and the former, in a confidential discourse he had a few days since with the Chancellor, added to the list the admission to the rank of King's Counsel. I must observe too that no man can say whether these concessions would prevent a fresh agitation of the question next year. The Chancellor, however, thinks that some positive assurance might be obtained that no subsequent application should be made during the King's reign ; but I acknowledge I do not well see how any *secure* pledge of this sort could be obtained from a body which consists of so many different factions and leaders. The unlimited extension of the army *alone* would, I am afraid, *just now* be more injurious than beneficial ; for, as I mentioned in one of my letters to Lord Spencer, the Catholics would say that you opened the army to them merely because the public difficulties call for greater military exertions, and that more indulgences might have been procured for them if you had been in earnest. I hear that Keogh, in the meeting of yesterday, talked of an expectation of every thing being conceded short of seats in Parliament.

"I have been thus full on the topic of concessions that you may be distinctly apprised of how the facts stand. At the same time I cannot conceal from you that my opinion leans to concession, if any substantial indulgences can be granted ; and I cannot help thinking that the office of sheriff to which the Catholics certainly attach great value, the army, the bar, and the admission into bank direction and into offices of other corporations might do a good deal. Newport can give you useful information on the subject of corporations. The Bill which he introduced last session and which was rejected, would, if I mistake not, have in some degree facilitated

the admission of Catholics into corporations; and this circumstance raised the clamour against it. I have no copy of it, and really forget the provisions of it. His Bill, however, would not have opened corporate offices to them, from which they are at present in point of fact excluded; for, though the Act of '93 enables them to hold any office in, or to be members of any corporation, it provides that no person shall be enabled to hold any such office contrary to rules and orders established under the 17th and 18th, Charles 2nd; which Rules and Orders prescribe oaths not compatible with the Catholic tenets. The Lord Lieutenant may, to be sure, dispense with one of these oaths (that of supremacy) but it is a power which he has never of late years exercised. Newport, I believe, means to bring in his bill again this year. It was in a great measure owing to the late period of the session at which he introduced it, that it was before rejected."

Postscript.—" The Lord Lieutenant sends you the resolutions of the meeting of yesterday, and I enclose the copy of a short minute of them which I have just received."

Enclosure.

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND HELD IN DUBLIN.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—" The meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland was held yesterday at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in Earl Street.

" Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, French, and Southwell, were present. Mr. Keogh, in a speech of great length, explained the business on which they were called, urged the favourable circumstances which warranted the success of a petition at this time. The friends of the Catholics were in power, but could not of themselves bring their claims before Parliament; but, coming before them, no doubt could be entertained that all their talents and influence would be exerted in their behalf. He observed, if in 1805 they had so ably defended their cause and urged their claims, they must on every principle of consistency, at the present crisis, feel the measure of their emancipation more and more necessary and advisable. Four millions of loyal and suffering subjects implored relief from various vexations and oppressions from his Majesty's Government, and it would be madness to presume, after what has been so recently witnessed on the Continent, that their claim would be disregarded. Ministers would conceive such a conduct to be futhering the views and encouraging the hopes of Bonaparte. They would regard it as nothing less than recruiting for his armies. One thing of all others he most particularly recommended; *unanimity amongst themselves.* On the necessity of this he dwelt a considerable time, and most zealously advised that the packet of this night should convey to the Minister that, in their determination of petitioning, they were unanimous.

"The motion '*that this is a proper time* to petition' was not relished by some of the meeting. It was urged as more eligible that it should stand—'that we do now petition.' After some conversation the amendment was withdrawn, and the resolution, as originally proposed, was unanimously agreed to. No difference of opinion appeared in the meeting but on that one point, except that some persons wished that a petition should be produced *instanter*, and agreed to without further procrastination. But this proposition was overruled by Mr. Keogh, who was on his legs several times.

"A committee of five were appointed, who are ordered to prepare a petition, and the meeting was adjourned to this day sen'night.

"No less than five petitions had been prepared. Mr. Keogh said 'he never before saw the Catholics of Ireland *together*'; meaning that they never before were *unanimous*.

"Lord Fingal declared at dinner yesterday 'he never would again act in opposition to the Catholic majority.'" *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 11. Stowe.—"Your letter of this morning has indeed most deeply afflicted, as well as surprised, me. I was aware of what was going on in Ireland, and have not been idle on a matter so interesting, having taken every precaution to endeavour to keep down the expectations, which never can be put down, so long as there exists such a premium as the times have shown to result almost invariably from the most eager and violent clamour. There always will be a party to be bought off, and one noisy man is always sure to be succeeded by one equally clamorous. The bulk of the Catholic body is—I am persuaded—satisfied that in the actual state of the King's mind it is not possible to obtain more from him; and would be more than satisfied to wait events under the Government of those who, practically, would not oppress them. I should not therefore despair of seeing this sentiment very strongly expressed, if they were satisfied that all had been urged in favour of the palliative offered to the King; but I am not quite sure it has been wise to bring forward for the experiment upon his mind, a measure which, in truth, is of so little real use to them, as that which you proposed to insert by two clauses in the Mutiny Act. In the first place, Irish Catholics, in point of practice here in England, and in point of law in Ireland, find no difficulty in getting commissions in the army; and I could name some very lately put very high by the Duke of York for meritorious service abroad.

"The toleration *by law* of their religon here would, in point of fact, only put them on the same footing *legally* as in Ireland; and practically I am persuaded that the thing might be insured to them, without striking that string on which the King has clearly no use of judgment.

"I have always held to the Catholics the same language tending to reprobate the folly of pledging people against them in Parliament by renewing a petition which would certainly be negatived so long as the King lived, and was able to raise the cry of Church and King against them; and with these impressions I cannot approve the idea of surrendering my judgment on the time and mode, to the heat or the knavery of whoever is most noisy amongst the Catholics. And I entertain the very strongest doubts whether Government ought to consider the proposition made to the King as one to which they are engaged to the extent that appears to you to leave you no alternative. I think that the points themselves never could be stated as a *sine quâ non*, for they are not of sufficient importance to the Catholics; and certainly will not be considered, either by our friends or by the public, as of magnitude enough to justify you in resigning and breaking up a Government which, sooner or later. will carry its point, if you watch the moment; and which will infallibly by their resignation destroy any possibility of carrying a measure on which I think so seriously, as to hold you very deeply bound to all the consequences.

"I agree with you in the view of the good that might have arisen from the measure proposed, if the King's acquiescence could have been insured; but I cannot conscientiously say that the state of Ireland required you to state it as a *sine quâ non*, or to infer from the King's refusal the necessity of breaking up the Government for such a *lana caprina*, as that which is to be exhibited as the point in question. But if *I* in my conscience think that you are not so justified, let me ask you how you can expect either friend or foe to view it more favourably; or how you can hope to reconcile to the approbation of your conduct the great body of England who, after the very late decision by Parliament on the subject, had a right to expect that the question should be kept dormant, at least so far as Government could so keep it? You will say that you cannot keep the petition quiet. I agree with you, but being perfectly satisfied that the *whole measure* cannot pass during the life of the King, I should (if I had been consulted) have advised a course of acting which could not be mistaken, and which would equally secure your claim to consistency.

"When you tell me that you are fully resolved—and you trust your friends are—not to struggle for the [retention of place] by your Government, I conclude that you are open to the advice of those who certainly think as highly of the fair fame of consistency, and would be little disposed to a paltry struggle for *place*, if *place* were the only object. But there are too many collateral considerations mixed up with this question, and I should be much more inclined to doubt the wisdom of the step taken, if I imagined you or your friends —public or private—tied and bound to break up the Government upon the King's imbecile and mulish rejection

of the *nothing* that you proposed to him. On every other point you appear to be as much masters of your game as you could wish ; and upon any real point, the public mind would go with you ; but in this matter I verily believe that no one creature would bear you out in the step to which you advert ; and the real mischief that you will have done will be absolutely and entirely irreparable. I know that you will not like this language, but I think I see clearly that the whole may be parried without serious struggle, and with such explanations as may satisfy the Catholics. I had even yesterday begun a letter with this view to Dr. Milner, who leads their upper clergy, and had written to me to desire me to direct the tone they should take. His letter is full of the most entire confidence in *you*, and only presses for whatever may support, and enable *you*—to serve them at your own time, and in your own way. I have therefore every certainty that a considerable stand may be made, and that Government might at least divide the petitioners, by procuring an address from a great proportion of them, leaving the time to your discretion. But in the present state of things, as explained by your letter, I dare not write that, or anything else till I hear further from you. Milner is now at Wolverhampton, where he lives ; but I am sure he would go to Ireland or any where to serve you, and if you wish it, I would endeavour to work by him. At all events, I shall consider the dissolution of this Government as an evil so transcendent that every other consideration sinks before it ; and would almost in any case induce me to urge you to pause ; but in this matter I must say that my judgment does not go with you in the steps which you have taken, and still less do they appear to me to bear you out in those which you conceive as necessarily arising from them."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 12. Stowe.—" I cannot describe to you the satisfaction I felt in reading your note of this morning. My letter of yesterday will have shown you that I did not rate very highly the object in question ; but it is clear that you estimate it very high from the anxiety you have felt and the extent to which you pressed it. I am therefore delighted at the satisfactory arrangement to which you advert, and if you can make any use of me or my influence with Dr. Milner, to reconcile the mess, whatever it may be, to my wrong-headed countrymen, pray do not spare me ; and at all events pray let me know what the final arrangement is on the points at issue."

Private. LORD GRENVILLE to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February 12. Downing Street.—" I have just seen Sir John Newport to speak to him on the subject of your Grace's letter. We had here a little misunderstood the wish you had

expressed for delay on the tithe question, and had taken it as applying more generally than you meant it. Since we found how anxious you were for a speedy answer on the Catholic question, we have done all in our power to make that answer as speedy as possible. Our difficulties have been great, and Lord Spencer's dispatch of this date will acquaint you with the result.

"The line being thus taken, what remains is to make it as effectual as possible by using every possible exertion to discourage the idea of petitioning, and to obtain, if it can be done, a declaration of acquiescence and confidence from the moderate and well-disposed part of the body.

"I am quite sure you will do all that can be done towards this, but know too much of the natural lead which the most violent are apt to take in such discussions and meetings to look with very great confidence to our succeeding in it. If it fails, and our conduct in the discussion of the question should give offence to the Catholic body in general, we shall at least not have to reproach ourselves with their perverseness; and though they may abuse us, they will not readily find others who will befriend them more.

"When the measure has passed in Parliament, it will be of great importance that we should be prepared with some military arrangements in consequence of it, and I should particularly wish that you would in the interval consider of a list of persons to be recommended from amongst the Catholics for subalterns' commissions, in order that there may be a manifestation of immediately acting upon the new provisions of the law." *Copy.*

Lord Grenville to W. Elliott.

1807, February 13. Downing Street.—"I have not had time to write to you these last three days as fully as I had wished on the interesting subject which has occupied almost all my thoughts. Your private letter of the 10th reached me last night, after the despatch had been sent off to the Lord Lieutenant. But had this been otherwise, it could have made no variation in our decision. What we are enabled to do has been carried, as I may [tell] you confidentially, with the utmost difficulty, though certainly with proofs of temper and good will on the part of the King such as would render it still more difficult for us to press upon him further.

"Beyond this, I am perfectly satisfied he will not go. What then are we to do. Is it possible that we can stake the existence of the Government on points which we did not stipulate for when we came in, though we perfectly knew his decided objection to them; which we are fully convinced no Government could in the present temper of men's minds here carry in Parliament; and which are at this time rendered in no small degree objectionable, even in the eyes of those who have been most favourable to them, by the extreme intemperance with

which they have been pressed forward, without affording to the Government any time to deliberate upon them ; and by the more than intemperate (one might almost say treasonable) language of the speech which the prime and only ostensible mover of the business has published to the world as the ground of the step he has recommended.

" I know very well that a debate on the Catholic question may be productive of some personal embarrassment to myself, and may expose me to the reproach of inconsistency. But I have long accustomed myself to look at my duties in a higher point of view than that of consistency alone, which as often means perseverance in what is wrong as adherence to what is right. And I am fully satisfied that I should be deeply criminal, and even that I should be considered so, if I were to urge this question to the effect of breaking up the Government.

" If, therefore, the question comes forward, I am confident that I shall bring myself without difficulty to express indeed an adherence to the grounds of my former opinions, but to condemn without reserve the conduct and motives of those who have now pressed it forward, after it had so lately received a full and solemn discussion, and to declare that I will never be made a party to such views as are disclosed in Keogh's speech.

" But I cannot help still thinking it practicable to keep the question back ; from the moment it shall be known that such is the decided wish of Government. For, in truth, what can any Catholic who is capable of reasoning on such a subject answer to this statement ? If your petition is presented with the full knowledge that neither the King nor the two Houses of Parliament will concede the prayer of it, what do you mean should follow ? Either that the Government must support or must oppose it. If the former, the administration is once more broken up, and that too on the ground of the Catholic claims. Will that make their case the better in this country, or their condition easier in their own ? The prejudices and animosities here will break out against them with redoubled violence.—A new Ministry will be formed on the avowed ground of hostility to them, and that hostility will be shown by a mode of executing the existing laws exactly the reverse of that which now prevails. And although the persons composing the present Government may have been led to sacrifice to their ideas of consistency their situations and all their other duties, it may be presumed that they will not feel much kindness left towards those by whose intemperance this necessity will have been produced.

" If, on the other hand, the administration should, on the grounds I have already stated, or on any other, oppose the petition, what will then happen ? The Catholic cause will appear to the world to have lost, by the misconduct of its partisans in Ireland, the only friends it had in this country,

and, on a division, almost every person in Parliament of what ever description would be pledged against it.

"A tacit understanding had prevailed that the present Government would do for the Catholics whatever could really be found practicable, and as soon as it could be done; and that, in the mean time, the Catholics enjoying the fullest benefit of a favourable disposition towards them in the execution of the existing laws, would not unnecessarily agitate questions which they must know no Government can carry for them against the united sense of the King, the Parliament, and I may say, the public of this country. The Catholics have now violated this. The consequence must doubtless be of considerable prejudice to the present Ministers, but in thus injuring the only friends they had here, it is not easy to see what they hope to gain.

"All these topics are as familiar to your mind as they are to mine, but I have thus detailed them in order to show you what are the points which ought, I think, to be pressed upon them in conversation, and even, if necessary, in print; doing the latter always with that prudence and reserve which your own mind will naturally suggest." *Copy.*

Private. Lord Grenville to The Duke of Bedford.

1807, February 13. Downing Street.—"There can, I think, be no doubt that it would be right to comply with Lord Waterford's wishes respecting Coleraine. I have mentioned the subject to Lord Howick, who is perfectly satisfied respecting it." *Copy.*

Charles Fraser to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 16. Lincoln's Inn.—"There is one material consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, which does not seem to have occurred to its opposers, and from the want of local information, may not have presented itself to the enlightened mind of your lordship.

"That measure will render more difficult, if not utterly impracticable, any conquests which may be meditated by this country, at any period, of the colonies of France or Spain, in the West Indies, as well as of Carracas, Peru, or the Isles of France and Bourbon, and render perhaps insuperable the reluctance which has already manifested itself in the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres to the government of his Majesty; all which occurs to me from local knowledge, and personal observation in these countries.

"In the principal Spanish colonies, an unfortunate and mistaken idea of the original settlers that the employing of *male slaves only*, would be more advantageous, has prevented in a great measure, the importation of females, so that the sugar plantations are entirely destitute of any mixture of these, and must consequently be abandoned, without a yearly supply

from Africa. In the best cultivated of these colonies, not more than a hundreth part of the land has been cleared of wood, and in others, not one part in five thousand.

"When your lordship considers these circumstances, and that to the force of that inflexible antipathy and hatred against '*heretics*' arising from religious prejudice, and carefully inflamed and kept alive in minds ignorant and superstitious in the extreme, by the clergy, who are perfectly devoted to the interest of Government, will thus be super-added the powerful passion of *self interest* founded on the support and preservation of their families. It will be evident that these people would suffer death, rather than submit to any Government, hostile to these sovereign passions of their souls, destructive of the sole objects of their existence.

"The vice-royalty of Mexico, including Yuccatan and Gautimala, is the only part of Spanish America where the importation of Africans has been unnecessary, and every species of cultivation and labour is carried on by the Indians and mixed breeds. But I think it my duty to apprize your lordship, that owing to the alarm created by the abortive attempts on Carracas and Buenos Ayres, and perhaps to apprehensions from the Americans on the Mipissippi, the regiments of New Spain and Puebla, of two battalions each, which had remained at the Havana since 1796, were lately sent back to Mexico, where I find the organisation and discipline of the militia engage universal attention; and as every possible effort will continue to be made by Spain to throw further succours into that important possession, which is considered of more value to that crown, than all its other colonies, the conquest of it would now require a larger force than was contemplated previous to these alarms and preparations; and the success of such an enterprise would also depend on employing *fast-sailing and well-equipped ships only*, as transports, as no other would answer for a service, where every thing would depend on the fleets being able *to keep off shore* during the strong *northerly winds*, and *to approach it with celerity*, the moment these gales should subside, in order to land the troops."

Sir Arthur Wellesley to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 17. 11, Harley Street.—"In a conversation which I had some days ago with Sir James Cockburne, he informed me that Mr. Windham had it in contemplation to employ the troops destined eventually to serve in New Spain, to conquer the kingdom of Terra Firma, and afterwards to proceed to their ulterior destination; and he wished that I should consider that subject, and give him a memorandum upon it.

"I enclose a copy of one which I have sent to Sir James Cockburne to be submitted to Mr. Windham."

Enclosure.

MEMORANDUM, FEBRUARY 15, 1807.

"It has been suggested that it might be practicable to make an attack upon the kingdom of Terra Firma with the troops destined eventually to attack New Spain; and that the service in the first might be performed before the season would come round, which is most favourable for the service in the last.

"It will be recollected that, according to the plan, the attack upon New Spain was to be made in the beginning of December. That is the season in which the attack ought to be made on the kingdom of Terra Firma. The rains in Terra Firma commence in May and end in November, and although the rains might not be an insuperable obstacle to the mere possession of the city of Carraccas, they would undoubtedly to the conquest of the kingdom.

"The operations of the troops, supposing that they could keep the field, would necessarily be confined to the highlands, as the low countries on the banks of the rivers are overflowed in the season of the rains; and most particularly would it be necessary to delay till the month of December, at soonest, any operations on the Oronooko.

"This river begins to rise in the month of April; it overflows its banks and vast tracks of country, and is highest in the month of September. It then commences to fall and is lowest in the month of February. It appears therefore that the month of December is the earliest period at which it would be practicable to carry on operations on the Oronooko.

"According to this view of the subject, I should consider it impracticable to connect the attacks upon Terra Firma and New Spain, which must be considered as entirely distinct.

"Government, however, may think it desirable to obtain possession of the kingdom of Terra Firma, and as I have considered this subject, I beg leave to offer the following observations for their consideration. The whole population of the territories which make the government of the Captain-General of Carraccas, including Spanish Guiana, and the island St. Marguerite, is less than 800,000 souls; of which number 150,000 are whites; 200,000 slaves; about 300,000 enfranchised negroes or their descendants, and the remainder Indians.

"The government of this territory is divided into five departments; that of the province of Venezuela in the centre, that of Maracaibo to the westward, that of Cumana to the eastward, that of Guiana to the southward, and that of the island St. Marguerite to the north-east. There is in Venezuela an army consisting of 6,558 men, of which 918 are regular infantry; 900 artillery, principally militia; 150 militia cavalry; 2,400 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour. In Maracaibo there is a body of 1,218 men; of which 308 are regular infantry; 100 black artillery; 450 white militia; and

the remainder people of colour. In Cumana there are 2,916 men; of which 221 are regular infantry; 450 artillery, principally militia; 175 militia cavalry; 1,080 white militia, and the remainder people of colour. In Guiana there are 1,120 men; of which 150 are regular infantry; 100 militia artillery; 150 militia cavalry; 360 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour. In the island of St. Marguerite there are 1,347 men; of which number 77 are regular infantry; 400 militia artillery; 50 militia cavalry; 360 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour.

The total of troops is, in		Venezuela	6,558
,,	,,	Maracaibo	1,218
,,	,,	Cumana	2,916
,,	,,	Guiana	1,120
,,	,,	St. Marguerite	1,347
			13,059

"It is probable that these numbers are not complete; but the late occurences at Buenos Ayres show that we ought not to rely entirely upon the accounts which we have received of the inefficiency of the Spanish military establishments in America; and in this part of their dominions in particular, it is probable that measures for their defence will have been adopted, in consequence of the attempts made upon them in the last year by Miranda.

"Adverting therefore to the state of population of these territories, particularly to the proportion which that of the great cities bears to the general population of the country, to the strength of the military establishments as above detailed, and to their probable state of preparation, I conceive that the attack upon these possessions ought not to be made with a smaller force than 10,000 men, besides artillery. Of this number 6,000 ought to be British infantry; 1,400 British cavalry; 2,600 black infantry.

"The place of assembly for this force ought to be the island of Barbadoes; Jamaica would be too far to leeward. Their operations ought to be directed in the first instance to get possession of the whole of the eastern part of this territory; from whence they would soon have the means of reducing the western parts. The plan according to which I would propose to carry these operations into execution, would be to divide the army into three corps, to make their attacks nearly at the same time. One, consisting of 5,000 men with a regiment of cavalry, to attack La Guira and the city of Caracas. The other, consisting of 2,500 men, with half a regiment of cavalry, to attack Cumana; and the third, consisting of 2,500 men with half a regiment of cavalry, to ascend the Oronooko, to occupy such ports upon that river as might be necessary in order to secure its navigation, and to take possession of St. Thome, the capital of Spanish Guiana, situated at Augustina.

After their first success the movements of these three detachments should be diverted to communicate with each other, by the possession of Cumana Coa, La Conception, and such other points as might be necessary, and then to the conquest of the whole territory.

"The principal difficulty of these operations would probably be the landing at La Guira; but I have little doubt, that it would be effected without sustaining any very material loss. There would be no difficulty in effecting the landing at Cumana, but a small fort is to be attacked, which I don't believe is of great strength.

"The trade wind blows up the Oronooko, with sufficient strength to enable a vessel to stem it's current; and there would be no difficulty in accomplishing the objects proposed for this detachment.

"I will furnish a detailed arrangement for the operations of these different detachments, if government should think it proper to attack these territories.

"I should imagine from the situation of these territories, and from the fact that a great part of them is annually inundated, that they cannot be healthy. Parts of them are certainly unhealthy; but I am not enabled to point out which are least so.

"Although it is probably out of my province, I hope I shall be excused if I discuss the policy of attacking these territories, and consider the system upon which the settlement of them is to be made.

"There is no doubt that the territories under the Captain-General of the Carraccas, are the most fertile in the world, and might turn out to be the most valuable colony that Great Britain or any other nation ever possessed. But Great Britain would not derive any additional benefit from them at present as a market for her manufactures and produce. As the number of inhabitants is not very large, there is no very easy communication between these territories and other parts of South America; and there is reason to believe that large quantities of British produce are already conveyed into the kingdom of Terra Firma, by the means of neutrals, and the contraband trade. The benefit to be derived from the possession of these countries would be gained by the extension and improvement of their cultivation; of which, as the slave trade will be abolished, there are no hopes. On this ground therefore the possession of the Colony would be of little positive advantage to Great Britain.

"It will require at all times a large force to keep possession of it; possibly as large as that which will be employed to conquer it. There can be no doubt but that the habits and prejudices of the native Creoles, and Spanish inhabitants of Terra Firma, will be adverse to the British government; and in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, their feelings will not be counteracted by the benefit and profit which they

would derive from the employment of British capital, and increased numbers of hands in the cultivation and improvement of their estates. I am therefore convinced that the gain which Great Britain will derive from the possession of this colony, under present circumstances, will not compensate for the loss which may be sustained, and the expense which will be incurred in the conquest, and the inconvenience of maintaining it.

"But if we should not take possession of these territories during the war, I have but little doubt that the French Government will take possession of them after the peace. In this view the conquest of Terra Firma becomes very important, as it involves the question of throwing into the power of France the means of establishing herself in the most fertile, and the country most advantageously situated for commerce, of any in South America.

"The only mode which I can suggest of effecting this important object, without incurring the inconvenience of maintaining in Terra Firma a large military force, would be to establish there an independent government. Although much depends upon the details of such an arrangement, this is not the time for discussing them; and I shall only observe at present upon this part of the subject, that, considering the local situation of these territories, the probability of their being attacked, and the strength of the power by which they might be attacked, there does not appear the same objection to the establishment of an independent government within them, as in the other parts of the Spanish territories with reference to which this question has been considered."

Private. The Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 18. Dublin Castle.—"George Walpole has made an application to Elliot for the patronage of Government in the borough of Dungarvan; and as his borough is wholly the property of the Duke of Devonshire, upon whose interest Walpole is returned for it, I conceive that the same principle which guided our determination in regard to Coleraine ought in this instance to operate in favour of his request, unless any engagement you may have made with Lord Waterford may stand in the way of it."

Private. Lord Grenville to The Duke of Bedford.

1807, February 20. Downing Street.—"I think the principle you state respecting Dungarvan seems quite fair.

"I sent Elliot two days ago a letter from General Needham asking some share of Newry. It is a difficult case, because of Lady Downshire and Corry; yet, as Needham is actually the sitting member, and supports, it seems difficult to exclude him entirely. I should be glad to know what your opinion is about it." *Copy.*

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 20. 11, Harley Street.—"Mr. Frazer sent me the draft of a letter which he proposed to address to your lordship, on the day that I wrote to you last; which contained among other things some intelligence which he had received from Havannah relative to the state of affairs in Mexico. Part of the letter related to opinions which he had formed on the effect which the abolition of the slave trade would have upon the plan of conquest in Spanish America, which I told Mr. Frazer he might as well omit; and as I have not heard from him since, I fear that he has omitted to send you the intelligence to which I have above referred.

"It is in substance that the governor of the Havannah, being apprehensive that an attack would be made upon Mexico from what had passed at Buenos Ayres, and the Caraccas, had sent to that country from the Havannah, two regiments each of two battalions; and that the reports at the Havannah was that the Viceroy at Mexico was taking means to secure the country under his government by arming and disciplining the militia. I have not seen Mr. Frazer so as to ascertain the foundation of this intelligence, but I have thought it proper to communicate it to your lordship, least he should have omitted to do so."

Enclosing letters and memoranda written in November, 1806, *on the same subject, which are printed in the Appendix to this Volume.*

Private. SIR JOHN MACPHERSON to THE SAME.

1807, February 20. Brompton.—"Though you have the best sources of real information from India, the enclosed letter from Governor Duncan of Bombay, which I have just received, will be found worthy of your perusal and attentive consideration. That governor possesses, in the highest degree, the confidence and good will of the natives, nor could your lordship do an act more pleasing to them, in favour of an individual, than your recommending Governor Duncan to a mark of the royal favour. I took the liberty to suggest that idea to Lord Minto. It is to Lord Grenville I would wish Governor Duncan to owe the obligation of being created a baronet. He and Mr. Petrie, at Madras, will aid Lord Minto effectually to suppress the general spirit of disaffection, which our enemy is eternally instigating, but which, with the vast means in our power, and the confirmation of the obvious proper system, may be easily suppressed.

"The Russian armed manifesto, and the noble system of finance, which does honour to the present administration, and which in its basis rests, though not ostensibly, on the security of our India finance, will, before a year is closed, force the enemy to a general congress—to reason—and to peace.

"Having opened the ideas, which a forty years practical knowledge of India affairs, as well as my travels on the continent for nearly four years, have suggested to me, and having, in opening those ideas to our actual Ministers, appealed to recorded plans, and communicated original papers, your lordship will not have much more trouble from me upon these subjects. I shall only take the liberty to add that, if your lordship's truly respectable relation could be spared for three months from the naval department, and pay a circular visit to the sovereigns of the Continent, by whom he is superiorly esteemed; great and good would be the consequences. Austria would become united, and Spain detached. France would be then in check."

Enclosure (1).

JOHN DUNCAN, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, to SIR JOHN MACPHERSON.

1806, August 23. Bombay.—"I have been favoured with your letter of the 1st of March by your relation Major Campbell, to whom I will be attentive, as opportunity may offer. I delivered your message to Sir James Mackintosh, who says he will answer it by a letter, and he has kept your response to his declaration. It is strange that two Highlanders should thus be the *orateurs par écrit* of the citizens of London, as if they were obliged to seek so far for the means of making themselves advantageously understood.

"Your system of revenue will, I fear, never be tried as a general measure in India; although I wish it had at the proper season. But now it is *écrasé* by a voluminous lot of regulations, all framed in opposition to its principle; for, in speaking of your system, I suppose you mean that first promulgated, or rather revived by Sarishtadár Grant. No doubt, that is the true Mogul system, and more so practically in all the other parts of India I have been in than in Bengal. To collect according to the produce. We still do so, on this side of India, where the practice is general, and I feel myself at a loss between that local expediency, and the urgency of conforming to the spirit of the revenue laws now in force throughout the rest of British India.

"Perhaps the safe way would have been for the English in India to *make no innovations*, not even where tempted by the most enticing views of speculative amelioration. We have two objects in this country—to make it by a discreet and just system of administration, based on their old Indian habits, profitable to the mother country; and for that purpose to maintain our dominion in it. The late events at Vellore, which garrison the Mysore princes were able to induce our own sepoys to endeavour to wrest from us, and in which they had well nigh succeeded (killing and wounding our officers as per enclosed list) betrays the secret of what a little hold

we have on the affections of those on whom we must nevertheless rely for our Indian dominion. On this painful subject I enclose the extract of a letter I this day wrote to a friend in Bengal, which will tell you in substance all I know of the progress and rumours incident to this truly unfortunate event, which has no doubt been reported on fully by the present despatch by the Madras government. That government seems to have always been more involved in trouble than any other in India.

"The extract alluded to, contains likewise an account of an extraordinary passenger returned to us on the *St. Vincent* from England. I will use the man well, both because he has attracted (as would seem) the attention of the government at home, and because also, his perseverance demands a certain degree of respect; nor would it be good policy to discourage such appeals to the seat of power. Although this be one of the slightest cases of injury that can be well conceived if (as far as we yet know) it only relates to a Soubahdary of the Surat chief's; by which, according to the man's petition at the time, he could not have had an income exceeding forty rupees per month, yet to him, these forty rupees were as valuable (as the man shows) as much more to others. You know that a service of this kind is neither permanent nor hereditary in the nature of it, and I could hardly compel Mr. Seton to entertain a man about his person whom he charged with a mutinous and perverse disposition. Perhaps, however, there may be more in this matter than has yet come to light. We suspected at first that the party in question had been home on the part of the Nabob of Surat, but this he denies.

"I see the question as to that Nabob's rights was bringing on by Mr. Paull before Parliament. If they examine the case well, I have no objection, having merely been the executive officer on that occasion, in carrying into effect a solemn resolution of the supreme government. My own opinion as to the merits of the case, was not conformable to the supreme government's determination, as, on the contrary, I concurred with my colleagues here, that the succession to the nabobship should not be interrupted or its powers lessened, because that question had been before determined by the supreme government when Marquis Cornwallis was formerly in the chair. Lord Wellesley thought and decided differently, and ordered the powers of government to be assumed in Surat by the Company, under a treaty which he sent round for the present (nominal) Nabob to sign; but without making his signing it or not any condition of our assuming the entire authority; and as his lordship wrote me separately at the same time a private letter intimating his wish that I would go up to carry their said resolves into effect, and predicting that if I did not do so, the object must fail, I could not do less than yield to such an invitation; and I had afterwards his lordship's warmest approbation for the manner in which I executed

(merely in a ministerial capacity) the determination they came to. This is the brief history of my connection with the Surat question ; and if it should have appeared otherwise before Parliament, the merits of the case have not been duly investigated ; and I will add, in justice to Lord Wellesley, that the prospect of future tranquillity to the town of Surat (containing nearly half a million of souls) has been fully realised since this change of its government ; and, as that was one of his lordship's leading views in ordering it, he is entitled to the praise of this political foresight.

" I am glad to hear from you that the cotton question will not injure me, for although it be but negative satisfaction to escape censure for what I know merits praise, yet in certain cases, one is glad to compound with superior power, and to feel thankful for forbearance. I regret that the papers at length on this subject which I sent you were thrown over board on the *Hercules* packet, when she was taken by the French on her passage home. I will, however, have another copy made, and forwarded by the Madras fleet that sails in October; which may, I hope, have better luck, for I wish you to peruse, and let me have your candid opinion on the whole subject.

" I see advertised an account of Nepaul by Mr. Campbell, editor of the *Asiatic Annual Register*. If he truly traces that history, he will see that I first unlocked the door unto it, and concluded the first treaty with the Raja of that day. By the bye, I don't observe that Mr. Campbell any longer puts me down as one of his subscribers, although I desire to be considered so, thinking generally very well of his book as you may tell him. If I be in his debt for any of the annual volumes, will you desire John Forbes to pay the amount for me and let me know how this fund stands."

Postscript.—" You will make such use of my letters as you think discreet and useful. I used to correspond regularly with the late President of the Board of Control, and would with the present, did I know it would be agreeable to his lordship. He may probably have known that his brother and I were many years ago contemporaries in Bengal, and the most intimate of any two young men on that establishment."

Enclosure (2).

Extract of a private letter to Bengal.

1806, August 23.—" In the last ships from England there came out a passenger called Sidi Ali Mahomed Cheja, who turns out to have been a Jemadar of Pions to Mr. Seton. the late chief of Surat, and was dismissed by him for alleged ill behaviour. I recollect the man's making some stir about his removal, and that I made some enquiry into it; but Mr. Seton represented the man's conduct in so unfavourable a light that I abstained from insisting on his reinstatement,

considering, no doubt, that he was a sort of personal servant about the then chief. For this cause and the consideration of a salary of between 30 and 40 rupees a month, does this man appear to have set out overland for England, where he hoped, it seems, to find Mr. Corkran, who had formerly known him at Broach, where his father was many years ago killed in the Company's employ ; in view to which a small pension had been settled on the family at Surat, and made payable by the Nabob. He was three years and two months on his journey, according to his own account ; and visiting Morocco in the course of it, obtained an introduction from the King of that country to ours, with which, proceeding to England, he was, he avers, well received by Lord Camden then Secretary of State, who ordered a house to be hired for him, and a chariot and other conveniences to be provided for his use. He lived thus in clover for ten months at an expense, he says, to the State of seventeen hundred guineas. At length he was sent for by Lord Minto, and a passage ordered for him on the *St. Vincent* for which 300*l.* was paid, with an assurance that orders would be sent to India, respecting the subject of his memorial. On the ship's arrival, he came to me, and asked where he was to live ; but having no recollection of him, and there being no mention of him in the general letter, or otherwise than by his name being inserted in the list of passengers, I at first declined to incur any expense on his account. Next day, however, at his request through the captain of the ship, I sent my moonshee to him, who took down what he choose to deliver, which did not then extend to a disclosure of his purpose or person, wishing (he said) to defer these particulars till he was fairly settled on shore. Meanwhile he had addressed a letter to Mr. Corkran with a general intimation of his story, and of his reliance from old acquaintance on that gentleman, which led to our discovery of the case ; for, although I have taken him on shore and given him a house, and a decent subsistence, he still refrains from any explanation of the object of his journey home, excepting a declaration that he was not sent by any body, and that a regard for the national welfare alone prompted him to this adventure. He is disappointed in the instructions about him not being yet received. He says that Lord Minto observed his case was so clear that the Governor of Bombay would himself do him justice ; but how he has represented it we cannot certainly know till the promised instructions arrive, which they will, I suppose, do by the next ship or packet.

" Meanwhile I wish you would enquire of Mr. Seton in Bengal, the son of the late Chief or Lieutenant-Governor of Surat, whether there be among his father's papers any memoranda concerning this person ; and in that case, that he will, through you, furnish me with copies thereof, for eventual use ; with which view you may let him know what I have above written.

"They write from Madras that the Vellore conspiracy has very deep roots and extensive ramifications, and is essentially founded on the disaffection of the country to us, derived from our too severe exaction of the revenue, and the introduction of our courts of justice; which, levelling all distinctions, is (as might be supposed at the first outset) obnoxious to the greater class of inhabitants. This is given as the remote cause; the proximate ones are, no doubt, the innovations in the dress of the sepoys, and the disgust thence generated being allowed, through the incredible carelessness of our local guardians in that quarter, to be fermented and worked upon, by the Mysore princes who could, as men, be scarcely expected to resist so favourable an opportunity. Well it will be, if we here find the end of the threatening evil; but you will have heard of the supposed machinations in the Nizam's country to a similar effect, namely, the overthrowing of the British power, which Providence will I trust avert; and that it is doing so, we may hope from the consideration that had not the Vellore plot exploded a few days sooner than was intended, its consequences would have, in all probability, proved much more disastrous than have yet occurred. We hear the princes are on their way to Bengal; but, if we lose the love of the country, or rather if there arise an active hatred against us, our tenure will prove sadly insecure."

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1807, February 20. Downing Street.—"I have just received from Lord Spencer another despatch from the Duke of Bedford, enclosing a newspaper in which the answer given by Elliot to the Catholics is detailed. As this will be in all the papers to-morrow evening, it seems very important that you should anticipate it by giving notice to-night in the House of Commons of the proposed alterations in the Mutiny Bill.

"As there will be some other, though less important, changes in the Mutiny Bill, it may be right to mention this also.

"Windham had undertaken to see Bond as to the two clauses. If he has not done so, it is very important that no time should be lost, as the clauses ought to be well considered before they are proposed.

"I am going to-morrow morning to Dropmore for a day or two; but, if the business presses, the clauses can be sent down to me there." *Copy.*

Private. VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 21. Stratton Street.—"I am this moment returned from the House of Commons. I received your note there and immediately gave notice of the intended clauses in the Mutiny Bill. As I thought Windham's would not be ready, I put off the committee to Tuesday sen'night, which will give full time for considering them carefully, and will

render it unnecessary to disturb you on this account during your excursion to Dropmore.

"Wilberforce, the Solicitor General, and indeed everybody to whom the subject has been mentioned, have stated so strong an opinion against suffering the Abolition Bill to pass in its present shape, that I think we must make up our minds to the introduction of the proposed clauses. If you come to town on Monday, I wish you would devote an hour to the consideration of this point with Wilberforce and me on Tuesday morning.

"The fifty-fifth bulletin, which appears in a *Moniteur* received to-day, announces positively the declaration of war against Russia by the Porte. From the manner in which it is stated I have no doubt of its truth. Will it be necessary to take any further measures in consequence ?

"I have spoken to Bond, and will urge Windham forward as fast as I can."

Private. W. Elliott to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 21. Dublin Castle.—"Mr. Fisher's letter reached me at a very late hour last night.

"The two situations alluded to by General Needham are both promised ; the collectorship to a friend of Lady Downshire, and the surveyorship to a relation of Corry, whose interest in the town of Newry is now united with Lady Downshire's. Lady Downshire and General Needham are at open war, and if the Lord Lieutenant had not acceded to Lady Downshire's application, it would probably have produced a rupture between her and Government."

Postscript.—"The Lord Lieutenant never received any application from General Needham, and the engagements were made some time ago."

Private. Marquis Wellesley to The Same.

1807, February 21. Oxford Street.—"I have just now received the inclosed note from Arthur, and I send it to you without delay.

"I am satisfied that he is better qualified for any service, either military or civil, in India than any person whom I know ; and if any mischief has been occasioned, either in the army or territories subject to the government of Fort St. George, he is the best possible instrument for remedying it. He possesses in the highest degree the confidence of the army and of the civil service in India, and especially at Fort St. George ; and he is entirely untainted with prejudice in favour of any systems or men.

"He is indifferent to the period of his continuance, but would be happy to execute any service to which he might be deemed equal.

"This note requires no answer ; if you should think of Arthur, you will of course send to him."

Enclosed.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, February 21. 11, Harley Street.—"Your will have heard the reports which are in circulation in London about the late occurrences in the Carnatic, which certainly must draw the serious attention of Government. In a conversation which I had with Mr. Tierney the other day in the House of Commons upon this subject, I understood that the settlement of Madras, as well as the Council, were much divided in opinion upon this as well as upon every other subject, and that affairs there were in a state of confusion from which they could be relieved only by a change of authority, and by sending out there a person having the confidence of Government, and military as well as civil power. Interested as I am for that settlement, and for the credit of the army of Fort St. George, I cannot but agree with Mr. Tierney, although I should be very sorry to see anything disagreeable done by Lord William; and I think it probable that this will be the measure adopted by Government.

"You are aware of the service on which Lord Grenville proposed to employ me; but I think that every day affords a slighter hope that we shall be able to carry our plans into execution. I am therefore induced to tell you that, if you approve of it, I should like to offer him my services upon this occasion. My opinion is that, if Government should determine to make any change at Madras, they should do it immediately, and the person to be appointed ought to go forthwith. I am ready to set out at a day's notice.

"I have no particular desire to return to India, and no wish to stay there one moment longer than Government may think that I can be of service. I have also to mention that, although I think I should be more likely to succeed in re-establishing affairs at Madras, and in regaining the confidence of the army by having both civil and military authority, as Sir William Meadows had, I have no objection to go with either, or in any other situation in which Lord Grenville may think I can be useful.

"If you should approve of my notions, I beg you to offer my services to Lord Grenville; and you may tell him that, notwithstanding all that has passed with the Court of Directors, I have reasons to believe from the communications I have had with many of them, that they would have been glad to appoint me to the office of Commander-in-Chief, if circumstances had permitted Government to recommend me for that situation; and that they would now be happy to send me to Madras."

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 22. Stratton Street.—"Miolay yesterday communicated to me the despatches he received by the last

courier from the Baron de Budberg. They state the overture made by France to treat for a general peace with this country, Russia, and Prussia conjointly, and the answer given by the Court of Petersburgh ; which is, first to ask on what basis France would negotiate ; and proposing, if a basis should be agreed upon, that the negotiation should be carried on in a neutral territory. Miolay is instructed to represent the expediency of our agreeing in this proposal, and Gallicia is proposed as the seat of the negotiation, on account, I suppose, of the convenience of the situation to us.

" This morning Sidling Effendi brought me two letters, one for the King and one for me, the last enclosing the notes which had been delivered to M. d'Italinski, and Mr. Arbuthnot, in consequence of the declaration of war against Russia. They are very long, and contain nothing very material but the fact above mentioned. They appear very solicitious to preserve peace with us, but this, I have told the Turkish minister, is nearly impossible.

" Upon both these points an answer should not be delayed. We must have a Cabinet as soon as possible after you come to town."

Earl Temple to The Same.

1807, February 24.—" Enclosed is a letter from my father, and another from my uncle, on the subject now in discussion. The former I have seen, and I can only observe that my father always feels stronger upon a point in which I am concerned than upon any other. Sanguine and eager in all he undertakes, his affection for me makes him more eager in proportion as he conceives that I am interested in the question. My feelings upon the point he presses are as strong as his. My conviction that the Government would lose much in character, and gain but little in strength by the accession of George Rose, is to the full as decided as his. Upon this I rest the strongest. My own personal feelings ought not to stand in the way of an arrangement beneficial to the Government. At the same time with me they must have some weight, when accompanied by the persuasion that the Government would not be the better for the sacrifice of them. This, however, is matter only of opinion ; and however strong mine may be, it of course will always give way to yours. If the question now pending ever reaches as far as discussion of terms, I cannot disguise the mortification I should feel in finding one of those terms, not to be departed from, to be the admission of Rose into the Government. Still, however, I should feel it my duty, though it would be a painful one, to give way ; fully convinced, however, that, putting aside all personal considerations of my own, the Government will lose by the arrangement.

" With respect to the point urged in my uncle's letter, I cannot too strongly urge the adoption of the plan he proposes. Late last night I had a letter from the person through whom

the communication has taken place, urging in the strongest manner that some communication should take place as soon as possible between you and C[anning]. His friends were continually urging him forward, and the delays he had thrown upon their plans, had already created some suspicion in the minds of Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury. The Opposition are not satisfied with the head they have found in the Duke of Portland, and they have three candidates for the place. You will laugh when I name them, but you may depend upon the fact ; the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Richmond, and the *Marquis of Abercorn.* The second is the favourite. To arrange this finally, and to pledge all who are to be pledged, meetings and dinners are to be given this week. This makes the difficulties of Canning's situation of course greater ; and I cannot but think that Lord Sidmouth's objections, whatever they may be, can be as strongly insisted upon *after* you know how far Canning's terms will admit of discussion, as before. If your determination is to see him, as I hope it will be, the messenger must return as soon as you can send him back."

Enclosing two letters :

Enclosure 1.

The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 19. Stowe.—" I take the opportunity by a servant whom I send through London to Gosfield, to write to you upon a point that gives me uneasiness, in proportion to the pain which my son expresses to me. He has stated to me very much at length, the communications that have passed through his hands respecting Mr. Canning, and his sincere and anxious hope that he may have been the humble instrument of putting within your reach an arrangement that, in the contingency of Lord Grey's death, may put you at your ease respecting the House of Commons. He states to me his fear that you may have an uneasy task respecting Lord Sidmouth ; but he thinks—as I do—that finally the objection that naturally occurs in the first moments to Canning's co-operation, will be given up by Addington. He therefore looks to the probability of this matter being brought to immediate discussion between you and Canning, in which some of the subordinate points that have been hitherto only hinted at, will be opened to you, and amongst them will be —as my son imagines—the proposition of office or arrangement for George Rose ; and he tells me that he is not without his alarm that you are not indisposed to admit such a proposition.

" Perhaps I am not quite as impartial an adviser on this matter as I wish to be upon every matter, in which your ease or credit are concerned, But I am sure I do not suffer my prejudices to get the better of my judgment, when I entreat you to consider this point upon public grounds, and to weigh well the impression which will be created by the

acquisition of a man so utterly devoid of all public character, and one so notoriously dipped in all the filth which you and your friends are labouring to remove. It is impossible to avoid hearing these stories whenever any transaction such as Delaney's, Davison's, and others are brought before the public eye; and even if a well-grounded jealousy did not exist in the public mind on this subject, his conduct in Parliament upon all those questions of economy and investigation of accounts would be sufficient to affix upon him a very general impression of the most unfavourable description. If I am right in this opinion, I need not urge to you the extreme disadvantage to you of any arrangement that is to stain your Government by the contamination of one to whom so much has been imputed; and whose opposition in the House of Commons has been marked by a public course of conduct and opinions quite peculiar to himself, and quite incompatible with any of the public principles to which we stand engaged. On these grounds I should urge you to withstand such a proposition from Canning, as one that stands upon grounds wholly different from those that operate on your mind to induce you to treat with him.

"But it is impossible for me not to remind you of the uniform *personal* and direct attack, in which this man has gone out of his way to endeavour to throw every obloquy, and every public cry of every description, against every one bearing our name, or connected with us. You will trace it in every discussion of your conduct, and in every public debate with my son last year; in the Hampshire election, where his use of your name and my son's was as foul as it was invariable and constant; and latterly in the discussions of this year in the House of Commons, where his attack upon you, upon Lord Temple, and upon Mr. Fremantle as *your* agent, and acting under *your* immediate orders, have been so personally offensive and malicious, as to make it utterly impossible for any man of those feelings which, I hope, my son will ever entertain, to find himself in any habits with a Government in which he is to meet such a man; of whom, whether in respect of his public or private character and conduct, he thinks in common with all mankind, but with the additional irritation, of having been obliged by managements for Government, to bear so much of what he would not otherwise have borne for a moment.

"He states to me in terms the most amiable, the cheerfulness with which, so far as he has been concerned, he has urged by every exertion in his power, an arrangement with Canning for the security and ease of your Government; though personally to him the consequences of this arrangement will be necessarily the putting at a greater distance, any views of his own, such as we had more than once talked over last year. But I find his mind is so uneasy at finding you inclined to listen to the idea of including Rose in this arrangement,

that he expresses to me the most earnest hope that the result of all the trouble he has taken for the strengthening your Government may not be the sacrifice of himself on this new altar to George Rose ; and for this purpose he has in the warmest terms pressed me to state to you—what he does not like personally to urge to you—the gratification he will feel in every thing that contributes to your ease, but the anxious hope that you will, for your own sake, but certainly for his sake, relieve him from the pain he feels on this subject. And he urges me the more strongly to this representation to you, by assuring me that he has every reason to satisfy himself—and he speaks of course with more knowledge than any one can possess on this matter—that Canning will not pin his conduct upon this point, but that, if he is satisfied of your disinclination to it, he will most certainly give way.

" In all this I have opened to you my whole heart ; and I verily declare that I am satisfied you will lose as much ground in your public character, as you will in your private affections and feelings, by putting this upon those you love so well. I therefore beg you to pause on your resolutions in this matter, so far as Rose is concerned in it, till you have tried the extent of your line with Canning, on the supposition of its being negatived.

" Since I received this letter from my son, it has occurred to me that I can give you a facility to your negotiation on this matter with Lord Sidmouth. I understood ten days ago that he either was, or is to be, a very warm supplicant with you, to bring Sullivan into Parliament, who, with Lord Buckinghamshire, has spent a very large sum of money at Lincoln, where he has been beat, and is at the end of his line. I had calculated on the Buckingham vacancy—if it should be liberated by Neville being seated for Saltash, which is now I hope certain—for an object of old personal regard and friendship. But, if you can put Addington into humour for this negotiation, by engaging my Buckingham seat for Sullivan until my son George, now eighteen, shall be of age, I am most willing to promote this object of Canning, which I have much at heart for your ease and comfort, by making this arrangement in favour of Mr. Sullivan, which, I know, is an object very near to Lord Sidmouth's wishes.

" Do not think me too urgent upon all this business. Everything so nearly interesting to you, and to my dear son, must be deeply interesting to me ; and as such, I should not do justice to my feelings, if I did not state my whole heart upon it ; and I send this open to my son, that he may read it, and may more easily converse with you upon it."

Enclosure 2.

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 23.—" Lord Temple has just now been discussing with me the subject which you had mentioned respecting

the owner of South Hill. You know that I am at least as anxious as you, or as any body can be, to find a prosperous result to this negotiation ; and by what Lord Temple tells me, I cannot help thinking that it would be beyond all things important that you should see the person in question without any further delay, with all the advantages for your meeting that Dropmore affords. If you send up this evening, Lord Temple will manage with the other that he shall go down to Southill to-morrow, and then go over to you on Wednesday, and talk the thing fairly over with you, to see what present or future facilities can be found. To present facilities I should most earnestly entreat you to look, more especially as I am persuaded that the person in question—with all his eminent talents—is less than anybody calculated to carry on the wary course of sitting on the Opposition bench without committing himself in hostile discussions to the Government. The only possible objection to your seeing him now would be that of doubting how far you may be able to reconcile Lord Sidmouth to it. But surely you will do much better to ascertain first, with the person in question, whether his views are such as can probably be assisted or realised, in the case of the difficulty of Lord Sidmouth being surmounted ; because you are otherwise beginning at the wrong end, and encountering all the difficult discussions with Lord Sidmouth before you know how far you shall be advanced in the case of your having persuaded Lord Sidmouth to acquiesce. The other person is of an eager and impatient mind; being seen now, will probably go great lengths to engage himself ; and there is the peculiar additional inducement of the chance of your being at Dropmore. I do, therefore, most earnestly recommend to you without loss of time to authorise Lord Temple to fix with him for his coming over to you at Dropmore on Wednesday. I have only further to add that it seems to me beyond measure desirable that *present* arrangements should be made, instead of *future* propositions ; and that any possible immediate arrangement which I can in any way assist, I shall be most happy to concur in, being perfectly persuaded that want of health and strength will make it impossible for me to give you leading assistance in the House of Commons ; and being well assured that, under those circumstances, the best help I can give you is to furnish every facility by giving Admiralty, or anything else that can best assist. But by all means do, without loss of time, see *him* on Wednesday."

W. Windham to The Same.

1807, February 24. [Arlington Street.]—" The troops by this time will have nearly embarked, and everything be ready for the departure of Whitelock and Gower from town to-morrow night. The Admiralty have very properly given them a frigate instead of one of the sloops, the convoy before having

been scarcely sufficient either for convenience or safety. There will be of troops, between regiment, recruits, and artillery, near 1,700 men. I called on you on Saturday to mention several particulars not previously known or settled; but found you were gone out of town. Since that I have been unwell. Cotton could not well be sent, had he been ready, as there is already a cavalry general there, Lumley. At the wish of Whitelock, supported by the Duke of York, Ackland has been sent, who, from his services at Maida, had a claim for employment on the first favourable opportunity. The regiment sent is a battalion of the 89th, Whitelock's own. On talking over the instructions with your brother on Saturday, several alterations occurred, besides what has been added since the copy which I sent to you.

"Some of these are of so much importance that I could have wished for more time to talk of them. I have given up at the suggeston of your brother, and without much struggle, the idea of combining the supply of the service at Buenos Ayres with the future supply of India. I believe these combinations rarely answer, and they leave you in the mean while completely in the dark. It is better to lose some time and be upon a certainty. A new circumstance of doubt has arisen as to the delivery of the orders by the *Fly*. The chance does not seem to be much of the *Fly* following Murray to the Cape, and consequently of Craufurd's going to the Plata. I don't know whether you will approve of the provision made in the case of all attempt being abandoned at Buenos Ayres, by leaving even then a possible chance of something being done on the opposite coast. But the necessity must not be put out of sight of a landing by Craufurd for the purpose of saving himself from starving. A case might happen too, though not very likely, of certain information received by Whitelock that the whole of the province of Chili was in a state of insurrection, at the same time that Burnos Ayres was inattackable in consequence of all their forces being transferred to that side.

"An application has been made by Whitelock for a step of local rank, not for the sake of any advantage which it carries, for it gives him, I believe, none, not even an addition of aide-de-camps, so at least say the War Office; but in consequence of the bad practice lately established, and continued in the recent instance of the appointment of Grey, very contrary, as you know, to my opinion and wishes. It is in consequence of that example, and for other reasons, more difficult perhaps to resist the application in the case of Whitelock. Fox, Bowyer, Maitland, and a host of others, all have or have had it. Another question respecting Whitelock's situation relates to the allowance to be made him as Governor, should the whole of the province fall into our hands. Beresford you know, by the grant of Baird, was to have 10,000*l* a year. Whitelock's military appointments will

amount to something more than 4,000*l.* I should think 5,000*l.* as Governor would be about the mark; at least such is the best calculation which I can make, according to the different comparisons on which the question may be determined.

"A material consideration now arises out of these arrangements of another sort, and which relates to home appointments. It is of indispensable importance to me to have a person whom I can perfectly rely on in the Inspector-General's Office, and with this view I have talked to Lord Rosslyn who, partly from good will to me, and partly from perfect concurrence and zeal about the new plans, is willing to undertake the office, not as one in which he might like to continue permanently, but in which he would act for a time as coadjutor to me, and as partaking in the credit of measures which every day gives more reason to be satisfied with. I have waited only for a communication with you to propose Lord Rosslyn to the Duke of York, to whom I intimated, at the time of proposing Whitelock, that I should have some one to submit to his consideration as a successor in the office of Inspector-General. Whatever ideas you may have about this office ultimately, and in which, I am sorry to say, I differ from you *toto cælo*, it is impossible to think of making a change of the whole system of recruiting at this moment, and before the effect is fully tried and established of the other great change that has been introduced.

"The mention of these topics leads me by rather a long but a connected chain of association to the recollection of a matter which I have often intended to speak about, and which is a certain Canadian regiment of fencibles which, having subsisted for some three or four years, and costing annually about 22,000*l.*, has, with a complete establishment of officers, only 103 men, without a prospect of the number being ever augmented. I will state to you another time what I think ought to be done in lieu of this regiment. What should be done with the regiment itself can be nothing else but to reduce it."

Private and Confidential.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 26. Dublin Castle.—"Lord Ponsonby seems to entertain a hope, from conversations he has had with several of the Catholics since his arrival in Dublin, that they may be satisfied with their petition being presented to the House of Commons, and suffered to lie on the table without being brought into discussion. I am not aware of the Parliamentary objections which may attach to this measure. The only one which occurs to me is that it leaves the matter liable to be taken up at any time by any individual member of the House, who may think fit to agitate the question; but I cannot help thinking that it will be no inconsiderable point gained to

obtain the consent of the Catholic body to their petition remaining on the table of the House of Commons as a simple record that they have not abandoned their claims; at the same time disclaiming a wish of bringing them under immediate discussion. Such a proposal could not of course come directly from the Government; but if Lord Ponsonby through his influence as an individual, should be able to obtain this concession of them, I think you may be inclined to consider it of some importance, as at least gaining time; though it would be rash to say that it is likely to prevent the re-agitation of the measure next year, in a body composed of such various materials as the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

"I have now to revert to the interesting subject of tithes, though I have not had the advantage of hearing from your lordship upon it since my letter of the 14th January (marked private) in which I enter fully into that very important topic. I learn from Lord Ponsonby, and from other quarters, that some impatience is felt on your side of the water at this measure not having been yet recommended by the Government of Ireland to be submitted to the consideration of Parliament, and I entreat your lordship to be well assured that I have never ceased to keep in mind an object which I am convinced is essentially connected with the future peace and happiness of Ireland; but I must retain the opinion which I formerly gave, namely, that it is not one that should be hastily taken up, or superficially considered. Where such a mass of property and such various interests are concerned, too much caution and deliberation cannot be used; and if we should plunge rashly into the discussion, we may find ourselves involved in interminable difficulties. Much previous enquiry is necessary; and if you have fully determined to make a regulation or modification of the tithe question in Ireland a subject of Parliamentary proceeding, and authorise me to consult with the leading members of the Church upon it, I will immediately do so, but I have not hitherto conceived myself at liberty to take such a step.

"It will readily strike you that it must be most essential to the success of the measure to conciliate as many of the bench of bishops in support of it as we can; for, although a reasonable and practicable plan is likely to have the countenance of a great majority of the parochial clergy, yet, if the whole of the episcopal bench should be hostile to us, it cannot be concealed that we should have a most formidable power to encounter. It is therefore necessary that we should be prepared to meet this hostility, and endeavour to subdue it as far as we are able. It would be very material that the business should originate with you in the Lords, as the House of Parliament in which the interests of the church are supposed to be most effectually represented; and that it should be conducted through the House of Commons by the King's advocate, or by the Attorney General of Ireland,

but the former as a civilian would be preferable. I may say to you in confidence that, if it should be taken up by either Sir John Newport or Mr. Grattan, a strong feeling of alarm would be excited in this country, and a cry of the 'church in danger' would be heard from one end of the island to the other.

"I am not aware that any step can safely be taken this session, beyond a general notice that you will, early in the ensuing session, submit to Parliament a measure upon tithes, as you did last year in regard to the Scotch judicature; or if it met your approbation, a commission might be proposed as a preliminary step, to enquire into the present state of tithe property in Ireland, and revise the laws connected with that property, into which abuses may have crept from time to time, which are the source of the existing grievances; due care being had that the commissioners shall be persons entitled to the good opinion and confidence of the church, disposed at the same time thoroughly to examine the subject with impartial and unprejudiced minds. Whatever mode you may think fit to pursue, you may implicitly rely on my co-operating with unvarying zeal in the attainment of an object so intimately connected with the future happiness of Ireland."

Private. Viscount Howick to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 26. Stratton Street.—"Combe will do all he can to counteract Birch's mischief, and has undertaken to sound Sir William Curtis and Alderman Shaw, which we thought it better that he should do, before I spoke to them.

"I send you two letters which I have just received from Stahremberg and Count Munster. I really think the march of an Austrian army against the French might at the present moment be of such incalculable advantage, that it would be worth while to purchase it at almost any expense. The worst of it is that so much time must be lost before any communication from hence can reach Vienna.

"I forgot to tell you this morning that I have had a letter from Lord Ponsonby since his arrival in Dublin, which, upon the whole, I think very satisfactory. He says he is not without hopes that the Catholics may instruct the person who presents their petition to declare that it is not their wish to press for any division on their claims at this moment, and that their motive is to show that they have not abandoned their object. He urges very strongly that no time should be lost in making some arrangement about tithes.

"I am under the necessity of troubling you with the enclosed letter from Lord Albemarle. I believe I once before sent you an application from, or in favour of, the same person."

Postscript.—"I find a clause for compensation in the Slave Carrying Bill of 1788, which appears to have been introduced without much consideration, and which in some degree furnishes

a precedent against us. I am afraid it is too late to say anything about the loan ; but I cannot help having great doubts of the propriety of making it, before the bill for carrying the new plan into effect has passed."

Private. The Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 27. Dublin Castle.—"In answer to your question as to the expediency of a portion of the Government patronage in Newry being given to general Needham, I have to observe that this could not now be done without an absolute breach of an engagement with Lady Downshire and Mr. Corry. Mr. Corry is to have the recommendation of the person to succeed Mr. Goddard in the surveyorship, and Lady Downshire has a promise of the new collection of excise.

"If general Needham should retain his seat after the hearing of the petition, and should then come to an understanding with Lady Downshire and Mr. Corry (as he probably may) I shall be most happy to facilitate by every means in my power the objects he has submitted to your lordship."

Lord Grenville to W. Elliott.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—"I am urged, and I am desirous (if the thing be not objectionable) to give Lord Blayney expectations that he may succeed to the representative peerage at a future time. He is, I believe, willing to postpone his views to the 4th or 5th vacancy from this time. What I wish therefore is to know who are the persons with whose claims an engagement even so distant as that might possibly interfere, and how far Lord Blayney could, without inconvenience to the Government here or in Ireland, be put in competition with them ? " *Copy.*

The Same to W. Windham.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—"I have this moment only seen Fremantle. I have settled with him that Rainsforth shall have one of the Custom House offices at the Cape, which enables me to give effect to the strong wish I felt that, under the circumstances which you mentioned to me, Mr. Byng should not be disappointed.

"With respect to the question itself, my decided opinion is that all offices connected with the receipt, payment, and audit of the public money, must act under the control of the Treasury, and derive their authority from that source ; and that no appointment of such officers by a Governor abroad can be considered otherwise than as provisional until a person regularly authorised to act in those situations shall arrive." *Copy.*

The Same to The Same.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—"Since I came to town I have heard (I hope without foundation) that General

Whitelock, to whom I must say I cannot see the reason of giving the local rank of general, is to carry out with him a very large staff. I must entreat you to inform yourself distinctly upon this point, and to know accurately what the increase of expense is which Whitelock's appointment, and his increased rank is to cost the public.

"Both Lord Henry and I are pledged to Parliament for endeavouring to reduce the enormous actual expense of the staff of our army all over the world; and we could not show our faces if all I hear about Whitelock and his staff be true.

"I must also say that, on the best consideration I can give to the subject, I think 4,000*l.* *per annum* is full enough for his salary as Governor, in addition to a like sum which you state he is to have as Commander-in-Chief there.

"I conclude, that in consequence of the news respecting the *Fly*, you will countermand the orders for sending out an additional regiment of infantry. The artillery troop may, I think, still be of use." *Copy.*

W. Windham to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—"The reason for the wish expressed by Whitelock for additional rank was a very simple one, namely that almost every one for a long while past had had it; and among the latest and strongest instances was Lord Howick's brother; who (Lord Howick) would certainly have found himself awkwardly situated if he had been obliged to object to this step in Whitelock's instance when the same had been given to Grey, rather a young Major-General, who was going upon no active service, and whose chief reason for wishing the rank of Lieutenant-General was stated to be, more than the increase of pay, the privilege of having an additional aide-de-camp.

"The difficulty, however, is removed by the fact of Whitelock having relinquished the application in consequence of the wish which I expressed to him, and an instance or two which I was invited to cite where the step in question had not been granted. What his staff is in other respects I don't know, but, I take it for granted, neither more nor less than is usual in similar cases, except in the single instance of a third aide-de-camp, which was added by the sole act of the Duke of York, unsolicited and unknown to me, and not even from any personal motive of his own, but from the mere consideration, as far as I know and believe, of the doubtful state of health of one of the other aides-de-camp, and of the nature of the service being likely to require a good deal of that sort of aid. This aide-de-camp was originally to have gone out supernumerary, and without pay. By the act, as above, of the Duke of York he was put upon pay. He may undoubtedly be struck off again, but with less than two aides-de-camp (this would make the third) no Lieutenant-General, I fancy,

upon active service ever goes out. Grey, not upon active service, and only a Lieutenant-General by local rank, has that number, namely two.

"In respect to the additional allowance to be made to General Whitelock as Governor, I have, as I told you, no very decided opinion. But I still think that 5,000*l.* would be nearer the proper sum.

"In the last war, when only a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and with a very confined command, he had what amounted to between four and five thousand. The reference however, is chiefly to be made to other governments, and upon the result of that comparison the conclusion seems to be the same. I shall state to him what you seem to think would be the proper allowance. I have stated to him no opinion of my own.

"The intelligence received about the *Fly* does not vary at all in my mind the propriety of sending the regiment, nor does it, in fact, vary the state of facts as they appeared to us at the time when that determination was taken. This intelligence only does away the effect of what we learnt about the *Fly*, subsequent to the original discussion. If an account received by a letter from a land officer on board the *Fly* be true, it will not be even that; as the *Fly* is said to intend to look for Murray in the first instance at the Brazils. My own opinion remains decidedly as it was, that the regiment now embarked should go. By the want of it I think the whole character of the service may be changed.

"I have just learnt that it was not proposed to put the third aide-de-camp upon pay."

Private. Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 3. Milton.—"Having reason to think that Lord Holland will again call your attention to the case of Mrs. Dickson, widow of the late Bishop of Downe, and that his solicitations will be backed by many other persons, allow me to add my name to the list of solicitors in her behalf. I do so from a variety of considerations; on account of my own long intimacy and friendship with the bishop, but still more from a thorough conviction that poor Fox had much at heart the relief of the family of a friend he had loved so long and so much as the Bishop of Downe. He was through life one of his dearest friends. It is needless to state the nature of Mrs. Dickson's case; Lord Holland will enter into that detail, but I believe you are yourself already aware of all its circumstances."

W. Windham to The Same.

1807, March 3. [Arlington Street.]—"I have left with Sir James Cockburn a draft of the instructions to General Whitelock, altered in a way to make them more conformable to

ideas that seem to prevail, though probably not entirely so. They are at the same time by no means in perfect conformity to my own. I am clear for operations on the northern part of the west coast, in preference to the more southern; or would at least leave a discretion for that purpose. Against a total prohibition of operations on the western side, I must protest still more strongly.

"As the urgency of General Whitelock's departure is now no longer the same, and so many things may yet not be quite ready, my absence, even if it could create a delay of a day or two, might be of no consequence. But there is no necessity for its doing so. The instruction may be altered, as shall seem best. I can only keep to my own opinion. My going into Norfolk was pressed by very strong reasons. I shall get back by Thursday night or Friday morning."

Private. W. Elliott to The Same.

1807, March 4. Dublin Castle.—"Your note of the 28th February reached me this morning, and I have taken the earliest opportunity of showing it to the Lord Lieutenant.

"The next vacancy in the representative peerage is (as you will recollect) destined for Lord Leitrim, and Lord Portarlington has (as you also know) been given to understand he might look to the second. Lord Lismore, Lord Belmore, Lord Gosford, and Lord Farnham are all very anxious to be representative peers, and are (particularly the three first) powerful candidates.

"Except in the instance of Lord Portarlington, the Lord Lieutenant had made it a rule not to make any promise or hold out any expectation beyond one vacancy."

Postscript.—"Perhaps I ought to mention that Lord Blayney has a deep orange tinge, and committed one of the violent acts in the year '97 or '98. Of course you will have the goodness to consider this hint as quite *confidential.*"

Private and Confidential.

The Duke of Bedford to The Same.

1807, March 7. Dublin Castle.—"I am unwilling to risk any interruption of the progress of Lord Spencer's recovery during his stay at Althorpe by unnecessarily harassing him with business, and beg your permission that I may address myself to you upon that very anxious subject on which I have of late so frequently communicated confidentially with Lord Spencer, namely—the discussions now carrying on in the Catholic body. By the information I have received, of which I transmit herewith a copy to your lordship, it appears that some alarm has been taken by the committee now sitting in Dublin, and suspicions excited that Lord Ponsonby has been sent by the Government in England to tamper with the leading men of the body, and induce them to forego for the

present the professed object of their late meetings. I had before received an intimation that such a suspicion was afloat, and it naturally created some uneasiness in my mind. Conscious that the Government on this side of the water stood perfectly clear of such an imputation, I felt anxious that an impression so injurious should not attach to the Government in England, and immediately upon the receipt of this information from Mr. Hay, I requested to see the Chancellor and Lord Ponsonby in presence of Mr. Elliot. They were with me yesterday evening after the breaking up of the Court of Chancery, but left me at too late an hour to allow of any writing to your lordship by that evening's mail. The Chancellor and Mr. Elliot were decidedly of opinion (in which I fully coincided) that the best and safest policy to be pursued was to let them take their own course without interfering with their measures in any shape, or attempting to counteract a spirit which, I am persuaded, will only acquire additional strength from resistance. This, I imagine, will be the most dignified as well as most effectual refutation of the assertion that Ministers are tampering with the Catholics to create a delay.

"It may be perhaps necessary to apprize your lordship that my informant is not entitled to the most implicit credit; and I learn through another channel that the alarm of the committee takes its rise solely from a paragraph which has appeared in some of the newspapers, stating that you had declared at a public dinner that the session would close before Easter.

"Not having heard from you directly on the subject of Lord Ponsonby's mission to Ireland, I felt somewhat embarrassed as to the degree of confidence it was expected I should give to him in the communications I should have occasion to hold with him; but Lord Howick having informed me that it was by your wish, united to his own, that he came here to endeavour by his personal influence to diminish as much as possible the mischiefs likely to result from the ill-timed zeal of some, and the evil intentions of others, among the Catholic body, I could not hesitate in lending the most cordial co-operation to Lord Ponsonby's efforts towards so desirable an end. I trust, however, that your lordship will approve of the caution I have invariably used in not suffering the name or even the wishes of the Irish Government to be blended in any intercourse Lord Ponsonby may have had with individuals among the Catholics; and in requesting that whatever may pass between him and any of them, may be considered as proceeding from his own private sentiments, and in no degree whatever committing the Government of the country."

Postscript.—"I have to add that, understanding it was in contemplation to call a meeting of the Catholics of the county of Kerry at the time of the assizes, Elliot wrote to Mr. Fitzgerald to suggest the expediency of his endeavouring

to dissuade the Catholics in that quarter from adopting so injurious a proceeding, and this is the only communication that has originated from the Castle on the subject."

Enclosure.

E. HAY, SECRETARY of the CATHOLIC COMMITTEE, to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 5. Lower Ormond Quay.—"When last I had the honour of addressing your Grace I did not imagine that anything would occur that should induce me to communicate it. The Committee assembled this day, and came to the resolutions enclosed. Reports are circulated that the session is to close for the purpose of preventing the Catholic petition from being presented. Individuals of the Catholic body are said to have been tampered with by the Government, to create a delay for that purpose. Those individuals are said to be already so pledged to the petition that they cannot recede, and it is the opinion of many that the petition ought to be forwarded immediately, signed by the chairman, committee, secretary, and a few other respectable names. I have written to Lord Fingall this evening as directed." *Copy.*

Enclosing.

Resolutions of the Catholic Committee that a petition be drawn up immediately, and presented to Parliament.

**Private.* LORD HOLLAND to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1807, March [6].—"I have reflected upon the subject of our conversation, and will explain as shortly as I can my opinion upon the conduct we should pursue towards Lord S[idmou]th, the Parliament, and the King.

"Lord Sidmouth, I understand, has declared that either a junction with Canning, or the extension of concessions to the Catholics beyond the letter of the Irish Act, must lead to a breach between him and his colleagues in office. I own it appears to me essential to our characters that he should not have it in his power to confound these two questions; because I have little difficulty in saying that our cause of separation would be as bad if it originated with an intention of bringing in Canning against Lord Sidmouth's will or without his consent, as it is clearly good and creditable if it arises from our determination to give to the Catholics all that they have been promised through Mr. Elliot. As the negociation with Canning has taken place, it is idle now to regret that so unnecessary a precaution against possible, and I trust remote cases should have been thought of, while a question on which Lord Sidmouth was naturally jealous was depending, and when the agitation of that question gave him an opportunity, if he was averse to the negociation, of

* This letter, originally undated, appears to have been forwarded by Lord Howick to Lord Grenville in another, also undated, and now printed on page 123. Both letters were probably written on or about March 6, 1807.

separating with credit and advantage to himself. But as I should have thought it unhandsome to him to take in Canning (to whom, however, I feel no dislike, but on the contrary great personal friendship and regard) without his consent, and as I think in any question or choice between them we were bound to decide in Lord Sidmouth's favour, I hope it is not too late to offer him the concession of that point, and thereby to prove to our own satisfaction that it is upon the Bill and not upon any preference shewn to his particular enemies that he has broken his political connexion with us.

"I think, in short, that we owe him this for his hitherto honourable conduct towards us; namely, the assurance of abandoning all negociation with Canning if his objections to such a measure are insuperable. But I think we must expect that he should use no efforts against our Catholic Bill, except his simple dissent to the parts which he disapproves. I agree with you that he cannot recede; but it is surely essential that he should not put us in the wrong, and represent us, after coalescing and acting with him, to have preferred, without any immediate necessity whatever, our own opponents and his bitter enemies to him.

"As to our mode of proceeding in Parliament, I agree in almost every view you have of the subject. The Bill, if possible, must be got through the House of Commons. If rejected there, our course is clear, and we must that instant resign. If passed, any placeman who opposed it should be removed; but while that point is battling with the Court, the Bill might go to the Lords, where its rejection would be more certain than it is in the Commons, and would, as there, call for our immediate resignation. But, as the most eligible mode would be to go out upon a rejection of the Bill, not upon a question of turning out a placeman, I think we might protract, though we must not delay, the discussion of dismissing those who oppose us in the Commons. The difference, however, in these modes of proceeding are very immaterial, and the only object of consequence is to get the Bill through the House of Commons as fast as possible. The more I think of our strength the more I am convinced that we shall either carry our point without coming to an open rupture, or that we shall be finally successful in the struggle."

Lord Grenville to The Duke of Bedford.

1807, March 11. Downing Street.—"The pressure of this, the most busy period of the session, has prevented my answering your Grace's letters as regularly as I could have wished, and has obliged me to rely on Lord Spencer's communicating to you from time to time the sentiments of the King's Ministers on the interesting matters which have been passing in Ireland. His illness has, I fear, led to some, though

unavoidable yet, inconvenient delays in that respect—nor is he yet returned to town.

"The difficulties of the subject of tithes, always considerable, are much increased, as indeed every other difficulty is which respects the Government of Ireland, by the rash and intemperate conduct which the Catholics of Dublin have been so inconsiderate as to adopt. A spirit of bigotry has been awakened in this country to a degree which it is not easy to conceive without being an eye-witness of it. And so far from there being the least probability of success in obtaining for the Catholics that full and complete toleration which accords with your Grace's opinions and mine, it appears to me still very doubtful whether the measure now actually in its progress in Parliament may not be defeated by the intolerant principles which prevail so extensively in this country, and by the spirit of intrigue, which is so actively at work on the subject.

"If therefore, in this state of things, we were to agitate the matter of tithes, without being prepared with a satisfactory and well-considered plan, great mischief might unquestionably arise, and a prejudice would be created as to the question itself which it would be very difficult indeed to remove. I should therefore strongly advise that your Grace should immediately consider of three or four persons fit to be entrusted with the consideration of such a subject, and should proceed in conjunction with them to digest and methodise a measure, which might be fully considered here during the recess of Parliament, and might be ready to be submitted to the two Houses at the opening of the next session.

"In doing this, our leading consideration must be that of the church of Ireland, whose opposition would infallibly draw after it that of the church in this country also. You are much better acquainted with the character of the Irish bishops than myself, and could therefore much better judge whether the Primate, or any other of the bishops could safely be taken into your confidence for preparing and digesting a measure on this subject. There is no doubt that to reasonable men such a measure must appear no less beneficial to the clergy of Ireland than to the country at large, but men are not always reasonable when their interests, and particularly tithe interests are in question. Yet so much benefit would result from our having some ecclesiastical help in this business, that I think it would be well worth while for your Grace to sound on this matter either the Primate or such other bishop in whom you think you could better confide. Whatever is said (especially at this moment) must, however, be under the strictest injunctions of secrecy.

"It has occurred to me that the proposition, whatever it may be, which we may finally adopt, may be rendered much more acceptable, if it be left optional to the tithe-holder to apply for a valuation with a view to *modus* or other conversion

of tithe into money, or to continue on his present footing. The discouragements and even dangers which are now in the way of the collection of tithes are so great that I cannot help thinking that, if the valuation were conducted on equitable principles, a great proportion of the holders of tithes would gladly avail themselves of it. And it might be provided that tithe once so converted should not afterwards be liable to the former mode of collection, so that the remedy would thus gradually extend itself in a progression constantly advancing.

"It is hardly worth while in this stage of the business to advert to the details of such a plan, but it strikes me strongly that the interference of the magistrates of the country in any part of the valuation would be highly exceptionable; and that such a valuation must be solely by commissioners appointed (under due regulations) by the Court of Exchequer, and subject to appeal first to that Court, and thence to the House of Lords.

"Your Grace will see from what I have already stated that I am by no means of opinion that any notice should be given on this subject in Parliament until we are prepared with our measure, being convinced that such a notice would only stimulate a blind and indiscriminating opposition. The notice on the Scotch Judicature was not given without my being prepared with the leading features of the measure, which were actually voted in the form of resolutions at no long time after the notice was given. The same objections which apply to such a notice, before our plan is in some state of forwardness, apply I think with still greater force to the measure of a Parliamentary Commission, the proposal of which would excite every species of alarm without our having the benefit of those favourable impressions which the details of a well digested plan might in part create.

"But although for these reasons I do not think that any thing can well be done or said on the subject in Parliament during the present session, I am in the greatest degree anxious that no time should be lost in bringing the measure into such a shape as that it may be carefully and attentively considered here at the earliest possible moment.

"With respect to the principles on which such a measure should be founded I have no preference for the ideas which I submitted to your Grace's consideration, over any others that may be found more practicable. But if the measure could, according to the suggestion which I have already mentioned in this letter, be made optional on the part of the tithe-holder, it might then be advisable to open to his choice more than one mode of commutation or conversion.

"The throwing the *modus* on the landowner would most unquestionably be a thing highly desirable in principle. But it should seem that such a plan could not be adopted except with reference to future leases, especially in Ireland where

there are so many holdings one under the other, all which bargains would be materially varied, if this burden, now borne by the last in this scale, namely the actual occupier, were without compensation removed from him, and thrown back on the first in the scale, who may have little more than a nominal seigniory over the lands ; another difficulty would also arise in the execution of such a plan on account of the remedy to be given to the tithe-holder, as it would be a great practical grievance to subject the occupier to a distress for the default of some person with whom he has in fact not the smallest connection.

"These and other difficulties will no doubt require much consideration and care, but I have little doubt they may be surmounted when the matter comes to be examined and worked out in its details ; and all I would now urge is that no time may be lost in entering upon the work, by such instruments as you may judge best for the purpose.

"I have said all this in the supposition that this and other public business will remain in our hands. But this is certainly to be considered as doubtful, on account of circumstances connected with this very business of the Catholics of Ireland, to whom Parliament may possibly refuse to grant even the little that is now proposed.

"I have heard from other quarters of the supposed declaration attributed to me, that Parliament would have finished its business before Easter. I heartily wish that I could have said this with truth, as I have always thought that it was incumbent on the Government to expedite the progress of its business in Parliament with much more efficacy and dispatch than I have ever known it done. But to do this it would be necessary to root out from the public offices those inveterate habits of procrastination which so many years of a different practice have created.

"I own I am not much alive to the imputation of *tampering* with the Catholics. I have never concealed, but have on the contrary taken pains openly to avow, the total disapprobation with which we view the course which they have recently pursued, and the great mischiefs which we think it likely to produce both to their interests and to those of the empire. I am confident that what they have now done has thrown their cause back many years, and has more than counteracted all the advantages, great as I think they were, which it derived from the discussions in the two Houses in 1804.

"Feeling these impressions strongly, and thinking that the Catholics have now but one course left, that of receding in some degree from what they have already done, or at least disavowing and separating themselves from the intemperate conduct and language of those who have led the Dublin proceedings, I do not feel that there can be any inconvenience in letting these sentiments be generally known. But on this

as on every other point connected with the management of this most delicate business, I am much more desirous of following your Grace's judgment than my own.

"Lord Ponsonby went to Ireland as much at my desire as at Lord Howick's, but in the impossibility under which I was of writing to your Grace fully on the subject, I left it to Lord Howick, who undertook fully to explain to your Grace what was the object of his mission, which may however be comprised in a few words. It was to express to the Catholics, *without committing Government*, the decided opinion of all their friends here that they were pursuing the course which was exactly the most calculated to injure their cause, and to postpone, if not to frustrate, their hopes of ultimate success.

"This is certainly the opinion which every friend to a full toleration entertains in this country, and I heartily wish I had not every day fresh reason to think it well-founded. Under such circumstances I cannot help thinking that all prudent and cautious means ought to be used, to bring them to a better sense of their own interests.

"If the Bill for the admission of Catholics into the army should pass, I shall have occasion to trouble your Grace on the steps to be taken for giving immediate effect to its provisions; a subject on which I have already had some communication with the Duke of York." *Holograph.*

Lord Grenville to George III.

1807, March 12. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville humbly solicits your Majesty's permission to attend your Majesty to-morrow at any time that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to appoint. In consequence of what your Majesty expressed to him yesterday, he has felt the greatest anxiety and distress of mind from the idea that any misunderstanding, however unintentional on his part, should have had the effect of creating uneasiness in your Majesty's breast on a point on which he had felt so earnest and peculiar a desire to avoid any such impression. And he trusts that what he will have the honour of laying before Your Majesty to-morrow, will at least evince the sincerity of these sentiments." *Holograph copy.*

The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville.

[1807, March 12. Stowe.]—"I send you back the letter which you received from Lord Fingall that you may compare it with another of March 4th which I have just received. Every circumstance of the style and tone of this last letter satisfies me that a disposition exists to resist Mr. Keogh and his democrats. I have therefore written, as you see, very explicitly my opinion of the necessity of a virtual, if not of

a direct disavowal of Mr. Keogh's principles; and you will observe that, for the purpose of gaining confidence for you, I have ventured to vow in your name what you certainly will not disavow; and as I thought that my letter was more ostensible if understood to be written without communication with you; yet, if there is anything that you wish to be said or done in this business, I am ready to be employed. You will observe that there are in his letter some allusions to blame of Eliott. Of course I have taken no notice of them, but the impression of his want of management of these people is very strong; I do not however know the details.

"Many and many congratulations on the Eylau battle. I trust and hope you are thinking of your fleet in the Baltic, which, in cases that may turn up in your cards, may have very decisive effect upon friends and foes."

Enclosure 1.

THE EARL OF FINGALL to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 2. Dublin.—"I regret very much not having some months ago made known to your lordship what was foreseen, I should suppose, by every person in this country, that the Catholics would petition Parliament again this session. Since the Union it has been their intention every session; and though unsuccessful two years ago, the discussion that took place, and in which the cause of the Catholics was so ably supported, certainly did good in this country at large. Last year Mr. Fox's letter, I believe, in great measure disposed the Catholics to put off their petition; this year, the new elections have certainly contributed to hurry the business forward. I must also say to your lordship, without being inclined to find fault, that it was most unlucky that after an application was made by the first meeting held in Dublin early in January, an answer was so long delayed. Nothing raised the public expectation more than this interval, and there was not a Catholic who was not persuaded something would, at last, be done. Parliament for the present they did not look to; but sheriffs, the corporations, the Bank directorships, and the Inner Bar. However, I can safely assert, the first of these points would have been satisfactory; and I will further say that until it is conceded, in an unfortunate country so torn to pieces by party and prejudice as this is, things cannot go on well.

"I perfectly agree with your lordship that it is very unlucky and to be deplored that the public meetings and speeches have not been more temperate; but, since the Convention Act, the Catholics have no way left to them but these sort of aggregate meetings; and this is a misfortune while the laws are not repealed by which the Roman Catholics are affected, which is unavoidable.

"There is nothing so objeetionable to Roman Catholies since the year 1793 as division amongst themselves. Some gentlemen who at that time disapproved of the proceedings of the Body, seceded; eoneessions *very valuable* were made to those who eame forward; and the influenee which ought to have been in the hands of the Catholie aristocraey, more by far for the benefit of the eountry than their own gratifieation, they have never sinee reeovered. Sinee the Union the demoeratie part of the Catholies, I do not apply this to their prineiples, has rapidly inereased; and one who is not a close observer ean hardly believe how mueh both in property and numbers the Catholies inerease every day. These are fortunate eireumstances for the empire, I should suppose. Men who acquire property will be attaehed to the government they live under, and inereased population is surely most desirable to fill the ranks of our defenders. However repugnant it is, I am persuaded, to a great majority of the Catholics that language should be used by some individuals whieh may be eonstrued into a wish to intimidate, or may deviate from the general sentiment of the Catholics respecting their friends now in power, it would, I am sure, be impossible to proeure disavowal of what is really attributable to the very few, beeause it would produee mueh irritation and ill-will amongst the Catholics themselves; and surely all who really know the Catholies must be persuaded that they merely look to privileges which, in the opinion of all the wise and enlightened statesmen in Europe, they ought to enjoy as mueh for the advantage of the empire as for their own. There never was a greater misfortune, nor a more disastrous measure than the Union, not having been followed by those arrangements, whieh, if not promised, were understood to be the consequenee. This, I am sure, your lordship will agree in. Aware and eonvineed as I am what the diffieulty now is, and that it is insuperable, I should be the happiest man in the world if I could arrest the public Catholie mind, and persuade them to wait with patienee. Two years ago I made no small struggles to this effeet, but in vain. This year it was impossible; and to have the questions brought forward by one set of Catholies, and then thrown out or withdrawn beeause all do not join, is, I eoneeive, almost as great a misfortune as ean happen to the eountry, or the Catholics themselves. This opinion I several times heard expressed by Mr. Fox. For my own part I may mistake in my eonduet. I am in a very difficult situation; but I feel that no motive ean aetuate me but the best intentions for the safety and prosperity of the eountry. I wish I eould stop the progress of the question. To its being brought forward two years ago I sacrificed the object nearest my heart; at least to this I attribute it more than existing laws which, I am happy, are now to be relaxed."

Enclosure 2.

THE EARL OF FINGALL to THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1807, March 4. Dublin.—"The interest you are so good as to take in a subject on which I had the honour of addressing myself to you in answer to your lordship's very kind letter to me a few days ago, encourages me to hope you will forgive my again trespassing on that *same subject.* No one more sincerely agrees with your lordship in all the observations you so justly make, nor more cordially wishes, and has ever done so, that this business could be let to rest till the auspicious moment shall arrive when, without difficulty, it can be accomplished. But of this it is impossible to persuade other people. And, without referring to past occurrences in which there has been some want of good management everywhere, is there not a possibility of retrieving some of the errors that have been committed, by means short of dividing the Catholics, For to this I could never bring my mind; and there is nothing, as I before had the honour of stating to your lordship, so repugnant to the general feelings; and certainly, to separate from the Catholic body those in whom, I will venture to say, every confidence may [be] placed, is a measure, if it could be managed, not without serious consequence. I find the public mind is beginning now to be more temperate, the value of having friends in power, and keeping out of enemies is more felt. This disposition might be worked on to the general advantage; but I need not say this is to be done with much management. The moderate and well-inclined may be persuaded, but they will never be driven to recede from resolutions adopted—it is fair to say—without all the consideration they ought to have had. So perfectly acquainted as you are with Ireland, you well know how apt we are to act or speak before we reflect; also how positively we adhere to what we have undertaken; and how much afraid of appearing inconsistent, by changing a determination once made. In this desirable change, I am too far pledged to be able to take any part; but this much I can say to your lordship in confidence, if it can be managed, I shall feel it my duty to give it every discreet assistance I can. Some of the principal Dublin merchants, and the country gentlemen, should originate this plan. There is time enough, as the assize will not be over till the middle of next month; and though the petition should be, as it will, most generally signed, perhaps much inconvenience would be avoided were it let to lay over till next session, some assurance being given that it should then be taken into consideration. Though I will not answer that this can be done, it occurs to me worth trying. and I should feel myself wanting in what I feel I owe to your lordship for your constant kindness and friendship to me, if I were not to suggest what strikes me on this subject. Your lordship will do me, I trust, the justice to believe that

measures tending to embarrass never can originate with me. At the same time you must well see how impossible it is for me to resist the public opinion. If time can be gained, such management will, I hope, be used as will take things out of the unpleasant situation they now are in ; and confidence so placed as to prevent a recurrence of the like again.

" No person is better acquainted with this country than your lordship. You know its interests, and have always shown how much you value them. Yours and my Lord Grenville's attachment to the cause of the Catholics must be felt by every one. Your opinions must have the greatest weight in England.

" I have, in the utmost confidence, communicated to your lordship my view of things here now. If what I have hinted be worth attending to, I need not repeat it must not by any means be thought to come from me. I have many apologies to make to your lordship for this long letter, but I wished for an opportunity of explaining myself more fully than I could do in my last."

Enclosure 3.

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE EARL OF FINGALL.

1807, March 10. Stowe.—" I am this moment honoured with your lordship's letter of the 4th instant. I should not have felt myself precluded by your lordship's injunctions of confidence from showing that letter to Lord Grenville, through whom alone I could assist your wishes, if he had been within my reach ; but, at this distance from London, I should lose three days before I could say anything upon it in communication with him ; and I think it may be essential towards the replacing the Irish Catholic body in that situation, tone, and temper, that alone can enable any one to support their petition at any time, that no time should be lost in ' persuading ' not in ' driving ' those moderate councils, which alone can set right what has been so wrong. I have therefore determined to answer your lordship's letter immediately, and I shall do it without the smallest reserve, conceiving as I do that very much of the prosperity of the empire, so far as it is connected with this most important discussion, will depend upon the turn that may be given to it by those moderate Catholics to whose opinion your lordship adverts.

" The principles of the Catholic body, and the leading features of their petitions to Parliament for the last 25 years, and particularly of their last petition, were patience, submission, confidence in the equity of Government, and resignation to the result ; and the tone and colour of their public meetings always enabled the advocates for their petitions to state, in the most favourable point of view, their attachment to Government and their dutiful submission to Parliament. Those who have forced forward these discussions at a moment

when they knew—for no one is ignorant of the fact—that it was *impossible* from various circumstances that their petition should succeed, and who urged that petition, as is generally believed, with many sentiments of menace, defiance, and ill-blood, increased by a mischievous reference to the capitulation of the city of Limerick, and to transactions of that period, civil and military, which can only tend to irritate on both sides ; those men—I say—whoever they may be, have 'divided' the Catholics by separating from the opinions and conduct adopted by that body for the last fifty years. I have not heard that this language or character of proceedings was reproved or disavowed ; and if the influence of these people, of the multitude, has 'driven' your more moderate and respectable Catholics of all ranks and situations, without persuading them—for I well know that your lordship could never have been so 'persuaded'—pains should be taken to disavow what must otherwise continue to be understood as the style and character of all composing your last Dublin meeting. It would indeed be most desirable that the body should be 'persuaded' to adopt a more temperate course, not by separating into parties, but by a general and avowed disposition to reconsider, and to adapt to the circumstances of the times, resolutions which were, most certainly, hastily entertained ; for, in point of fact, the whole deliberation, which ought to have been most grave and well digested, was over in two hours. Perhaps it may be possible to induce your meeting, when their petition shall have been signed, to agree to suspend the presentation of it, on a suggestion from your assize meetings, or from some respectable individual or body amongst yourselves, that those who are in Parliament considered as the steadiest friends to your cause, *all* consider this an improper time to urge it, and fear that the mischief of pledging new votes against your petition greatly counterbalances all supposed advantage of perseverance. This might, of course, save to all parties their several opinions ; and, if this resolution was mixed up with proper expressions of loyalty, submission, and humble confidence, much of the bad impression now created might be done away. But in urging this, which I do from the purest principles of good will to your body, and as the only path to those objects which I trust you will one day attain, I beg to suggest that I would not consent, even as an humble individual, and much less could I if I were a Minister, to pledge myself to any specific line of conduct in this business next session ; and though I am aware that I furnish the weapon in argument against myself by admitting that the same or other reasons may call upon me, even *then*, to wish to put by that consideration and question, yet I feel it my duty expressly to say to your lordship that I can give no assurances for myself on that matter, further than that my opinions never have varied, and to the best of my belief never can be shaken, on

the proposition of relieving the Catholics from all religious disqualifications ; but that I must continue to judge for myself on the political expediency of proposing to Parliament that relief, at one time rather than at another. And I know enough of Lord Grenville's opinions on these matters to be able to assure your lordship most confidently, that no wish is nearer to his heart, than that he may find the opportunity of proposing that relief to Parliament whenever he can do it advantageously for the Catholics, and with security to the internal quiet of the empire. I feel that, by the whole tenor of this letter, I must appear to act ungraciously to this body, and to claim on behalf of Lord Grenville a confidence in him beyond what many may think reasonable ; but as, in truth, he has been at all times and in all situations the steadiest friend to your claims, so you must leave to him, if you are satisfied that he means fairly to you, the discretion of judging in this matter, as he must in all great state questions, not only the abstract question, but the various political bearings that have reference to it. Amongst these questions of expediency must be the consideration whether the Catholic claims would lose ground in the two Houses of Parliament by the time or circumstances under which they are put forward; and of this question the Catholic meeting has no means of judging, whilst Lord Grenville and the Ministers would be unfit for their situations, if they were not the best judges of that point of expediency.

"As to the means of recalling your body to the course that for so many years did them so much credit, I may be more sanguine than your lordship ; but, if the disposition exists, the course is most obvious for confiding in those to whom the immediate discussion of Irish affairs is officially committed, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Spencer, and Lord Grenville, and to their brethren in Cabinet. For that question which you cannot decide, the question of expediency, I cannot imagine that it would be difficult to find some person respectable for his character, whether from your laity or your clergy, to suggest at some country meeting that before the petition is transmitted to England, the resolution for the immediate delivery of it should be deliberately considered with the intention of giving due weight to the opinions that may be entertained by Government on the disadvantage or advantages that the Catholic body may derive from the discussion of their claims in Parliament at this period. I shall conceive that no one of the very many who are known to your lordship and to me as men of the purest honour and integrity, would decline to put himself forward to a proposition which I verily believe is now the only one that can do away the mischief already created ; and my only reason for not writing to any other person to press this idea, arises out of my persuasion that your lordship might (as I think directly and avowedly, but of that you must be the best judge) through

some friend in whom you can confide, set this stone rolling which will collect in its progress. If, however, your lordship thinks differently, and will point out any other course or channel through which this can be done, I shall be ready, as I always have been, to serve your cause so far as you yourselves will allow me to do ; or as far as I may be able ; and you will, I am sure, give me credit for the gratification I shall feel in being enabled to uphold and to praise the tone and course of the Catholic proceedings, instead of feeling myself imperiously called upon to resist principles which were put forward as the grounds of your claim, and which were not, as I believe, disavowed by any one there present.

"I must entreat your lordship forgiveness for this long letter, drawn from me by my anxiety, that has already induced me to represent to you the mischief that has arisen from want of temper and deliberation. I urged you then, and I again take the same liberty of pressing you, to stand forward to dissuade your countrymen of your communion from a course so ruinous to themselves, and to the empire. My situation, as unconnected with office or Cabinet, my age and, may I say, experience enables me to speak explicitly on this interesting matter, and I can have no personal interest nor indirect object in my advice. You must be the best judge how, and when, and through whom it may best be attempted to lead back opinions that have run wild, to the steady, sober, and dignified situation in which the Catholic body stood before this mischief ; but you have not a moment to lose ; and I again repeat, that if you can point out any name or course in which I can be of use to this object, I am impatient to know it.

"Personally your sentiments are so well known to me, that I can write without reserve to you, even where I think your wish for conciliation has carried you much too far ; and if I appear to urge you to stand very forward for the purpose of regaining to your body the advantageous ground they have lost, it is because I wish that others should think as highly of you, as I do."

Lord Grenville to W. Elliott.

1807, March 13. Downing Street.—"I have written a volume to the Duke of Bedford on all our difficulties and distresses. I never was called upon to make any sacrifice to public duty that I so strongly felt as this ; and yet, I feel satisfied that we are called upon to make it. Even with this sacrifice you will see it is still doubtful whether all will do, and whether the country is not, at all events, to be exposed to a struggle in various ways which it is ill able to support.

"Whatever can be done with honour to avert this evil I am prepared to do. But I am alarmed by an expression in one of the Duke's letters which seems to point at his leaving Ireland.

"For God's sake, if he has any such idea, use every exertion that man can use to prevent his carrying it into execution. Such a step, under the present circumstances, could not fail to produce consequences at which his mind would look back with horror, and, may I add, with some degree of self-reproach, if he had not, like us, done all that is possible to avert them.

"Bring these considerations strongly to his view if it be necessary, but I trust it is not; and if you feel, as you probably and naturally must, some pain at the situation in which all this places you, remember that we are not (whatever Lord Castlereagh may say) on a bed of roses." *Copy.*

Private. Lord Grenville to The Duke of Bedford.

1807, March 13. Downing Street.—"You will receive with this a letter, which I had prepared a day or two ago, on the tithe question, but which in the hurry of the present moment I have been obliged to leave to be transcribed, as well as this, by another hand.

"In addition to what is there mentioned of the growing difficulties on this side of the water respecting the Catholic Bill, it is now necessary that I should apprize you of what has passed within these few days on this most distressing subject.

"The intended measure was brought under the consideration of the King by a minute of Cabinet, transmitting to him for his approbation the draft of Lord Spencer's despatch to your Grace of the 12th (I think) of February. I was fully persuaded at the time, and remain so still, that the terms of that despatch contain a clear avowal of the intention of opening to the King's subjects of all descriptions the naval and military professions, without any other restriction than the necessity of taking the oath there described. The King's consent to this despatch was not obtained without considerable delay and difficulty; but when that consent had been obtained, I felt no hesitation in authorising the communication of that intention to the Catholics, and in concurring in bringing the measure forward in Parliament.

"It now appears, however, and I have no doubt that such is the fact, that the King, when a reluctant consent was extorted from him, conceived himself as consenting to no more than that the Irish Act of 1793, according to its strict letter, should be extended to England; and he has stated within these three days such objections to his going one inch beyond the concession so limited, as plainly to leave no other alternative, but either to yield to those objections or to break up the Government.

"In this state of things our first duty manifestly was to put off the discussion of the Bill, which stood for this day, in order that there might be time both for him and us to consider what course we should pursue. The dissolution of the present Government on such grounds as these, would

be attended with such manifest public inconvenience, that in the universal opinion of all our friends, both in and out of the Cabinet, much ought to be done to avoid it. On the other hand, the difficulties of concession on our part, both as to form and substance are greater than have belonged to any other subject that I have ever been called upon to consider.

"Yesterday evening some of the leading members of the Cabinet met here to discuss the subject, and the result was an opinion, in which I trust under all the circumstances your Grace will concur, that an opening should be made to the King to-day of a disposition on our part, to ascertain. how far it was practicable to exclude from the Bill those parts of it which the King objected to as new concessions going beyond the principle of the Act of 1793. We had in fact abstained from urging larger concessions only because, as success was hopeless, no good could result from the proposal; while, on the other hand, the discussion, and still more the rejection of the measure, must produce fresh irritation and mischief of every kind. The same consideration more strongly applies to the present question from the moment that we are certain, as we now are, that we could not carry through any concession beyond the Act of 1793. The object to be obtained, and, much less important, the hopes of success are not at all better, and the mischiefs from a fruitless struggle on the subject exactly the same. Having therefore forborne to stake the continuance of the Government on the larger ground, we did not think that we could be justified in doing it in an instance of so less comparative importance.

"Your Grace will readily believe that this resolution was nevertheless on many accounts in no small degree painful to us. When it was taken, it was important that no time should be lost in executing it. I saw the King to-day, and have undertaken to prepare and lay before the Cabinet the draft of a paper to be submitted to his consideration specifying the different circumstances to be attended to in attempting to modify the Bill according to this idea.

"These are principally, 1st, the question of the navy, with the exception of flag officers, corresponding to that of generals upon the staff. 2nd, The oaths and declarations against the more obnoxious tenets ascribed to papists, and which are abjured by Catholics in Ireland under the Act of 13 and 14 George III, and in England under a later Act, and from which, if the act of 1793 be strictly adhered to, they cannot be exempted; and which it will nevertheless be difficult to apply to this case, the declaration not being the same in the two countries. And 3rd, the case of Protestant dissenters, whom it was not necessary to include in the Act of 1793, they being already relieved in Ireland from the sacramental test by the Act of 1774, and who cannot with any propriety be left in England subject to a disqualification no longer applying to Catholics.

"The King's prejudices are, however, unhappily, so strong on all these points that I must confess, I think it extremely doubtful whether any arrangement of them can be made which we should think it possible for us to propose, and which he could bring his mind to acquiesce in.

"Should this be the case, we shall be driven back to consider whether it may not be better, instead of endeavouring to alter the Bill, rather to let it drop entirely; professing that it was brought forward in the hope that when the whole of what we think useful could not be obtained, yet some good might be done, and that when this appeared desperate, we no longer wish to press the discussion of the subject in a shape in which we can hope no good from it.

"I am well aware that whatever course the business can now take it must be productive of considerable inconvenience in Ireland, and add much to the difficulties of your situation there. Under these difficulties I must fairly say my only hope of maintaining the tranquility of Ireland would be in the confidence which the Catholics (I mean the rational and well disposed part of that body) place in your Grace's character and conduct. This sentiment is a leading consideration in all that we have done in this most difficult and trying situation, and the fear of the inevitable consequences of a change of Government here, but still more in Ireland, if it took place on such grounds, weighs more with us than any other circumstance whatever, in restraining us from that course which, in an ordinary situation of things, would naturally present itself as the only one to be followed on such an occasion.

"I will not fail to apprize your Grace of the course of this business with as much regularity as the unavoidable pressure which this (added to all other matters now depending) brings upon me will probably allow; and I hope that a few days will bring back Lord Spencer in a state of health to carry on this correspondence with his usual punctuality. It is a great mortification to us all under such circumstances that we cannot have the benefit of your Grace's assistance and advice." *Copy.*

Secret. THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, March 14. Dublin Castle.—"Since the suppression of the disturbances in the western counties I have been turning my attention to the particular causes of those disorders, with the view of suggesting, if possible, a permanent remedy for preventing in future the recurrence of so great an evil.

"Upon the best consideration I have been able to give this subject I am satisfied that tithes, and the occasional rigid exaction of them by the farmers and tithe proctors, have been the chief and immediate causes of the late, as well as of many former disorders in this country.

" Tithes, from the peculiar nature of this species of property, the perpetual fluctuations in their quantity and value, the difficulties inseparably incident to the modes of recovering and collecting them, have been often a subject of popular discontent ; but in Ireland from the irritable temper of the lower orders of the people, their imperfect subordination to the laws, and the greater proportion of the population being dissenters from the established church, they have more frequently been the occasion of popular commotion than perhaps in any other country. The high rents, especially of the smaller farms, of which the number is very great, may also have contributed to the dissatisfaction which has been so frequently and generally expressed against the payment of tithes in Ireland.

" It has, however, been alleged that tithes were merely the pretence, and that a spirit of disaffection to the Government was the real cause of the late disturbances, and that the confederacy of the *threshers* was formed for the purposes of rebellion.

" But I feel it my duty upon this occasion to state, that from all the information I have been able to collect, and from the observation of the judges who tried, and the Crown lawyers who prosecuted a considerable number of the *threshers*, under the late special commission, it does not appear that any thing treasonable existed in that confederacy. To avoid or diminish the payments on account of tithes was the main object they had in view. To this they certainly joined a reduction of the dues paid to the priest, and in some instances a reduction of rents.

" In the years 1786 and 1787, when similar disturbances prevailed very extensively in the province of Munster, the very same objects were professed, and then there was not a pretence for suspecting, nor was it suspected, I believe, that any treasonable motive or purpose existed among the insurgents.

" I am well aware that a certain degree of disaffection exists among the lower orders of the people, and that a confederacy against the payment of tithes, at all times alarming, is peculiarly dangerous at present, and might easily be diverted in case of invasion, to the purposes of rebellion ; and it is this very danger, which I feel to be great and urgent, that has led me to seek most anxiously some remedy for this permanent general source of discontent."

Partial commutation of tithes.

" Amongst other schemes the exemption of the poorest or lowest class of the peasantry (for instance, every person occupying not above four acres of land) from the payment of every species of tithes, has been sometimes suggested. This plan to be efficacious, supposes, what is certainly true, that a very considerable number of persons would be

comprehended within the exemption ; and a compensation to the clergy out of some other fund must form an essential part of the arrangement.

" Many strong objections present themselves to this partial commutation of tithes.

" All the occupiers of upwards of four acres of land would be jealous of the persons to whom this benefit is proposed to be limited, and complain of being excluded from so great a boon.

" It would be found very difficult to justify so extraordinary a distinction between those included in, and those excluded from the exemption." Besides, its effects as an absolute exemption from tithes, or any equivalent payment, must be partial and temporary even in respect of those intended to be favoured by it. It would only be effectual to this purpose during the continuance of the leases existing at the time it is established. All lands let afterwards in parcels not exceeding four acres, as they must be let tithe free, would of course be let with an advance on the rent, equal at least to the tithe. Thus persons who never had lands before the commencement of this system, would never derive from it any portion of this particular benefit. Those actually in possession of such small holdings would enjoy this benefit during the subsistence of their terms. Some would enjoy it for three years, others for five, and in ten or fifteen years a great proportion of the peasantry for whose relief the plan is to be established, would be completely divested of its most obvious and substantial advantages, and their landlords exposed to the invidious imputation of having deprived the poor of the benefit conferred on them by the legislature.

" The peasantry are already too much disposed to complain of high rents, and to endeavour to redress this supposed grievance by unlawful combinations, and acts of violence. It is undoubtedly true that in Ireland the rents paid by the occupying tenants, especially of small portions of land are too frequently racked to the utmost that can be got ; and that, in general, they bear a greater proportion to the gross produce than such rents do in England. This evil cannot, I fear, be remedied by the legislature.

" But it is a serious objection to any legislative measure if it affords a plausible pretence for additional complaints on this head. Besides the objections to the principle and general operation of this plan, there would evidently be many difficulties to encounter in the course of its execution.

" It would prove a matter of infinite difficulty to decide out of what fund the compensation to the clergy for the tithes to be abolished, and to the lay impropriators, should be paid.

" It could not be charged on the counties by grand jury presentments, for then the occupiers of farms subject to

tithes would also be eharged with the tithes of the small holders entitled to exemption, which would be manifestly unjust.

"It eould not be eharged on the landlords of these small holdings during the eontinuanee of the leases existing at the eommeneement of the exemption, for, during that period, they could derive no benefit from it. The exemption would be a gratuitous bounty from Parliament to these small holders, eonferred on considerations of general poliey, in the benefieial eonsequenees of whieh all the members of the community would partieipate in like manner as in the seeurity and other advantages afforded by the eivil or military establishment; and the expense, it would seem, should for that reason be defrayed out of the same fund, that is, the general revenue of the State.

"This, however, would be but a temporary eharge, for, as the rent of every small lot of land let after the establishment of the exemption would be raised in proportion to the value of that exemption, it would follow of course that the landlord in every sueh ease should out of such advaneed rent pay the estimated value of the tithes to the clergyman or lay impropriator as the ease might be.

"Upon the whole it appears to me that this partial exemption from tithes would be attended in the exeeution with many of the difficulties incident to a general eommutation, and with some peeuliar to itself; that it promises a remedy for a very small portion of the evil. That it would unneeessarily give a great present peeuniary benefit to a certain deseription of persons, and thereby ereate a most invidious distinetion between them and all the other oeeupiers of land, which would be felt by all, but so mueh by the class *immediately* above the exempted persons, that I should fear the most dangerous diseontents might result from it. This peeuniary boon too, would be extremely unequal in its duration; many would never reap the benefit of it, and all would in the lapse of a few years be deprived of it, and deprived of it by their landlords.

"The attachment of tenants to their landlords is one of the most important ties whieh bind the lower to the superior orders of the State.

"Unfortunately that attaehment is from obvious eauses very weak in this eountry, if it can be said to exist in it at all; and any regulation therefore that might tend to weaken it still farther, would be on that ground extremely exeeptionable."

General commutation.

"A general commutation of tithes is not liable to all the same objeetions. It makes no invidious distinetions. It does not grant a partial benefit of short and caprieious duration. It offers the same relief to all, a remedy as extensive as the

evil, and the benefits of this remedy, whatever they are, will be permanent, as well as equal.

" When a general commutation is effected, all the occupiers of land will become subject to a certain instead of an uncertain payment ; and when the existing leases expire, the tenantry will have only a rent ascertained by their own agreement to pay to their landlords.

" While I endeavour to state for your lordship's consideration the outlines of different schemes on this most interesting and important subject which have engaged my attention, I am most anxious to convey to your lordship the deep impression I entertain, both of the difficulties attending the execution of any effectual measure, and the incalculable mischiefs that would result from attempting a regulation without success.

Basis of a commutation.

" The first point to be ascertained, and which forms the basis of every scheme of commutation is, by what rule, or upon what principle the value of the tithes to be commuted shall be estimated.

" Shall the tithes for which a commutation is to be provided be estimated according to their real and full value, or according to what other rule ?

" A just and scrupulous regard to the rights of property would seem to require that their real value should be the rule for commutation. But I am afraid this principle would render any commutation so exceptionable to the landed interest, that it would be utterly impossible to establish it.

" From such information as I have been able to obtain, but which I must premise is very imperfect, I believe the clergy of Ireland in general have not received above one half of the real value of their tithes.

" In the county of Antrim, for instance, it has been stated to me that the real present value of the tithes may amount to about forty thousand pounds a year, and that the value received both by the clergy and lay impropriators does not exceed thirteen thousand pounds, which is less than one third of the supposed real value.

" It would be in vain therefore to expect that the landowners would listen to a commutation to be paid by them in any shape equal to the real value of the tithes.

" The proportion which the real value bears to that which has been actually received varies I am told in every diocese, and even in the different parishes of the same diocese. Although there is scarcely such a thing as a *modus*, or fixed composition for tithes, any where in this country, or any limit, by custom or usage, to the progressive increase of the value received, yet there is by usage a very different mode of valuing tithes in different places ; and a person skilled in the valuation of tithes in one diocese, or district, and who would in general

give satisfaction to both the rector and the parishioners, would in another district be totally unfit for this employment. There does not seem therefore to exist any uniform proportion between the real value and the sum actually received for the value of tithes, so as to form the basis or principle for a general commutation. The only remaining basis that can be suggested is the actual receipts of the clergy upon an average of a certain number of years, for instance of the last five, or seven years. This may be objected to as a great infringement on the property of the church. But unless it be submitted to, I much fear a commutation will be absolutely impracticable.

"I am fully sensible of the great importance in every point of view of a sacred and scrupulous regard to the right of property; and if the peace and tranquillity of this country were not essentially interested in this question, I should never propose any measure trenching on the property of the church. But I think there are some weighty considerations affecting the welfare and comfort, and even the pecuniary interests of the clergy of the established church which should induce them to compromise a right of which they never have availed themselves; and from the peculiar circumstances of this country, it is improbable they ever should avail themselves, to near its full extent.

"If the present possessors of church benefices get their present incomes secured to them free from the risk, vexation, and expense of litigation, as well as of such commotions as have at different periods prevailed in this country, they would not on the whole have reason to be dissatisfied.

"Their successors cannot personally have any right to complain. Their interests will not be violated. But such a commutation may undoubtedly affect very seriously the permanent interest of the establishment. Although the present incomes of the clergy may generally speaking be sufficiently liberal, yet, if the expense of living increase as much during the present century as it did during the last, the present incomes will not be sufficient to preserve the clergy in the stations they now hold in society, and which it is essential to the interests of religion and good government that they should.

"A permanent pecuniary compensation for tithes is therefore liable to the most serious objections, and every scheme of commutation I have ever heard suggested always professed to make some provision for a gradual increase of the incomes of the clergy, and this would ultimately be as necessary, although not so soon, if the clergy were to receive a pecuniary compensation for the full present value of tithes as if it were made on the principle I have proposed.

"Assuming therefore as the only practicable basis for this measure that the rule of compensation must be the present average receipts of the clergy for their tithes, the

next consideration is to provide a proper compensation; of which one of the most essential requisites appears to be, so constituted as to rise in proportion as the incomes from tithes would rise, or in such a proportion as to afford a reasonable probability of preserving the clergy in their present stations in society.

Periodical valuations.

"A scheme of commutation has been suggested as particularly adapted for securing to the clergy an increase of income bearing a fixed proportion to the increase in the value of tithes.

"By ascertaining the present real value of tithes by a survey and estimate for three years, and also the actual receipts of the clergy, the proportion between them would of course be ascertained, and this proportion should be established as a permanent proportion, according to which the amount of the payments in commutation of tithes should in future be regulated. For the first fifteen or twenty years the present actual receipts to be paid to the clergy by an assessment on the lands of each parish. At the end of this period another valuation of tithes should be made, according to an actual survey of the three preceding years, and the payments to the clergy for the next period should be settled so as to bear the same proportion to the real value ascertained by this second survey, as the payments during the first period bore to the real value ascertained by the first survey; and thus by periodical valuations the incomes of the clergy might be always kept in the same proportion to the real value of tithes as they are at present. But the expense of such valuations would be enormous. It would be necessary to employ commissioners in every diocese, perhaps in every parish. If juries of farmers or landholders were resorted to, I fear there would be little chance of a fair valuation. If juries were on that account excluded, there must be an appeal from the award of the commissioners, a farther source of expense and delay.

A commutation for a Corn Rent.

"A plan of commutation on the same principle of securing a progressive improvement to the incomes of the clergy, has been suggested by Doctor Paley, whose authority on this subject is entitled to a great consideration.

"He proposes a Corn Rent equal to the value of the tithes, or as I should propose it for Ireland, equal to the value now received from tithes. That is to say, that the quantity of corn which the present receipts for tithes in every parish would purchase at the present prices should be ascertained, and the current price in all times to come of this ascertained quantity of corn, taken on averages of seven or ten years, should be paid to the clergyman of each respective parish.

This arrangement would, as has been proved by long experience, afford an effectual security from loss of income by reason of the depreciation in the value of money; and it would in like manner afford a security to the landlord, or farmer, against any loss which might arise from the increase of the value of money, an event, which, however improbable it may now appear, may happen, and in any permanent scheme of commutation, ought perhaps to be guarded against.

"But if we are to judge of the future by the past, which on such subjects is the safest guide, I am afraid this mode of commutation would not secure the clergy from losing their rank in society.

"During the first fifty or sixty years of the last century the average price of corn rose very little, if at all; and if this commutation had been established in the year 1700, the clergy from that time, to the year 1760, would have received little or no increase to their income; and yet during that period the habits of expense probably increased considerably, and the clergy would have sunk into comparative poverty. They would have been entirely deprived of the gradual additions to their income arising from the extension and improvement of agriculture. The degree of weight due to this objection must depend on an accurate enquiry into the rise of the incomes of the clergy during that period. Also the increase of the rents of the landed proprietors, and perhaps of the official incomes of the persons who went into the different branches of the public service as professions.

"But supposing that upon the result of such an enquiry this objection should not appear of sufficient magnitude to render the scheme wholly inadmissible, several difficulties of detail would occur in the execution. The sum now paid as tithe for an acre of wheat, is more than what is paid for an acre of hay, barley, or oats, and less than what is paid for an acre of potatoes in those districts where, by usage, potatoes are tithable. And by law no agistment tithe whatever is payable in any part of Ireland.

"As the ground which this year produces wheat may the next produce barley or potatoes, it would seem expedient for the sake of uniformity, and certainty, to assess all the lands in tillage, whatever be the crop, with the corn rent, at the same rate per acre. But as much of the pasture land may and most probably will remain in the same state for many years, during all which time it will be, by the present law exempt from tithes, the proprietors and occupiers of such lands would probably strenuously object to paying any assessment for tithes in respect of such lands. If weight be attributed to this objection, the whole of the present income of the rector of any parish must be assessed solely on the lands now in tillage. But wherever it might happen that pasture should be turned into arable land should it then continue tithe free? If so, the proprietor would gain

a most unjust advantage over his neighbours, whose lands were in tillage when the commutation was established.

"Should such land be then subjected to the same rate for tithes as other tillage lands, and the produce thereof allotted to the clergyman as a fair increase to the income of his benefice? If this were proposed, the landholders might probably propose in return that wherever lands in tillage at the time of the commutation were afterwards converted into pasture, they should be exempted from the assessment.

"This arrangement would introduce such a degree of uncertainty and complication in the system, as might probably render it more advisable to suffer the present pasture lands to remain for ever tithe free.

"Besides these difficulties there is still another incident to this scheme of commutation, and one which might possibly prevent or embarrass the effectual and complete removal of one of the greatest evils attending the present state of tithes in this country.

"At present the Catholic peasantry complain loudly that they pay tithes to the protestant clergy. In this they are in some respects mistaken, for in settling with their landlords the rents to be paid for their farms, the annual sums usually paid for tithes are taken into the account, and their rent is by so much the less. But to a certain degree their complaint is well founded; for every rise in the tithe above the rate which on taking the land they had calculated they were to pay, must come out of their own pockets. And although such rise may in most cases be the result of improved cultivation, yet as they pay no more rent on that account they feel it hard to pay more tithes, and especially to the clergy of a different religious persuasion. They pay their own clergy besides, and hence they draw an invidious and mortifying comparison between their own condition, and that of their fellow subjects of the established religion.

"As no agistment tithe is payable in Ireland, the peasant who pays tithes for his small farm, on which he raises both corn and potatoes, thinks himself most unjustly and oppressively treated when he compares his situation with that of a wealthy neighbouring farmer who pays no tithe whatever for extensive tracts of rich pasture.

"On these grounds it appears most desirable that, in any scheme for the commutation of tithes, the payment of the commutation should be transferred from the tenant to the landlord. I see no means, however, of effectually accomplishing this change during the subsistence of the present leases. But on the expiration of the leases of every occupying tenant it may be provided that the land should be let tithe free, and his immediate landlord should of course become liable to pay the corn rent to the clergyman; and if this immediate landlord should, as is very often the case, be himself a tenant, then on the expiration of his lease, his

lessor should in like manner let to him tithe free; and so on in succession, until the head landlord came to be subject to this payment, and in return entitled to let his interest tithe-free.

"Lessees of perpetuities, or of leases renewable for ever must for the purpose of this commutation, as for most others, be considered as the proprietors.

"But will the landlords submit to be charged with this species of composition for tithes? after the commutation is established, as leases dropped the landlords would let their lands tithe free; but they would let them for certain rents in money.

"During the continuance of any lease the average price of grain might rise, as it has done within these last thirty years very considerably; their money payments to the clergy must rise in proportion, while their rents remain the same.

"The landlord might protect himself from this burden by requiring from the tenant a covenant to make good to him all such additional payments resulting from any rise in the price of grain. This arrangement would be perfectly reasonable, as the tenant would himself be indemnified from any real loss by the advanced price at which he would sell the whole of his crop. But I am very doubtful whether it would so appear to the tenant, especially before he had any experience on the subject, and I apprehend the difficulty of reconciling the parties to this arrangement might prove another serious objection to this scheme of commutation.

Commutation for Land.

"I shall therefore proceed to mention another plan, and which, on the first view, appears well adapted to answer all the ends of commutation, and would probably of all others prove the most satisfactory to the church; and that is, to give them estates in land producing, at the time of the commutation, rents equal to the average of their present receipts from tithes.

"By this arrangement the clergy would, I apprehend, be permanently secured in their present stations in society, as their incomes would improve like those of other landholders with the growing wealth and prosperity of the country, and they would also be protected from the effects which the depreciation in the value of money would necessarily produce on fixed incomes in money. By this entire separation of their property from that of the laity, it would completely relieve them from the litigation and embarrassments to which they are now subject, and also from that disposition to dispute and withhold from them their rights, which they so frequently experience at present, and from which they would not probably be always exempt by any scheme of commutation which required an annual payment from the owners or occupiers of lands, in lieu of tithes. At the same time I

see no reasonable ground of objection on the part of the landholders to the principle of this scheme.

"If every landowner were to transfer immediately a portion of his estate producing in rent and tithes, at the present rate, a sum equal to the tithe paid from his whole estate in the parish, and to be entitled thereon to receive the tithes of the remainder of his estate, he would at the moment sustain no loss of income, and in the end be a considerable gainer by the exchange.

"During the continuance of the subsisting leases he would receive the tithes of the part of the estate retained by him, being equal to the rent of that part of the estate given to the clergyman; and on the expiration of the subsisting leases, by letting his estate tithe-free, he would get considerably more rent than he could have got, other circumstances being equal, from the whole of his estate while subjected to tithes. But I am aware that there are some objections to this scheme in its principle.

"It is alleged that locking up so much land in mortmain would be attended with injurious consequences to the prosperity of the country, and perhaps to its constitution. But I am inclined to think this objection is more specious than solid. A certain quantity of land would indubitably be so locked up; but the remainder being discharged of tithes to the full value of what is withdrawn from commerce, the same *value* in land would remain free, as at present.

"Another objection of the same sort has perhaps more foundation. The lands transferred to the church would not perhaps be quite so well cultivated, as the lands belonging to lay proprietors. But this disadvantage might perhaps be sufficiently counteracted by enabling the rectors with the consent of the ordinary and metropolitan on proper sworn estimates of the value, to let leases for such a period as would ensue good cultivation.

"A third objection appears more serious; such an arrangement might tend to engage the clergy too much in the occupations of agriculture, and thereby produce habits not altogether suitable to their sacred character and functions. Perhaps this might in some degree also be obviated by restraining the parson from keeping more in his own hands, than what is now considered as a small or moderate glebe. And in like manner to restrain him from attending fairs and markets, or buying, or selling the stock or produce of land in person.

"Upon the whole therefore, I am disposed to prefer this mode to any other that has occurred to me.

"There are, however, some serious difficulties attending this plan. To carry it into execution at once, the commutation must be compulsory. But as very considerable portions of land are let at very low rents, either from having been let long ago, or let more recently on the payment of large fines, it would, I fear, be impossible to ascertain and provide for

such complicated interests adversely, were it even advisable to adopt so violent a measure as a compulsory alienation to so great an extent, and affecting at once such a number of persons in so essential an interest.

"As land cannot therefore be obtained compulsorily, and as a voluntary transfer of land must be too slow in its operation to afford any relief against the urgent evils of tithes, it remains to be considered whether any temporary mode can be devised to remove such evils, 'till this exchange can be accomplished.

"Among other expedients, one has occurred, which may deserve your lordship's consideration.

"To assess in the form of a land tax, upon all the arable lands in just proportion, the amount of the present receipts for tithes.

"The land tax to be collected from the occupying tenants in the first instance, and afterwards on the expiration of their leases, from their next immediate landlords in the way suggested for the collection of the corn rent.

"In carrying this scheme of commutation into execution, some doubts respecting pasture land will necessarily arise. If the commutation into land were to be immediately effected lands would be given adequate only to the present receipts for tithes, and, of course, all the pasture lands might be converted into arable without being subject to any payment in respect of tithes. At least this would seem to be a necessary consequence, for the sake of making a final settlement on the subject.

"Would it be reasonable in consideration of this perpetual exemption afforded to pasture, although afterwards converted into arable land, to make such pasture contribute in an equal, or in any other proportion to the tax which would be substituted for tithes, 'till land could be obtained? I apprehend it would not be thought equitable to do so.

"Claiming tithe of agistment was, by a resolution of the House of Commons in the year 1735, declared to be a new and grievous demand. Whatever may have been the usage before that period, no agistment tithe has been paid since, either to the clergy, or the lay impropriators. Pending the discussions on the Union an apprehension having been expressed in the House that the respect and submission hitherto manifested to their resolution might not continue after the Union, nor be enforced by the authority of the House of Commons of the united Parliament, it was judged expedient to pass a law confirming, and establishing this exemption. And this circumstance may perhaps render the policy of touching this exemption additionally doubtful. But it might, as I have suggested in speaking of the commutation for a Corn Rent, appear a reasonable mode of making some additions to the incomes of the clergy to subject to the assessment such pasture lands as from time to time should be converted into arable land antecedent to

the acquisition of land. This, however, would render the measure of obtaining land in exchange more complicated and difficult in the execution, as the value of the land to be got would be liable to frequent fluctuation.

" I should therefore recommend that all the land in pasture at the time a land tax is imposed as a commutation for tithes, should be suffered to remain for ever exempt.

" In order to provide a fund for the gradual improvement of the incomes of the clergy on the double presumption that the receipts for tithes would have gradually increased, and that an increase of income will probably be necessary to keep them in their present stations, either a little more land-tax than is sufficient to pay the clergy at their present rates of income should be imposed, which would not be unjust considering how much less than the real value of the tithes the land-owners will have to pay by way of composition for them; or if the landed interest should be averse from this, to provide the fund from the public revenue. The annual amount necessary for this purpose would not, I believe, be very great.

" I have been told that all the tithes in Ireland do not very much exceed four hundred thousand pounds. This statement is not pretended by the person from whom I received it to be the result of any calculation founded on particular data; but is derived merely from general observation, and the speculations of some well informed persons.

" As a contrast to this statement, I may mention some data on which the real value of tithes have been sometimes estimated.

" Arthur Young in the account of his tour through Ireland, states, that there are nearly twelve million of acres in this country, and that the average rent paid by the occupying tenants at the time he wrote (1779) amounted to about nine shillings an acre. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the rents have at least been doubled since; and accordingly some intelligent persons state the average rent now to be about twenty shillings or even a guinea an acre. The present rental of Ireland may therefore be about twelve millions *per annum.*

" In England the average produce has been estimated at three times the rent. In Ireland where the capital employed in farming and the tenant's profits are comparatively small, the produce may not much exceed two rents.

" But as pasture lands pay no tithe of agistment in any part of Ireland, and produce great rents, and as in the north and south-west parts of Ireland no tithe is paid on potato grounds which also pay high rents, a considerable deduction from the total rent must be made to ascertain the amount of the rents arising from tithable produce; perhaps one-third of the whole. This would reduce such rents to eight millions

per annum, and sixteen millions would thus be the amount of the produce subject to tithes; and one million, six hundred thousand pounds would be the real value of the tithes. If only half the real value be actually received by the clergy and the lay impropriators, the receipts would, according to this calculation, amount to eight hundred thousand pounds, instead of four hundred thousand pounds, their supposed amount according to my former statement.

"If, as has been very confidently stated to me, the actual receipts on account of tithes do not exceed one-third of the real value, and if that real value amounts only to one million, six hundred thousand pounds, the actual receipts would amount to five hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three pounds *per annum*.

"I shall assume therefore five hundred thousand pounds as the present actual receipts on account of tithes. Ten *per cent.* by way of an accumulating fund would on that sum be fifty thousand pounds a year.

"If this was accumulated for twenty years, it would furnish an additional sum for the purchase of land. And where that should be still unattainable, the interest of this accumulated sum, would furnish a moderate addition to every income, and during the next twenty years the original payment of fifty thousand pounds would form a fresh accumulation applicable to similar purposes. The increase I am aware would not be in any proportion to the rising value of tithes, nor am I apprized of any expedient to form it in any such proportion.

"Although it will evidently be for the interest of the proprietors of land voluntarily to surrender an adequate portion thereof in every parish, in order to obtain for the remainder a discharge from this land-tax, yet it is equally plain that this commutation or exchange must proceed very slowly, and be attended in many instances with much difficulty in the adjustment.

"Where the arable land of a parish is divided among only a very few proprietors, the necessary quantity may be obtained in a few lots. But where a parish is much subdivided, and small parcels of land belong to different persons, the portion to be surrendered by each would be too small to be let or cultivated separately, or easily preserved to the church. In such cases therefore an exchange for other land must be effected, or such lots sold and other lots more conveniently situated purchased with the price. These operations would require more time, but the accumulating fund which I have proposed might be employed to facilitate such arrangements.

"It must be remembered that in the mean time the land-tax and the accumulating fund would secure to the clergy their present incomes with a progressive improvement, and the evils and mischiefs resulting from the present sale of tithes would be remedied.

Sale of tithes.

"Were it advisable to sell the tithes to the proprietors of the land, and vest the purchase money in stock, to furnish equivalent incomes to the clergy, a fund for the amelioration of their incomes, and also to assist in the purchase of lands, the landed gentry, I fear, could not for a very long time accomplish such purchases.

Impropriate tithes.

"I must not omit stating that there is a certain portion of tithes in lay hands in Ireland, although by no means proportioned to that which belongs to the laity in England. In some instances the rectorial tithes belong to the proprietor of the land. There is nothing to be done in this latter case, but to declare that, until the expiration of the existing leases, the rent for the tithes is inseparably united to the rent of the land, and that afterwards the tithes shall be absolutely extinguished. Where the tithes do not belong to the landlord they must of course be commuted, as well as ecclesiastical tithes. But there appears to be a very reasonable objection to commuting such tithes on the same terms on which we have proposed to commute the tithes belonging to the clergy.

"The interest of the present possessor of tithes, whether he be a lay or an ecclesiastical person, may be considered equally as private property. But the reversionary interests after the death of the present possessors are in these two cases of very different natures.

"In the case of a lay impropriation this reversionary interest is *private property* in the strictest sense.

"In the case of an ecclesiastical person it is not. During the life of the possessor or incumbent, the reversionary interest is not vested in any particular person. No particular person therefore can be injured by the diminution or even extinction of such interest.

"It appears a matter of the most serious doubt whether for any reasons of public policy, however important, the right of private property ought to be encroached upon, without securing a full equivalent for the contingent and future, as well as for the present value; and I can suggest no means of removing this difficulty, unless it should be thought expedient to provide out of the public revenue a reasonable compensation for this future contingent interest.

"I am so little informed as to the proportion which the tithes in lay hands bear to the tithes belonging to the church, that I cannot venture even a conjecture on the subject. It has been asserted that the former amount to about one-fifth of the latter. But the most material facts to ascertain is, what portion the lay tithes not belonging to the proprietors of the land, bear to the tithes of the church.

"The very great mischief that would result from exciting any alarm, or expectation, on this delicate subject has precluded

me from seeking information, except from a very few persons; and they, for the same reason, could only furnish me with what they were already in possession of.

"Having stated very fully the grounds on which I venture to recommend a commutation of tithes in this country, and also according to the best information I could obtain, which I am sensible is very imperfect, such schemes for effecting that measure as appear to me the least liable to objection, I cannot too strongly express to your lordship my conviction, that whatever plan his Majesty's Ministers may adopt for that purpose, the details will be found extremely complicated and embarrassing; and will require in the adjustment an extensive knowledge and the most careful consideration of the present state of that species of property in this country. But as such information cannot, I apprehend, be obtained without an enquiry by persons vested by Parliament with suitable powers for the purpose; and as it would be attended with much inconvenience and danger to the public tranquility to institute such an inquiry before the principle and basis of the measure received some Parliamentary sanction, I beg leave to throw out for the consideration of your lordship and your colleagues whether it might not be advisable to propose to Parliament, before any public enquiry takes place, to resolve that a commutation of tithes is expedient in Ireland; and secondly, that the actual receipts taken on an average of the *last five years* by the persons entitled to tithes, is the proper basis for such a commutation.

"Perhaps a Bill might be framed upon these resolutions for appointing Commissioners to obtain more particular and accurate information on the subject, and to report their opinion on the best mode of accomplishing this commutation, on the basis established by the second resolution." *Copy.*

Lord Ellenborough to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 17. Bloomsbury Square.—"I cannot adequately express the pain which I have received from your lordship's communication, or the sense I entertained of the very obliging terms in which it is conveyed. I will allow myself still to hope that so great a public calamity as the dissolution of the present Government must be, may yet be averted. I will do myself the honour of calling in Downing Street to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, unless I understand from your lordship in the meantime that you cannot conveniently see me at that hour."

Private. W. Elliott to The Same.

1807, March 17. Dublin Castle.—"The Lord Lieutenant tells me that he has communicated to you the result of a long conversation which we had this morning with the

Chancellor, and that he has apprized you of the obstacles which appear to all of us to present themselves to a *beneficial* continuance of the present Irish Government. Both the Duke and the Chancellor are of opinion that they could not remain without having to encounter the total loss of the confidence of the Catholic Body. Whatever embarrassment they may feel, I am under still greater. At the time of the Union, to which measure I was a party *here*, it was urged over and over to the Catholics that from the united Parliament they might expect the most substantial advantages; and it is beyond dispute that many of them at that period acted under that impression. There was, to be sure, no compact with them, but there was that sort of understanding between Government and them on the subject, which afforded them ground for entertaining very sanguine hopes. It proves now, however, that nothing can be done for them, partly owing to the prejudices of the King and of the two Houses of Parliament, and much perhaps owing to the indiscretion and intemperance of the Catholics themselves. But the question for *myself* is whether I could under such circumstances remain in my present situation without a loss of character, and consequently of the means of serving the Government with which I am connected. Upon the best consideration I am capable of affording this question, my judgment and conscience tell me I could not. You know how much on every public and private principle my very heart and soul are wrapt up in the success and prosperity of your administration, and will do me the justice to believe that nothing could have induced me to press this topic so urgently on your attention short of the strongest sense of duty.

"It occurs to us on this side of the water that, if you were to transfer the conduct of the affairs of this country to persons favourably disposed, but less pledged than the present Irish Government are in their sentiments and feelings towards the Catholics, and on whom therefore the people of that persuasion would have less claim, such an administration might probably have more authority over the Catholics, and more control over the Protestants than this Government under the recent circumstances can hope to gain. By the Protestant faction here we shall of course be considered as a beaten Government.

"The Lord Lieutenant is most sensible to the impropriety and inexpediency of any rash decision on this subject, and is anxious that it should undergo your most mature deliberation. As I am naturally very solicitous to have an opportunity of conferring with you on it, and as the Duke also wishes me to do so, I have thought of going to London, but will not set out till I hear from you. My stay must not exceed a few days as, in the present state of things, my absence from Dublin would be inconvenient."

Most Private and Confidential.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 17. Dublin Castle.—"By the express which reached Dublin at a late hour of the night of the 15th instant, I received your Lordship's two letters (marked private) of the 12th and 13th. The one of the former date referring almost wholly to the subject of tithes, important and interesting as that subject is, must for the present give way to the more pressing urgency created by the dilemma in which you find yourself involved by the unexpected repugnance of the King to concede the full extent of the advantages proposed to be given to his Roman Catholic subjects by opening to them the naval and military professions, a measure to which the faith of the Government has been solemnly and distinctly pledged. Your lordship will readily imagine that I did not receive this information without feelings of the deepest regret, persuaded as I am, that such a disappointment cannot fail to be attended with consequences the most injurious, perhaps fatal, to the interests of Ireland. The difficulties and embarrassment which it must bring upon the Irish Government are serious, and, I fear, insurmountable. I have repeatedly conversed with the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot upon this most distressing subject in the course of yesterday and this day, and they appear to entertain the same unsatisfactory view of it that I do; but I beg to be distinctly understood as delivering my sentiments only, when I state to your lordship that, under the circumstances of receding from the pledge held out to the Catholics, I do not foresee the possibility of my being able to carry on the Government of Ireland, with the slightest hope of its being attended with satisfaction to myself, or with advantage to the country. This opinion I assure you has not been formed on light grounds, or hastily adopted. I have given to the subject, from the moment I received your letter, the most anxious deliberation, and in no one instance of my life have I felt more pain than in the necessity to which I now feel myself reluctantly compelled of making this declaration. There is no personal sacrifice which I am not ready and willing to make to assist with my humble services the administration of which you are at the head; but I must also consider what is due to my own feelings, to my own sense of what is right, and balance these against the power of serving my country in the station in which I am placed.

"The result of this consideration, honestly and conscientiously formed, and to the best of my judgment, is what I have already submitted to your lordship. Any compromise with the prejudices of the King, I would still deprecate (if it be not too late), assuring you of my decided conviction that the consequences may prove a surrender of the peace and safety of Ireland into the hands of bigotry and faction.

"I have written in haste and amid many interruptions, but I hope when I am informed of the future course of these proceedings to enter more at large into the subject."

Private. Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 18. Milton.—"The King's consent to the admission of the Catholics into the army, having been so distinctly given before I left town, my mind was at rest on the subject, and I looked for its being carried into effect, either by a clause in the Mutiny Bill, or by a special Bill, without further trouble. The papers, however, of yesterday morning, and a private letter, intimating a suspicion that all was not right on that subject, which I received at the same time, took off from the excess of my surprise at the contents of a letter I have received from Lord Howick this morning, giving a summary account of what has occurred on the subject, and that the result is, that the Administration is virtually at an end. Holding no official situation I have no ostensible means of manifesting my decided adherence to those of the Administration who feel their retreat necessary on the present occasion. Under these circumstances it naturally occurs to me that I should be on the spot to make that declaration in person; but really I am not in health or strength to do so, though greatly recovered since I left town. Should the weather grow milder, another week may make a great difference, and enable me to undertake the journey. But in the meanwhile let me beg of you, either when you give in your resignation, or receive your dismission, to make my sentiments known to h[is] M[ajesty], and my intention, as soon as my health permits, to request h[is] M[ajesty's] permission in the most dutiful manner, no longer to attend the meetings of his confidential servants."

Official Correspondence relating to the Irish Catholic question, from February 9 to March 18, 1807, as arranged by Lord Grenville.

Earl Spencer to George III.

1807, February 9. St. James's Place.—"Earl Spencer has the honour to lay before your Majesty a dispatch received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland relative to the proceedings which have lately taken place among certain of the Catholics in that country, together with a minute agreed upon by your Majesty's servants to be humbly submitted to your Majesty, with the draft of an answer to the Lord Lieutenant's despatch referred to in the said minute." *Copy.*

Two enclosures (1).

Secret. The Duke of Bedford to Earl Spencer.

1807, February 4. Dublin Castle.—"About a month ago I heard that a few of the Roman Catholics in the city of Dublin

were beginning to discuss in private the expediency of petitioning Parliament at this time for relief from the restrictions to which they are subject under the existing laws.

"After one or two meetings held by a very few persons to deliberate on the subject, a public meeting was assembled at which fifty or sixty persons attended, when the question was considered, and it was unanimously resolved that this was a fit time to petition for relief, and that a deputation of five persons whom they chose by ballot should seek an interview with Mr. Elliot, on behalf of the Catholics of Dublin, to know whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to support a Bill in Parliament for the relief of the body. The deputies were Lord French; Mr. John Keogh; Mr. O'Connor, a country gentleman of some fortune; Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Luke, two wealthy persons in the rank of tradesmen in the city of Dublin.

"Some days afterwards these persons waited upon Mr. Elliot, and communicated to him the resolutions of the meeting. Mr. Keogh, a man of considerable talents and property, entered at large into the subject, stated the different restrictions to which the Catholics were still liable, and how they were affected by them in their feelings and in their interests; that while they laboured under these mortifying and disadvantageous restrictions, a certain degree of discontent must exist among the great body of the people, whom, in the present state of Europe, it was peculiarly desirable to conciliate and cordially unite in the defence of the Empire, and on this ground he conceived the present a favourable moment for presenting their petition.

"Mr. Elliot informed them he could return no answer to their question, without communicating with me on the subject, which he should take an early opportunity of doing. This answer was reported to a second meeting held the next day, which, without any debate, adjourned to a further day to allow of time to receive my answer.

"From the best information I could obtain of what had passed at their meeting, I collected that many were of opinion that they should relinquish their intention of petitioning, provided some of the existing restrictions were removed; although some others maintained that they ought to petition, unless complete relief was unequivocally promised.

"After the maturest deliberation I thought it impossible under all circumstances to return any other answer than that I should communicate their resolution to his Majesty's Ministers in England. Mr. Elliot sent for the deputies and delivered the answer to them, upon which occasion little more was said by them than that they should report the answer they had received at their next meeting, which was to take place a few days afterwards.

"On the third meeting the deputies reported my answer delivered to them by Mr. Elliot; and I am informed that the

meeting, after appointing a committee of twenty-one to prepare a petition, as a measure of precaution in case an unfavourable answer was received from England, adjourned to the 7th instant.

"By this time it appeared that the question had become a more general subject of conversation and interest among the Catholics. Lord Fingal and Sir Edward Bellew called upon Mr. Elliot and requested to know on behalf of themselves and those Catholics who acted usually with them, and who on all occasions have manifested great moderation, whether it was the intention of Government to grant any relief to the Roman Catholics in this session of Parliament. They intimated that if they could receive any satisfactory assurance on that subject, they thought the intention of petitioning might not be persevered in; but that if they could receive no such assurance, they thought it right to apprize him that at a general meeting of the Catholics, which was intended to be held very soon, this subject would be taken into consideration, and that the measure of petitioning would be most probably adopted by every branch of the Catholic body.

"Mr. Elliot gave the same answer he had the day before returned to the deputies from the meeting of the Catholics of Dublin.

"I ought to acquaint your lordship that Lord Fingal, Sir Edward Bellew, Lord Gormanstown, Lord Southwell, and some other persons of rank and consequence of the Catholic persuasion, had been repeatedly solicited by letters to attend the meetings of the Catholics of Dublin, and they had all declined it, but on terms of great civility. Several of the most respectable Catholic merchants in Dublin also kept away from these meetings; one or two of them were, notwithstanding, appointed of the committee of twenty-one to prepare the petition.

"Lord Fingal, immediately after he had seen Mr. Elliot, called by public advertisement a general meeting of the Roman Catholics for the 9th instant. His lordship and the other Catholics who usually act with him do not appear to have been zealous for the agitation of the question at this moment; but they probably think that it cannot be prevented, and prefer joining in the discussion to being entirely separated from the rest of their body.

"As many of those persons who have expressed any opinion on the subject, have insinuated, I understand, in their speeches, that some concessions might induce them to relinquish their present intention of petitioning, I have endeavoured to learn what concessions they have particularly in view; and from all I can collect, these concessions appear to be the removal of all restrictions from Catholic service and promotion in the army; the removal of the incapacity of persons of that persuasion to serve the office of sheriff; and, lastly, facilitating their admission into corporations.

Irish Catholic Question—cont.

"I cannot venture to form a positive opinion that any or all of these concessions will be sufficient to prevent them from proceeding with their petition. I can only say that, if they were gratified on these points, I think there is a reasonable chance that the petition would be relinquished. At least such I conceive to be the present disposition of many persons who have taken a share in these discussions; and your lordship will allow me to add, that as speedy a decision as may be compatible with the importance of the subject is highly essential." *Copy.*

Enclosure 2.

CABINET MINUTE.

"At the Earl Spencer's, 9th February, 1807.

Present:

The Lord President.	Lord Henry Petty.
The Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Grenville.
Earl Spencer.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Grenville.
Viscount Howick.	

"Your Majesty's servants upon consideration of the despatch received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of the 4th instant respecting the proceedings of certain of the Catholics of Ireland, and the communication made by them to your Majesty's Government, beg leave to submit to your Majesty their humble opinion that it may be proper that the answer, a draft of which is herewith humbly submitted to your Majesty, should be sent to the Lord Lieutenant with instructions to conform his conduct to what is therein stated." *Copy.*

Secret. EARL SPENCER to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February.* Whitehall.—"Your Grace's despatch of the 4th instant has been considered by his Majesty's servants with all the attention due to the extreme importance of the subject to which it relates, and it is in conformity to their opinion humbly submitted to his Majesty that I am now authorized to transmit to your Grace the following instructions for the regulation of any communications which your Grace or Mr. Elliot may hold on this business with any of the King's Catholic subjects in Ireland. It will be in your Grace's recollection that a petition was in the session before the last presented to Parliament on behalf of the Irish Catholics, with a view to a further extension of the privileges which have been granted to them at different periods during his Majesty's reign. The subject was on that occasion fully and deliberately discussed. The opinions of many of

* Sent on February 12, after the King's consent had been given.

the persons whom his Majesty has since been pleased to call to his councils, were, as is well known, declared to be entirely in favour of the measure, as one which would in their judgment essentially promote the safety and prosperity of the empire, and contribute to the preservation of its established constitution in church and state. But it cannot be disputed that the general sense of Parliament in both Houses was decidedly adverse to the concessions which were then in view. Whatever may be the individual opinions which his Majesty's servants respectively hold as to the merits of the question, those who are most favourable to the measure see no reason to believe that any such change has, in this short interval, taken place, as to afford the smallest probability that it could at this time be successfully proposed to Parliament, and are of opinion that, without such hope, the renewal of this question within so short a period after it has been solemnly considered and decided, can tend to no public good, and is not likely to promote either the general advantage of the empire, or the particular interests of that class of the King's subjects to whom it more immediately relates.

"This opinion they feel it their duty to desire that your Grace will express on their part, and in the strongest terms to all those with whom your Grace may communicate on the subject, and especially to these with whom their judgment is likely to have any weight on such a question.

"Your Grace will be particularly careful to avoid any appearance of offering as the price of forbearance in this respect, any part of those indulgences which on other grounds they have judged it advisable to submit to his Majesty as proper to be now proposed to Parliament. Before they had been apprized of any of the recent discussions which have taken place in Ireland, they had already had under their consideration the inconvenient and contradictory provisions of the present laws in as far as they affect the King's Catholic subjects in Ireland with respect to their serving in his Majesty's naval and military forces. Your Grace is well aware that, at the time when his Majesty was graciously pleased to recommend to the consideration of the Irish Parliament the situation of his Catholic subjects, it was intended that these professions should be opened to them universally, and under such restriction only as are expressed in the Irish Act of Parliament, 33 George III c. 21 ; and this intention was openly held out to them, and was declared in the two Houses of Parliament by the late Earl of Clare, then Lord Chancellor, and the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, then Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. But the effect of the Irish Act of Parliament which was passed for this purpose could only go to the removal of the legal restrictions and disabilities existing in that kingdom. It could not operate in Great Britain, and no particular act having been proposed here, the consequence is that in the two parts of the united

kingdom the law is totally different in this respect; and that in Ireland (where alone if there were any danger from the employment of Catholic officers, that danger could be felt), the King's subjects of all descriptions are capable of holding any military commission whatever, except that of a general on the staff, while in Great Britain where no such danger can exist, and where the whole country is decidedly Protestant, not even the lowest commission can legally be held by a Catholic officer; a circumstance leading to this striking inconvenience and absurdity that either the intentions of the Act passed in the Irish Parliament must be wholly frustrated, and the Irish Catholic gentry remain excluded from the army, or else that a regiment legally officered in Ireland cannot be ordered from thence to this part of the united kingdom, even in a moment of the most urgent danger, without exposing many of its officers to the necessity of either violating the laws, or quitting the service in which they have been educated, and in which possibly the greater part of their lives have been devoted.

"In addition to these two considerations of the faith of Government positively pledged, and of the manifest incongruity of the present system, his Majesty's servants are deeply impressed with a sense of the great advantage of enabling all the King's subjects to contribute equally in this moment of common danger, to the military defence of every part of the empire; and of affording to the sons of the gentry of Ireland the means of displaying in the cause of the united kingdom those military talents by which they have in all ages been distinguished; and of their bearing their share both in the dangers and the glory of that great contest in which we are now embarked.

"On these grounds it is that his Majesty's servants have thought it expedient that in the Mutiny Bill to be this year proposed to Parliament a clause should be offered for enabling his Majesty (whenever he shall deem it advisable) to confer any military commission whatever on any of his liege subjects; such commission to be lawfully exercised in all places within and without the empire, and under no other condition than that of taking such oath of allegiance and fidelity as shall be provided in order to evince their attachment to his Majesty's person, family, and government, and to the established constitution of this united kingdom. And another clause will in that case become necessary in order to give all his Majesty's subjects, however employed in any of his forces, a legal right to that full toleration as to the exercise of their religious profession which, by the practice of the army, and by the just and liberal orders by which it is governed, they now enjoy, but for which it would unquestionably be proper that they should have the security of the laws.

"These regulations if thus adopted, must of course, in order to their continuance, be annually renewed in Parliament,

which would thus be every year enabled to meet any inconvenience to which such a concession could by any possibility give rise. But his Majesty's servants feel the fullest confidence that it would, on the contrary, be in every possible view of the subject productive of the greatest benefit to the public service.

"This intention your Grace is therefore authorised to announce to any of the King's Catholic subjects with whom you may communicate, as a step taken from the views of justice, policy, and consistency which so manifestly recommend it. But as I have before explained, it is judged highly important that you should declare that it is not adopted in any view of compromise, or with any purpose of thereby obtaining the abandonment of any intended or projected petition to Parliament, a measure which the King's servants think highly unadvisable, and the agitation of which at the present moment could not fail, in the opinion even of those who are most favourable to the present question, to be attended with effects injurious to the interests of the empire, and to those of the Catholics themselves; but which they would not seek to avert by partial concessions.

"The objection to the proposal of the opening to the Catholics by Act of Parliament the office of sheriff will obviously appear from what has been already said. This measure, comparatively of such inferior importance, could not be proposed without the agitation in Parliament of the whole subject, nor, consequently, without producing all the mischief attendant on an adverse discussion of the claims and wishes of the Catholics.

"With respect to the admission of Catholics into corporations, the King's servants are not aware of any law existing in Ireland by which they are now excluded; nor consequently does it appear in what manner or to what effect the interference of Government is wished for on the subject.

"In so far as relates to the execution of existing laws your Grace is already fully apprized of the anxious desire which the King's servants entertain that the Catholics should practically enjoy all the advantages to which his Majesty's gracious recommendation and the liberality of Parliament have successively entitled them, and I am too well acquainted with the perfect conformity of opinion which prevails between your Grace and the King's servants here not to be quite certain that the whole tenor of your Grace's conduct has been entirely consonant to this principle; and has already impressed upon the minds of all temperate and reasonable men the fullest conviction that such is the rule by which the King's Government in Ireland is naturally administered; a course to which the King's servants wish that the most decided adherence should continue to be manifested."
Copy.

Irish Catholic Question—cont.

GEORGE III to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 10. Windsor Castle.—"The King has received Earl Spencer's letter transmitting a minute of Cabinet with the despatch from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the draft of the proposed answer to which it refers. Whilst his Majesty approves of that part of the answer which instructs the Lord Lieutenant to keep back any petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to prevent the renewal of a question upon which his Majesty's sentiments and the general sense of the country have already been so clearly pronounced, the King cannot but express the most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill which would remove a restriction upon the Roman Catholics, forming in his opinion, a most essential feature of the question, and so strongly connected with the whole, that the King trusts his Parliament never would, under any circumstances, agree to it. His Majesty's objections to this proposal do not result from any slight motive; they have never varied, for they arise from the principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his Majesty's feelings upon this occasion, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward seven years ago, and he had hoped in consequence that it would never again have been agitated." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, February 11. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to submit to your Majesty the enclosed minute drawn at the meeting of the Cabinet this evening. Earl Spencer's health is not yet sufficiently restored to allow of his attendance, but Lord Grenville is confident that Lord Spencer fully participates in the sentiments which the rest of your Majesty's servants have ventured to express. Lord Grenville feels that it is in some degree presumptuous in him to think that any individual representation on his part can add weight to that of your Majesty's Cabinet. And yet he cannot refrain from adding the earnest entreaties of an attached and faithful servant that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to bestow upon this paper that full consideration which he trusts it merits, not less from the spirit in which it is drawn than from the extreme importance of the subject which it has in view. He can faithfully assure your Majesty that it was his earnest wish (and that, as he confidently believes, of all your Majesty's servants) that every discussion should be avoided which could in the

remotest degree be painful to any feelings, or repugnant to any opinions of your Majesty. And this object they hoped they had attained in the measure which they took the liberty to suggest, when the circumstances of the times, and the considerations due to the peace and union of the empire, no longer left any possibility of postponing the consideration of a question so importunately pressed forward by others.

"The measure in question so far from being in opposition to any known or expressed opinion of your Majesty, is perfectly conformable *in its principle* to that concession to which your Majesty had long ago been pleased most graciously to consent. And while the exercise of the power to be conferred is lodged solely in your Majesty's hands, and a reserve made for the annual exercise of the discretion of Parliament with respect to the continuance of that power, Lord Grenville flatters himself it is impossible that any evil can result from it to the security of principles and establishments to which he is as warmly and conscientiously attached as any other of your Majesty's subjects.

"On the other hand the advantage is beyond all calculation of recruiting your Majesty's army by the superabundance of that population, which, for the want of such a vent, is now too frequently engaged in acts of turbulence and disorder at home; of adding to the public strength by the very same measure which will contribute to the public tranquillity, and employing against the enemy abroad the very same hands that would possibly be raised in his support were he to succeed in landing an army in Ireland.

"In like manner with respect to the officers, Lord Grenville is persuaded that no measure should more effectually promote the general interests of the empire than one which will accustom the gentry of Ireland to look for their promotion and advancement in life to your Majesty's service, and which by mixing them in habits of intercourse with the great body of your Majesty's officers, will gradually infuse into their minds the same spirit and principles by which that body is animated.

"Of the sincerity of those opinions your Majesty cannot doubt. Nothing but a deep impression of the indispensable necessity of some step of this nature at the present moment, and the peculiar advantage of the measure now recommended in its tendency to prevent difficulties of the most embarrassing nature, could induce Lord Grenville to think himself warranted in recommending it with such extreme earnestness. And whatever may be your Majesty's ultimate decision on this momentous question, he is persuaded that your Majesty's condescension and goodness will attribute this freedom to its only true motive."

Irish Catholic Question—cont.

Enclosed.

CABINET MINUTE.

Downing Street, February 10, 1807.

Present :

Lord Chancellor.	Lord Henry Petty.
Lord President.	Lord Grenville.
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Ellenborough.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Grenville.

"It is with the deepest and wost unfeigned regret that your Majesty's servants learn that the proposed despatch to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has not in all its parts been honoured with that approbation from your Majesty which they had allowed themselves to hope for, and which they still flatter themselves it may ultimately obtain from your Majesty's gracious consideration of what they now beg leave to submit. They can assure your Majesty with the utmost sincerity that it had been their anxious endeavour so to frame the proposed instruction as that it might be entirely free from the difficulties that might attend other parts of this subject on which (as your Majesty knows) a difference of opinion prevails among the persons whom your Majesty has been graciously pleased to call to your councils, and on which they are all aware of the sentiments which your Majesty has at former periods expressed. They had persuaded themselves that in the clauses to be proposed for the *Mutiny Bill*, your Majesty would be of opinion that they are only fulfilling the engagements which had formerly been entered into under your Majesty's authority, and carrying into effect *a principle* which has already received the fullest and most formal sanction by the Act passed in the Irish Parliament in the 32nd year of your Majesty's reign. That Act enables your Majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland to hold commissions in your Majesty's army with no other restriction than is there pointed out ; and if a similar provision be refused with respect to this part of the now United Kingdom, it appears obvious that the grace thus conferred by your Majesty on that large body of your people must be rendered wholly illusory; and an appearance given of a conduct on the part of your Majesty's Government not consistent with your Majesty's uniform and paternal beneficence towards your people, or with that openness and good faith with which your Majesty always wishes that your servants should conduct themselves in all the transactions of your Government.

"In addition to these considerations they beg leave to represent to your Majesty with the most profound deference, and at the same time with the utmost earnestness, that the formidable dangers which now surround the country from a state of affairs in Europe altogether unexampled, appear

to them to impose upon them the indispensable duty of proposing to Parliament to unite in the common cause the military efforts of the whole population of your Majesty's empire, and to secure the best interests of their country from ultimately sinking under the increasing preponderance of France. The absence and want of such aid would in such a moment be deeply felt; but your Majesty's servants fear that a still greater danger might result from conveying to so considerable a body of your Majesty's subjects the impressions which must follow from a decided refusal to admit them to a full share in the military defence of their country.

"In such circumstances your Majesty's servants would think themselves deeply criminal if they could disguise this peril from your Majesty, or if they could neglect to offer to Parliament a proposal which they respectfully conceive is not liable to the ground of objection which your Majesty appears at first view to have felt to it; which *in it's principle* is already sanctioned by a law long since passed and acted upon in many instances; which in its form would continually keep the subject within the care and control of Parliament to whom it must be annually submitted; and which, while it appears to them the measure the best calculated to avert the dangers which they have humbly represented to your Majesty, affords at the same time the most probable means of preventing the agitation of those questions on which the opinion of Parliament has been so recently pronounced." *Copy.*

George III to Lord Grenville.

1807, February 12. Queen's Palace.—"The King has maturely considered what is stated in Lord Grenville's letter of the 10th instant, and the accompanying minute of Cabinet. He is disposed upon this, as upon all other occasions, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants; and however painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflection, he will not under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1791 [1793?] prevent his Ministers from submitting for the consideration of his Parliament the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. Whilst however the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further; and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question." *Copy.*

Irish Catholic Question—cont.

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, February 12. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville begs leave, in the absence of Earl Spencer, most humbly to submit to your Majesty the minute of the meeting of your Majesty's confidential servants of this evening; together with the despatch from the Lord Lieutenant to which it refers, and which Lord Grenville has read with great concern." *Copy.*

Two enclosures.

Enclosure (1).

CABINET MINUTE.

Downing Street, February 12, 1807.

Present :

The Lord Chancellor.	Lord Henry Petty.
Lord President.	Lord Grenville.
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Ellenborough.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Grenville.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants humbly beg leave to express to your Majesty their grateful acknowledgments for your Majesty's most gracious communication received this day by Lord Grenville, and the deep sense they entertain of the favourable opinion which your Majesty is pleased to express of the motives which will always regulate any advice which it may be their duty to submit to your Majesty. They trust that they shall not be disappointed in their hope of beneficial consequences to result from the measure to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent; and they humbly entreat your Majesty to believe that they have no object more at heart than the endeavouring by all means consistent with the faithful and conscientious discharge of their duties to your Majesty, to avert from your Majesty every circumstance that can in any manner be painful to your Majesty's feelings. Your Majesty's servants are the more anxious to express this assurance because it appears from the despatch just transmitted by the Lord Lieutenant that there is now scarcely a hope left of preventing the immediate presentation of a petition on the part of the Catholics to Parliament; a circumstance of great difficulty and embarrassment in every view of the question." *Copy.*

Enclosure (2).

Secret. THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—"The meeting of the Catholics summoned by Lord Fingal met yesterday, and his lordship was put in the chair.

"I understand about two hundred persons attended, among whom were many country gentlemen, and some of them from

a considerable distance; and also some of the most eminent Catholic merchants of this city who had not attended any of the former meetings. Mr. Keogh, it is said, made a long speech, in which he insisted on the same topics that he had stated in his former speech, adding that, from all the circumstances under which the present application was made, he could not help indulging a sanguine hope that everything would be conceded but seats in Parliament.

"There appearing no difference of opinion, little more was said; and on his motion it was unanimously resolved, that this was a fit and proper time to present a petition to Parliament on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland; and that the committee of twenty-one should be re-appointed, which, with the Catholic peers and baronets and twenty-one country gentlemen, should be a committee to prepare a petition to the Imperial Parliament; and report the same to a meeting to be held on Tuesday the 17th instant, to which day the meeting then adjourned." *Copy.*

Secret. The Duke of Bedford to Earl Spencer.

1807, February 17. Dublin Castle.—"I had the honour of receiving on Saturday afternoon your lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, and Lord Fingal and Lord French having repeatedly expressed great anxiety to be made acquainted, as soon as possible, with the answer I should receive from his Majesty's ministers, Mr. Elliot requested them and the other gentlemen appointed by the Catholic meeting to communicate with Government on this occasion, to come to him yesterday. The Lords Fingal and French, and I believe all the other persons except Mr. Keogh (who did not attend) met Mr. Elliot in the presence of the Chancellor. Mr. Elliot stated to them, according to the tenor of your lordship's instructions, that after the very full and deliberate discussion of the Catholic question in Parliament in the year 1805, on which occasion the opinions of many of the persons forming a part of the present administration were declared to be entirely in favour of the measure, as tending, in their judgment, essentially to promote the safety and prosperity of the empire, and to the preservation of the established constitution both in Church and State, and the general sense of both Houses so decidedly declared to be adverse to the concessions which were then in view, whatever might be the individual sentiments which his Majesty's Ministers respectively held on this subject, those even, who were the most favourable to the measure saw no reason to believe that any such change had in this short interval taken place as to afford the smallest chance that it would at this time be successfully proposed to Parliament; and they were of opinion, and the Lord Lieutenant most sincerely concurred with them, that the renewal of this question, so soon after the very solemn decision in 1805, was not likely to promote

either the general advantage of the empire, or the particular interests of that class of the King's subjects to which it more immediately related. Mr. Elliot then proceeded to mention the Lord Lieutenant had authorized him to state that the King's Ministers, antecedent to these recent discussions, and without any reference to, or connection with them, had taken under their consideration the incongruous and defective state of the law respecting the admission of Catholics into his naval and military services ; that in 1793 the then Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, and Lord Buckinghamshire, then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the House of Commons, had declared, that it was intended, under such restrictions only as are expressed in the Irish Act of Parliament 33 George III, cap. 21, to open these professions to the Catholics of Ireland everywhere, but that the Act of the Irish Parliament passed for this purpose could give effect to the concession only within Ireland, and, therefore, to supply this defect, and to fulfil the intention thus publicly manifested in 1793, his Majesty's ministers proposed to offer a clause in the Mutiny Bill to enable his Majesty to confer *any military commission whatever* on any of his liege subjects ; and, to render effectual this measure of the year 1793, it was further proposed to give a legal right to all persons so employed to the free exercise and full toleration of their religion, which they at present enjoy only from the liberal practice of the service.

" In pursuance of your lordship's instructions, Mr. Elliot repeated to them that the measure for correcting the defect in the year 1793, and fulfilling the intention then held out, was proposed to be taken solely on the views of policy, justice, and consistency, and was not connected with, and did not in any degree result from the recent discussions ; and strongly impressed upon them that it was not adopted with a view to a compromise, or to procure the abandonment of any intended petition to Parliament ; a measure which his Majesty's ministers and the Lord Lieutenant thought highly unadvisable, and the agitation of which at the present moment could not fail, in the opinion even of those who were most favourable to their claims, to be attended with effects injurious to the interests of the empire, and to those of the Catholics themselves.

" Lord French stated that in 1793 corporations and the Bank were promised to be opened to them. The Chancellor observed that the present bank charter did not allow of the admission of Catholics into that direction, and Lord French replied he only wished the point to be kept in mind when the charter should come to be renewed. Mr. O'Connor asked if the Catholics were to be capable of being appointed generals on the staff. Mr. Elliot answered he could only say it was proposed to enable his Majesty to confer *any military commissions whatever on any of his subjects.* Mr. Elliot

concluded the conversation by saying that he trusted it was superfluous to add that it had been the anxious wish of his Majesty's Government to administer the existing laws in such a manner as that his Majesty's Catholic subjects might enjoy all the advantages to which they are entitled, and that he had the Lord Lieutenant's commands to assure them that this principle should continue the invariable rule of his conduct. The Catholic gentlemen received this communication without expressing any opinion upon it, or in any way manifesting whether it was satisfactory to themselves, or whether they thought it likely to give satisfaction to the Catholic body at large. On consultation with the Chancellor it was thought advisable that the earliest communication of your lordship's answer was necessary, as there was to be a meeting to-day, and it had been rumoured that at such meeting it was very probable the measure of petitioning would be finally adopted, unless the answer from England should be of a nature to induce them to relinquish the petition altogether." *Copy.*

Secret. The Duke of Bedford to Earl Spencer.

1807, February 18. Dublin Castle.—"The Catholic committee appointed to prepare a petition met on Monday afternoon to receive from the persons sent for by Mr. Elliot the result of the communication from England. So far as I am able to learn, they stated that the naval and military services were to be opened to them on the ground of fulfilling the intention of Government in 1793 and not by way of compromise, or to purchase the abandonment of the petition; and also that his Majesty's ministers were of opinion that agitating a petition in Parliament would at present be highly injurious to the empire, and to themselves, and that in this opinion the Lord Lieutenant entirely concurred. They represented to the committee that Mr. Elliot, in answer to Mr. O'Connor's question mentioned in my former despatch, spoke doubtfully about situations on the staff; although in their conversation, they seemed to think that the words used by Mr. Elliot 'any military commissions whatever' imported that such situations were to be opened to them. Lord Fingal and Lord French and a very few others endeavoured to persuade the committee to propose to the general meeting an adjournment for three weeks, on the ground of giving time for the Catholics in the different counties to express their sentiments on the subject. But this proposition was very ill received, and the prevailing disposition was to proceed immediately to settle the terms of the petition, which was accordingly done. Yesterday the meeting was attended by upwards of two hundred persons. After Lord Fingal had repeated the substance of Mr. Elliot's communication, Mr. Burke, a young man of considerable fortune, immediately proposed that the petition prepared by their

committee should be read, and then that it should be adopted as the petition of the Catholics of Ireland. Some debate arose; Lord French again proposed an adjournment for three weeks, which was negatived almost unanimously. Several persons spoke, and except two or three, all were for petitioning immediately. The same topics were urged as at the former meetings, and little was said, I understand, about the indulgences now proposed to be granted to them. They resolved that the petition should be presented this session, that it should be revised by the committee, and reported again on Tuesday next the 24th instant, to which day they adjourned.

"Mr. Keogh, who had not attended the committee at all, because, or on pretence, of bad health, attended the meeting and spoke, but with rather more moderation and caution in his expressions than on former occasions.

"It was generally understood that the Catholics in the country would be solicited to concur in the petition, and that the approaching assizes would afford a convenient opportunity for the purpose." *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 3. Downing Street.—"In the absence of Earl Spencer who has obtained his Majesty's permission to go into the country for the recovery of his health, I have the honour of transmitting to your Grace copies of the clauses which it is intended to propose for insertion in the Mutiny Bill respecting the admission of Catholics into the army, and the securing to them the free exercise of their religion.

"The clause respecting the admission of Catholics into the army your Grace will observe is in perfect conformity with and almost in the words of Lord Spencer's despatch of the 12th ultimo, and will enable your Grace to confirm the explanation given by Mr. Elliot at the meeting which took place with the leaders of the Catholic body as mentioned in your Grace's despatch of the 17th ultimo, in consequence of a question put to him by Mr. O'Connor as to the extent of the proposed measure; the new clause being so framed as to enable Catholics to hold *in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects any military commission or appointment whatsoever* which his Majesty may be pleased to confer upon persons of that persuasion under *no other condition* than that of taking the oath of allegiance and fidelity there provided, to evince their attachment to his Majesty's royal person and Government and to the established constitution of this united kingdom, agreeably to what is stated to your Grace in the above-mentioned despatch." *Copy.*

N.B. by Lord Grenville.—"This was sent in draft to the King on Monday night, March 2, and returned by his Majesty

on Tuesday morning without any remark or objection. In consequence of which it was despatched to Ireland that day.

"On the following day, namely Wednesday March 4, both Lord Howick and Lord Grenville saw the King.

"Lord Howick's audience was first. Lord Howick understood the King to express to him a repugnance to the measure, but to have agreed to his proposing it to Parliament. And immediately on his coming out of the closet he so explained what had passed to Lord Grenville.

"In consequence of this Lord Grenville, who went in afterwards, did not touch at all upon the subject, *nor did his Majesty say anything to him upon it.*

"Lord Howick that day made the motion in Parliament.

"It was not till the following Wednesday that his Majesty renewed the subject both to Lord Howick and Lord Grenville; and it then appeared that his Majesty had conceived himself as having stated to Lord Howick the preceding Wednesday that he did *not* consent to the proposal of the measure in *Parliament.*"

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, March 15. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to submit to your Majesty a minute containing the opinion of such of your Majesty's servants as are therein named respecting the matter of the Bill which has been proposed to Parliament. The pressure of the subject is in every view of it so great that Lord Grenville trusts your Majesty will excuse his taking the liberty of presenting himself at Windsor to-morrow for the purpose of giving any explanation which your Majesty may deem necessary on this important occasion. Lord Grenville will be in attendance on your Majesty's commands as soon as he can after 10 o'clock, and he has ventured to mention that hour because he is under the necessity of attending the House of Lords on the Scotch Judicature Bill." *Copy.*

Enclosure.

CABINET MINUTE.

1807, March 15. Downing Street.

Present:

Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Grenville.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Grenville.
Lord Henry Petty.	

"Your Majesty's servants now present, being those whose opinions are favourable to the Bill depending in Parliament, beg leave humbly to submit to your Majesty that, on a full consideration of all the circumstances connected with that Bill, they do not intend that any farther proceeding upon it

should be had on their part in Parliament. This determination rests entirely on the same motives which have induced them to abstain from bringing forward other and more extensive measures connected with the same subject, and which would in their judgment be highly advantageous to the public interests. They had flattered themselves that the present proposal might not have encountered the same difficulties which attend the measures to which they allude; but as this hope appears to have been founded upon a misunderstanding, they judge it on the whole more consonant to their public duty not to press forward any further the discussion of the present Bill.

"They have thought this course of proceeding would be both more respectful to your Majesty, and more advantageous to the public interest than any attempt to alter the Bill so as to bring it nearer to the strict letter of the Irish Act. The points of difference which exist between that law and the present Bill relate to matters the consideration of which (as it appears to them) it is almost impossible to separate from the measure itself, and they have found the attempt impracticable to reduce the Bill to such a form as would, on the one hand, be likely to obviate the difficulties which now obstruct its success, and as could, on the other hand, be at all satisfactory for them to propose. In stating to Parliament the determination to make this very painful sacrifice to what they conceive to be their public duty they trust your Majesty will see the indispensable necessity of their expressing with the same openness by which their language on that subject has uniformly been marked, the strong persuasion which each of them individually entertains of the advantage which would result to the empire from a different course of policy towards the Catholics of Ireland. These opinions they have never concealed from your Majesty; they continue strongly impressed with them, and it is obviously indispensable to their public characters that they should openly avow them on the present occasion, and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament; a discussion which they have all equally endeavoured to prevent; on which, if it should be forced upon them, there might not be a perfect uniformity of conduct between them; but in which the adherence of them all to their former opinions must naturally be declared. They beg leave to add that they cannot look without great uneasiness and apprehension at the present state of Ireland, which they consider as the only vulnerable part of the British Empire. The situation of that country is, as they fear, likely to force itself more and more upon the consideration of your Majesty's Government and of Parliament. And it is essential not only to their own characters but also (as they sincerely believe) to the public interests that the deference which they have felt it their duty to show on this occasion to the opinions

and feelings expressed by your Majesty should not be understood as restraining them from submitting from time to time as their duty is, for your Majesty's decision, such measures respecting that part of your United Kingdom as the course of circumstances shall appear to require.

"They have only further most humbly to assure your Majesty that in discharging that, and every other part of their duty (so long as your Majesty shall think fit to honour them with your confidence) nothing shall be omitted on their parts which can best testify their invariable and respectful attachment to your Majesty, and their sincere and anxious concern for your Majesty's personal ease and comfort, and for the prosperity and honour of your Majesty's Government." *Draft by Lord Grenville.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 17. Windsor Castle.—"The King has lost no time in dictating the answer to the minute of Cabinet. Lord Grenville will receive it enclosed, and his Majesty desires he will communicate it to his colleagues, trusting at the same time that Lord Grenville will see the propriety, with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes, that when they shall have duly considered the latter part of his Majesty's answer, their determination should be stated on paper." *Copy.*

Enclosed.

1807, March 17. Windsor Castle.—"The King having fully considered what is submitted in the minute of Cabinet which he received yesterday morning, desires Lord Grenville will communicate to those of his confidential servants who were present, his sentiments and observations upon the contents of that minute, as hereafter expressed. His Majesty has learned with satisfaction that they have determined not to press forward any further the discussion of the Bill depending in Parliament, and he is sensible of the deference shown to his sentiments and his feelings. But he regrets that, while they have felt bound as his Ministers to adopt this line of conduct, they should as individuals consider it necessary to state to Parliament opinions which are known to be so decidedly contrary to his principles, at a moment too, when it is the declared object of his Government not to encourage any dispositions on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to prefer a petition to Parliament.

"From the latter part of the minute the King must conclude that, although the Bill now depending is dropped, they have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future, measures *connected with a question* which has already proved so distressing to him; nor can his Majesty conceal from them, that *this intimation* on their part, *unless*

withdrawn, will leave the matter in a state most embarrassing and unsatisfactory to him, and, in his opinion not less so to them. The King therefore considers it due to himself, and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has and ever will be his object to observe towards every one, to declare at once, most unequivocally, that upon this subject his sentiments never can change, that he cannot *ever* agree to any *concessions to the Catholics* which his confidential servants may in future propose to him, and that under these circumstances, and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease, unless he shall receive *a positive assurance from them, which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehension.*" *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, March 18. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to lay before your Majesty the minute of a meeting of such of your Majesty's servants as are therein named, which was held to-night at Earl Spencer's House." *Copy.*

Enclosure.

CABINET MINUTE.

1807, March 18. At the Earl Spencer's.

Present:

The Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Henry Petty.
Earl Spencer.	Lord Grenville.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Grenville.

"Your Majesty's servants have considered with the most respectful and dutiful attention the answer which your Majesty has done them the honour to return to their minute of the 15th instant. They beg leave most humbly to represent to your Majesty that, at the time when your Majesty was graciously pleased to call them to your councils, no assurance was required from them inconsistent with those duties which are inseparable from that station. Had any such assurance been then demanded, they must have expressed, with all humility and duty, the absolute impossibility of their thus fettering the free exercise of their judgment. Those who are entrusted by your Majesty with the administration of your extensive empire, are bound by every obligation to submit to your Majesty without reserve the best advice which they can frame to meet the various exigences and dangers of the times. The situation of Ireland appears to your Majesty's servants to constitute the most formidable part of the present difficulties of the empire. This subject must, as they conceive, require a continued and vigilant attention, and a repeated consideration of every fresh circumstance which may call for the interposition of your

Majesty's Government or of Parliament. In forbearing to urge any further while employed in your Majesty's service, a measure which would in their judgment have tended to compose the present uneasiness in Ireland, and have been productive of material benefit to the empire, they humbly submit to your Majesty that they have gone to the utmost possible limits of their public duty; but that it would be deeply criminal in them, with the general opinions which they entertain on the subject, to bind themselves to withhold from your Majesty under all the various circumstances which may arise, those councils which may eventually appear to them indispensably necessary for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and for defeating the enterprizes of the enemy against the very existence of your Majesty's empire.

"Your Majesty's servants must ever deeply regret that any difficulty should arise on their part, in giving the most prompt obedience to any demand which your Majesty considers as indispensable to the ease of your Majesty's mind. But it is not possible for them consistently with any sense of those obligations which must always attach on the sworn councillors of your Majesty, to withdraw a statement which was not made without the most anxious consideration of every circumstance which could be suggested by their earnest desire for your Majesty's ease, comfort, and happiness; or to give assurances which would impose upon them a restraint incompatible with the faithful discharge of the most important duty which they owe to your Majesty." *Copy.*

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 19. Oxford Street.—"I received your kind note last night. For nearly a month, I have been confined to my house, and for a great part of that time to my bed. My illness has been very severe; it is only within the last three days that I have been able to take the air in my carriage; but I have not yet been out of my house in the evening, nor have I yet, even in the day, felt sufficient strength to make any visit. My sufferings have been much aggravated by the recent transactions in the House of Commons respecting India, which have left my honour and reputation 'to float, and welter to the parching wind.' Excepting from newspapers, and the accidental reports of the few friends who have called here, I had heard nothing of your Bill, or of the strange disturbances which have ensued, until I received your note. Indeed, for some time past, I have received no authentic information respecting any political event; for I can scarcely call the persecution which I have undergone by so high a name. I sincerely hope that some propitious change may still happen to establish you in your seat at the head of the Government. Your expulsion at this moment would be a most serious blow to the country;

and I trust that you will make every sacrifice, which may be consistent with your honour, to avert such a calamity. I deeply lament that I was not sooner apprized of the circumstances which have led to so alarming a conclusion: if my opinion could at any moment have deserved notice, I apprehend that the period of time has long elapsed when it might have been useful; and I therefore regret more deeply, that we should have had so little communication for several weeks. My physicians have ordered me to go into the country for a few days, and I propose to go to Brightelmston to-morrow, in order to endeavour to recover myself by change of air. On my return I hope to be able to call upon you; and I trust that I shall hear, in the interval, that you have weathered the storm.

"Richard is recovering, but very slowly."

Private. THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1807, March 20. Dublin Castle.—"I feel it to be my duty to call your lordship's attention to the unpleasant situation in which I find myself placed in regard to the recent proceedings of the Corporation of Dublin. It was rumoured some time ago that it was the intention of the corporate body to call a post assembly, with a view of discussing the claims of the Catholics, and considering the expediency of presenting a petition to Parliament against those claims. Mr. Elliot immediately saw the Lord Mayor and some of the leading members of the corporation, and readily obtained from them a promise that they would discourage such a meeting, conceiving that it could tend only to increase the irritation which pervades the public mind respecting the Catholic claims. Probably, however, some intelligence received from England induced these gentlemen to alter their determination, and the meeting took place on Wednesday last, attended and encouraged by the very men who had promised Mr. Elliot to stay away if the promoters of it should persevere in their intentions. Mr. Gifford, at the conclusion of a speech in which he indulged himself in the most virulent invective against the Catholic body, and the most strained panegyric on the Orangemen and Sir Richard Musgrave's history, moved a petition to the two Houses of Parliament be presented by the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Shaw, which was carried on a division by 39 to 13. Of the committee appointed to draw up the petition were the names of Mr. Alderman Alexander and Major Sirr, both immediately connected with the Government, and Mr. Alderman King, his Majesty's stationer, who also signed the requisition to the Lord Mayor to call the meeting. This, as you may readily conceive, has caused no inconsiderable sensation among the Catholics; and they contrast the conduct of the present administration (their professed friends) with that of Lord Hardwicke's, which they observe did not suffer such acts

to pass with impunity. Whatever I may feel on this subject, I confess I am at a loss under the present circumstances, how to act; nor can the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot, whom I have not failed to consult, give me any advice. I must therefore apply to your lordship for specific instructions, apprehending as I do that this will not be the only instance in which the Orange party will show their disregard (to use no stronger term) of the wishes or authority of the Government.

"Public rumour and private information tell us that the material points in discussion relative to the Catholic military Bill are given up; but not having any direct communication from your lordship or any of your colleagues, I shall for the present abstain from entering on the subject; observing only that a mature consideration of the consequences likely to result from this measure more and more confirms me in the opinion expressed in my letter to you of the 17th instant, written immediately after a conference with the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot, following several conversations I had had separately with them. I wished to use the utmost caution in everything that related to their sentiments, desirous of committing no one but myself; but Elliot showed me the letter he wrote to your lordship on the following day, and I can have no hesitation in declaring that my opinions and feelings fully accord with those he has expressed in that letter.

"Elliot will probably leave Dublin as soon as we receive any decisive intelligence from England."

Private. Lord Holland to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 20. Pall Mall.—"I believe Lord Howick has given you the official letter of Lord Auckland and myself upon the subject of our secretaries' salaries; but in the hurry of business it may be overlooked; and I write to you to remind you of the necessity of something being done, and at the same time to express how much interested I am in the success of our application, as it affords me the only opportunity likely ever to occur of making a very small return to one of the most sensible men and zealous friends that ever lived."

Lord Grenville to W. Elliott.

1807, March 21. Downing Street.—"I received your letter yesterday. You will have seen from what I have before written, that the Government here is dissolved, and that we on this side are consequently relieved from the almost inextricable difficulty in which we should have been placed if we had been called upon to fulfil the concession which we had offered to the King of letting the Bill drop, without the aid of the Irish Government, whose retreat must infallibly have been followed by ours.

"As it is, all difficulty is removed, and I verily believe there is not one man to be found who approves of the demand which the King has made upon us for a positive and written engagement *never* to propose to him any concession to the Catholics.

"I am, as you may suppose, much hurried in the agonies of the death bed, having much to dispose of and to arrange *in articulo mortis*. We are daily expecting to see you here." *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March [6*]. Stratton Street.—"I was just going to you, wishing to have some conversation with you before you saw Lord Sidmouth; but I have just received a letter from him desiring to see me here, and I probably shall not be able to get to Downing Street before the hour at which you have appointed him. I therefore send a letter from Lord Holland, written in consequence of a conversation I had with him last night, in which I suggested the course described in the latter part of the letter, as to Lord Sidmouth. I think his observations just, so far as they relate to the appearance of our case to the public; but certainly what has happened on this occasion, makes it very desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that if this government is to continue, it should not contain in it a separate party on the Catholic question.

"I shall go immediately from hence to the Office, after Lord Sidmouth has left me, and shall be at your orders at any time till four."

LORD ERSKINE to THE SAME.

1807, March 22.—"If, in the winding up of things, you should have any place in the Customs or elsewhere in London which you have no fixed engagement for, I should be very happy if you could put in my poor purse-bearer, who was my clerk when at the Bar, who has served me most faithfully, and who must remain quite destitute until we can dispose of these gentlemen who have so unworthily produced the present conjuncture."

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1807, March 23. Oxford Street.—"When I left you yesterday evening, the sentiments which you expressed to me had induced me to determine not to accept office in the event of the formation of a new administration; since that time, this very difficult and painful question has been revived by my family and many of my friends, under circumstances which compel me to reconsider it. Whatever may be the result, I will write to you fully to-morrow."

Private. LORD GRENVILLE to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 23. Downing Street.—"I received yesterday your letter of the 20th. To-day Lord Howick was authorised by the King to say that his Majesty is occupied in forming

* See note at foot of page 67.

a new administration. We do not hear of whom it is to consist, nor do I believe that it is yet settled, though the Duke of Portland has certainly accepted the Treasury.

"In this situation of things it is probable that it will not be long before a successor is named to you in Ireland, and to-day Lord Chichester is talked of for that situation.

"This circumstance may in one point of view lessen the embarrassment you feel towards the Catholics. Yet I should say that so long as the sword of State remains in your hands you should not suffer the Government to be insulted, or those in its employment to show themselves active in fomenting religious animosities in that unhappy and devoted country which is about to lose the advantage of your services." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, March 23. Downing Street.—"When I expressed to you yesterday my decided opinion on the question you stated to me, I did so without hesitation. It was, as I then stated to you, by no means formed on the sudden, but one to which I had given a great deal of consideration and anxious thought: not from any doubt that I ever entertained upon it, but because I felt the personal delicacy of the question as affecting myself.

"I now feel that I should be wanting in the duties of that friendship, from which I cannot reproach myself with a single deviation in the course of so very many years, if I did not once more (and certainly for the last time) most solemnly and urgently entreat you to pause and consider well, again and again, before you take a step on which, I verily believe, there will and can be but one opinion amongst any persons not directly and personally interested in it.

"I do not pretend to say that I am myself wholly uninterested. It is not indifferent to me whether the acrimonious and bitter war which seems now preparing, is to be waged with troops under your direction, or under that of Lord Hawkesbury. But, if I know myself, this is the least and weakest of the motives which make me solicitous that you should not do a thing which, I sincerely think, whether justly or not, will expose you to almost universal reproach.

"You are the only person living to whom I should have said so much in such a case: and, after all, you must, as every man must in such circumstances, judge for yourself and on your own feelings; and certainly the best approbation a man can receive is that of his own judgment. But you asked me my opinion; and even if you had not done so, I should not have felt myself justified in withholding it from you." *Draft.*

LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 24. Downing Street.—"Mr. Penn's family, who applied to you some time ago in consequence of the

great distress in which he was, for some increase of his pension as an American loyalist, have earnestly requested me to call your attention to his situation. I only undertook to do so in consequence of their proposing to confine their request to granting the pension now enjoyed by the father, Mr. R. Penn, to his two daughters instead of him; which, as there would be no augmentation required, I thought you might perhaps be good enough to comply with."

Lord Grenville to George III.

1807, March 24. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to submit to your Majesty for your Majesty's royal signature, if approved, a warrant granting to Major Rennel the sum of 2,000*l.* to enable him to complete a great geographical work in which he is engaged, and of which the geography of Herodotus, a book of singular and acknowledged merit, forms a part.

"It was some time ago mentioned to Lord Grenville that this work was likely to drop for the want of the funds necessary for carrying it on; proposals were made to Major Rennel for opening a private subscription to enable him to defray the expense, and some communication also passed upon the subject with the delegates of the University Press at Oxford; but Major Rennel having declined the former, and Lord Grenville not having been able to arrange any satisfactory plan for the latter of these two modes, he is induced to hope that your Majesty will not deem it an object unworthy of your Majesty's royal munificence to grant the encouragement which Lord Grenville now ventures to propose for the completion of a work which is likely to do honour to the country and to be of permanent utility.

"Lord Grenville also humbly submits to your Majesty warrants for your Majesty's royal signature, if approved, for a pension on the English establishment of 1,000*l.* *per annum* to Lord Charles Spencer, and also for pensions of 200*l.* to Mr. Southey, and 50*l.* to Miss Lind, daughter of Mr. Lind, formerly your Majesty's minister at Warsaw.

"Lord Grenville also submits in like manner warrants for some small pensions on the Scotch establishment, of which a list is herewith most humbly laid before your Majesty. That to Lord Cullen has already been submitted to your Majesty by Lord Grenville." *Copy.*

The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 24. Stowe.—"I have little to say save that I doubt very much whether you have not hurt your ground by your concessions in the matter of the Bill which I sincerely regret was ever brought forward; for I hear that it would gratify no one, and, unless with the King's fullest support, it could not fail of producing the effect it has. But

I very truly regret the resolution taken to *resign*, as I hold it to have been clearly your duty to have driven the King —under all the circumstances of a misconduct which I hold very gross—to the necessity of removing you. I explained myself very fully on this head to my brother Tom, and shall always regret your resignation as a move that destroys much of the game to be played hereafter.

"You say very truly that no such proposition as that which is now claimed was proposed to us, or would have been entertained by us twelve months ago; and it is equally true that it not only militates against every sentiment which we are known to entertain, but it militates against the first duty of a Minister or counsellor. I think that you cannot state this too strongly or too generally; but the only way to rescue the country from the effect of this fanaticism is to act in this matter without managements, which are always sure finally to tell against those who use them. In short the King's conduct is most mischievous, and must be so exposed whatever be the consequence, unless we can consent to give him a power as absolute in this matter as Bonaparte claims in every other.

"If I have any weight with you pray pause on your resignation, and urge the dismissal, for very much depends on this difference.

"Perhaps, and probably, this is the last letter I shall ever write to you as a Minister. I have hated to press upon you for patronage, and in this last moment I fear that any pressing will be severely difficult for you. But two points are very near to my wishes; the first, from the anxiety my wife feels upon it, I mean the 200*l. per annum* Irish pension to Miss Macnamara, which Eliott refused to me; and the second is some ecclesiastical provision for my friend, W. H. Barnard, who lives with me, and has nothing but Finmere, and is starving. Do believe that it is with the greatest repugnance that I urge this at such a moment; but I shall indeed be unhappy if this unexpected event closes all my political views without the means of assisting two persons for whom I interest myself so much, as living constantly with me."

George III to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 25. Queen's Palace.—"The King cannot but approve of Lord Grenville's proposal that two thousand pounds should be granted to Major Rennell for the work in which he is engaged, and his Majesty returns the warrant for that purpose, together with the others which Lord Grenville has submitted, and which the King has signed."

Lord Grenville to Lord Henry Petty.

1807, March 25. Downing Street.—"I have to acknowledge your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and I am

sorry to state that the pension to Mr. Penn being a parliamentary grant, it is not in the power of the Treasury Board to make any alteration on that subject." *Copy.*

THE SAME to GEORGE III.

1807, March 26. Downing Street.—" Lord Grenville begs leave most humbly to submit to your Majesty that he has had the mortification of finding this day that the warrant which he has now the honour to transmit for a pension of two hundred pounds a year to Lord Kircudbright on the Scotch establishment, and which he had directed to be prepared and laid before your Majesty, with the other Scotch pensions, to which your Majesty was graciously pleased to accede, has by a negligence in this Office been omitted to be so sent.

" Lord Grenville would certainly never have presumed to lay before your Majesty any new matter after his audience of yesterday, but under the circumstances applying to this case, which had previously been directed to be put in course, he thought he could not in justice decline humbly laying it before your Majesty, that your Majesty may do in it as your Majesty shall think fit.

" If in thus intruding himself he has taken too great a liberty, he humbly solicits your Majesty's gracious forgiveness." *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 26. Stowe.—" I see in the newspaper that your death warrant is signed, and that the Duke of Portland has succeeded to you ; and from the same authority I see many other matters respecting those who come in, those who go out, and those who refuse to come in, that are highly interesting. As my son is good enough to come down to me in a day or two, I shall hear something more authentic on all these points ; and I trust I shall hear of a determination to mark by the most eager and animated opposition this very desperate and unconstitutional procedure. I will fairly say that I cannot comprehend the wisdom or correctness of the silence hitherto observed ; and I know the advantage gained by those who have succeeded in their workings on the fanatic imbecillity of the King. I should not have written even this short note, having one eye bandaged up and the other much inflamed, if I could have consented to let one post pass by without pledging myself to your situation out of office, even with more cordiality and satisfaction than when you received from the King the office from which he has now kicked you out. I cannot describe to you half the political—not personal—indignation I feel, nor the difficulty you will have to keep me to the state of your thermometer."

Lord Grenville to The Duke of Bedford.

1807, March 26. Downing Street.—"A messenger is (as I understand) under orders for Ireland, that Lord Hawkesbury may announce to your Grace the removal of the late administration, and his own appointment and that of his colleagues.

"I have nothing to add on that subject to what you will learn from him and from the public papers, except that the arrangements do not seem even yet to be very definitely settled; and that little disposition has yet been shown by Parliament or the public to place any confidence in this new fabric.

"The demand for an indefinite pledge on this subject is, as far as I can learn, unanimously censured; and even the advocates for the new Ministry seem rather to endeavour to explain it away than to defend it.

"I know it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your Grace that all possible means should be used, so long as you continue in Ireland, to moderate and soothe the feelings which the demand of such a pledge and the consequent removal of the Ministry is likely to excite in Ireland." *Copy.*

George III to Lord Grenville.

1807, March 27. Windsor Castle.—"The King considers that Lord Grenville has acted perfectly right in sending the warrant for a pension of 200*l.* to Lord Kircudbright, as it had through mistake been omitted when the others mentioned by Lord Grenville were submitted. His Majesty has signed it, and he concludes that the date of it will be similar to that of the warrants with which it was to be included."

Sir Arthur Wellesley to Marquis Wellesley.

1807, March 27,—

Extract.—"I shall be very much obliged to you if you will take an opportunity of explaining to Lord Grenville the reasons for which I have thought it proper to accept the office of Secretary in Ireland, which Lord Hawkesbury has offered me.

"When the change of Government took place it was obvious that you could not go into opposition. The only doubt I had therefore, when this offer was made, was whether I should accept a civil office, the duties of which might take me away from my profession. I have consulted the Duke of York upon this point, and he has told me that he approves of my acceptance of the office, and that he does not conceive that it ought to operate to my prejudice; and the Ministers have told me that they consider me at liberty to give up the office in Ireland whenever an opportunity

of employing me professionally may offer, and that my acceptance of this office, instead of being a prejudice to me in my profession, will be considered as giving me an additional claim to such employment. On these grounds therefore I have not thought myself at liberty to refuse an offer made to me under circumstances highly flattering in other respects." *Copy.*

LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 28. Downing Street.—"I have, since I last saw you, heard and seen so much of the impression made by your speech in the House of Lords, not only as it respects ourselves, but, what is more essential, in what regards Ireland and the manner in which future events may affect it, that I must be so importunate as once more to beseech of you to lose no time in preparing it for the press. Wickham tells me he means to go to you in a day or two, and as I do not propose leaving town for more than one day during the holidays, if I could assist in correcting the sheets, or in any other way, I should be happy in contributing to so good a work.

"Sir James Pultney is, I hear, to be Secretary of War. Lady Hertford has, I am afraid, been too successfully employed with the Prince of Wales."

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, March 29. Dropmore.—"I beg you to assure your brother that I feel gratified by his persuasion of the interest I should take in what relates to him.

"Of the thing itself I can, of course, express no other sentiments than those of deep regret; but they are accompanied with every possible good wish for his honour and happiness, in whatever situation he may be." *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, April 1. Dublin Castle.—"Before this letter reaches you, you will probably have seen Elliot who will communicate to you everything relating to our proceedings on this side of the water previous to his quitting Dublin. It is therefore unnecessary for me to do more than to offer you my very sincere thanks for your two letters of the 23rd and 26th ultimo, and to assure you that I am most grateful for the obliging expressions you are pleased to use towards me personally, and that I can never cease to reflect with pride and satisfaction on the effectual and unvarying support which I have received from your lordship in the discharge of a most arduous duty. I feel conscious that my humble services have been faithfully and zealously exerted in support of the just views of the administration with whom I acted; and if my efforts

have merited any portion of your approbation, I am content. As long as the sword of state continues in my hands, I shall endeavour to maintain the interests of the country, and to promote its safety by all the means within my power; and I conceive that I cannot more effectually do so, than by discouraging every tendency to violence, and by repressing any spirit of animosity or anger which may arise among the contending parties; and upon this account I have forborne to notice the late unjustifiable conduct of some members of the corporation connected with the Government, and which I alluded to in a former letter. The displeasure of the Government would have been felt only during my short remaining stay in Ireland, and those upon whom it fell would have been held up as the martyrs of an expiring and vindictive administration.

"I have every reason to believe that the Catholics are patiently and peaceably disposed, and I have no doubt will continue so, unless goaded by the opposite party who are already (among the grand juries) instructing their representatives to oppose the Catholic claims, and in some instances not in the most temperate language.

"The general impression, however, which has been made by the late events in this country has been most favourable to the late administration; a sentiment of almost universal regret appears to pervade all ranks and descriptions of the people of Ireland, and none but those who are under the influence of faction or prejudice rejoice at the change.

"I have not the vanity to attribute any share of this feeling to personal attachment to him in whose hands the Government of this country has been placed; but the people of Ireland do look with dread to a change of that system, under which they felt the gradual but sure return of harmony, confidence, and security to their unhappy country, and of which I was enabled to be the fortunate instrument. I hope and trust I shall soon be relieved from the unpleasant state of responsibility in which I now stand; but as long as I remain here, it will be a satisfaction to me to receive your wishes and advice upon any matters which may appear to you to involve the character and credit of that Government at the head of which you so lately stood, and the principles of which must continue to guide my conduct as long as the administration of affairs is in my hands."

Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Grenville.

1807, April 3. Milton.—"Though I take it for granted you will be found in town on Tuesday, still your letter being dated from Dropmore, and Lord Stafford's motion not coming on before Friday, possibly the delights of the place, and the comfort of a little relaxation may induce you to stay there beyond that day; for fear of that happening, as I intend going to the *levée* on Wednesday to have

an audience, I wish to know previously, if my desire of relinquishing a seat in the Cabinet has been notified to the King, or if I am myself to be the the first to communicate it to h[is] M[ajesty].

"Upon another subject also I wish for information. After you mentioned the Garter to me, it so happened that not a word more has ever passed between us upon the subject. I know not when the proposal was made, or how it was received. Before my audience I am anxious to know whether the giving me a mark of h[is] M[ajesty]'s favour was received with approbation, or whether the proposal was referred to future consideration. This is a point I am far from considering as personal to myself, but as one that possibly may throw a considerable degree of light upon other more important matters."

Viscount Howick to The Same.

1807, April 4. Stratton Street.—"I did not answer your letter yesterday as your brother told me he intended to write to you. I approve very much of all your resolutions except the first, which I think it would be better to omit. I doubt much whether we should divide better upon it, than upon the second, and it would put the debate upon a bad ground. The new Ministers would be enabled to avoid the real question by a general attack on our administration; we could only speak on the defensive on points on which we might be attacked, and could neither argue nor vote for a motion of compliment to ourselves. I should propose therefore to begin with the second, and to follow with the others, which would confine the question and debate to the true grounds of our dismissal, and of the acceptance of the new Ministers.

"If these motions should be carried, of which I think there is little doubt, it will certainly be necessary to follow them up with something to give them effect; and this, I agree with you, it would be better not absolutely to decide upon till we shall have been enabled, by what passes in the first debate, to judge of the temper and disposition of the House. The obvious motion for this purpose is clearly one pointed at the advisers of our dismissal; and for this, according to the true doctrine of the constitution, founded on the maxim that the King can do no wrong, the new Ministers must be considered as legally responsible. But, without going into this reasoning upon the subject, the responsibility under the particular circumstances of the cases, seems to me to be easily fixed on Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury. Not, however, by their having been the ministers to execute the instruments necessary for the new appointments; the great seal having been put to the appointments of the Secretaries of State and, I believe, to the Treasury Commission also, by Lord Erskine; but by their having been sent for by the King, avowedly for the purpose of advising with

him as to the formation of the new government, and having been the bearers of his orders for that purpose to the Duke of Portland. This, I should imagine, would admit of easy proof; but, if there should be any doubt upon this, the first question, after having carried your resolutions, might be to address the King to know his advisers.

"I think there is no chance of Lord Sidmouth's being with us; and as none of us can at present look to coming into power with him again, I doubt the propriety of taking any step to induce him to join us in measures of opposition. I make a distinction, however, between him and Lord Ellenborough, and a conversation I have already had with the latter authorises me to speak to him on our intended motions, which, in their present shape, I think he will certainly support. I will write therefore to-day to desire to see him to-morrow for this purpose, when I will give him a copy of the resolutions, leaving him to communicate them or not to Lord Sidmouth as he may judge expedient.

"I do not think ours will be an adjourned debate; but even if it should, I wish you to consider whether, considering the nature of the question, there may not be some objection to its being put off so long as Monday in the House of Lords. If, however, the interval is necessary to bring up any peers who could not be got up before that time, as nothing is of so much importance as numbers, other objections must give way.

"I have gone over the list of peers with Lord Holland. Of those who are marked 'against' he considers the Duke of Athol and Lords Carington, Camden, Mansfield, Nelson, Sackville, and Powis as doubtful. Lord Southampton, if he votes at all, I think will certainly be with us; of those marked 'for' you may put down the Duke of Leeds as decidedly against us. In the list 'against' I should also have stated that Lords Donegall, Harrington, and Harrowby are expected to be absent. Lord Grey de Wilton is omitted. In the doubtful list Lord Say and Sele is considered as decidedly with us, and I have great hopes that my father will be well enough to take his seat at least, and to give us his proxy. I had written before I received your letter to Lord Crewe and Lord Charlemont. Holland has taken the names of those to whom he can apply; and I have written to Lord Fitzwilliam to use his influence with Lord Middleton and Lord Scarborough. The Duke of Grafton, I am told, is the best person to write to Lord Clarendon; and that nothing would do so much good as your writing yourself to Lord Monson who, upon such an application, would certainly come up. I think you had better also write yourself to the Duke of Grafton about Lord Clarendon.

"I have not yet had one unfavourable answer from any of the members of the House of Commons to whom I have applied. Some have not answered at all, which you may perhaps consider as pretty near the same thing.

"I hear they are going to embark on a great scale in subsidies and foreign expeditions."

W. Windham to The Same.

1807, April 4. Pall Mall.—"I send you enclosed the copy of a memorandum which I felt it necessary, on quitting the Colonial Department, to leave in the hands of Mr. Chapman, the first clerk. It was not left according to its date, having been kept for the sake of the enquiry which it was thought desirable to make into the books of the Office. Had it been less necessary that a paper touching, in whatever way, upon transactions in which you were concerned, should be made known to you, I should willingly have avoided even this recurrence to a subject which must always be to me a painful one; and which I cannot hope to mend by anything that can now be said upon it."

Enclosure.

"Memorandum left with Mr. Chapman, Chief Clerk of the Colonial Department.

1807, March 25. Downing Street.—"I think it necessary to state, in justice to myself, that the appointment now made for the first time of a vendue-master at the Cape, has been made without consultation with me, and without any knowledge on my part of the reasons which have rendered such an appointment necessary. And I must further remark, in justice to those who may succeed me in this Office, that the mode in which that appointment has been filled up is contrary to the practice uniformly observed for a period of more than seventy years (being the longest period for which the books of the Office have been as yet examined) in all cases where appointments of the sort in question are known to have existed.

"And I must, for the same reasons, desire to have it understood that the claim, now more fully explained and acted upon, of appointing by warrant from the Treasury all persons at the Cape or elsewhere who shall be employed in any way in the receipt or payment of public money, even where such money shall be merely Colonial money (that is to say, money raised from the resources and appropriated to the uses of the Colony itself through the medium of its own internal regulations, and without affecting the functions or being mixed in the accounts of any correspondent Office here) is a claim which I have never assented to; but consider, on the contrary, as an innovation in the general system of Colonial administration, which, if not supported by reasons different from any of which I am as yet apprized, must of itself have compelled me to relinquish the situation which I am now, from other causes, about to quit." *Copy.*

Lord Grenville to Earl Fitzwilliam.

1807, April 5. Dropmore.—"Your intention of relinquishing your seat in the Cabinet was notified to the King the day we all took leave of him. I must take shame to myself for my negligence about the Garters, which I had omitted to mention to the King till after he had determined on changing his Government. The last day I saw him I told h[is] M[ajesty] that I thought it a duty which I owed to your lordship and to the Duke of Norfolk to mention to h[is] M[ajesty] that I had previously apprized you both of my intention of humbly submitting your names to h[is] M[ajesty] for that mark of his favour; but that, under the present circumstances, it must of course be for h[is] M[ajesty] to decide what he would think it right to do respecting them. This was received only with a silent bow.

"It would be needless for me to say how deeply I regret the consequence of the delay. The thing is now irremediable, and I know I need not assure you that it has been unintentional on my part." *Copy.*

The Marquis of Buckingham to Thomas Grenville.

[1807, April [10]. Stowe.]—"I avail myself of Marsden's frank to enclose to you a pamphlet, or rather a printed state of a new plan that has been prepared by Government as an improvement on the finance plan moved by Lord H. Petty. I understand that very few have been printed, and I was assured that Lord Grenville has not seen it. I therefore send it through you to him, as the new Treasury secretary may not be as civil as your old Admiralty scribe. I say nothing on your division save that, if your 240 hang together, no Ministry can stand against that opposition, nor even against 200; but the consequence of repeated defeats would be a dissolution, and my ideas turn to immediate arrangements on that chapter in which, with a little management, we may turn that card against Ministers. I have written to my son upon it, and I think no time ought to be lost in that matter. Canning's tone in the House of Commons, and the military grasp for power both in England and in Ireland are a new feature in the system of government, and cannot be met too soon, or with a too strongly marked reprobation. I never thought that the Commons would quietly hear the threat of their dissolution. You will remember how cautiously Pitt in 1784 avoided any intimation of that intention, though, of course, eagerly challenged upon it by Opposition. Surely such a tone and such an assumption of power ought not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. I have a very handsome letter from Lord Downshire who continues firm to us. I very much wish that a list could be made out of numbers such as they might stand on a diss[olution], returned by our great leaders, for I fancy that

we have a decided superiority notwithstanding Lord Lonsdale and the Duke of Rutland, who, I conclude, are the best feathers of their wing.

"My son has written to me to beg a bed in Pall Mall, as Long is so very impatient. This, however, will not prevent you from taking a bed there likewise, if Cleveland Row is not open to you."

Lord Holland to Lord Grenville.

1807, April 21.—"I find you have fixed Thursday for the question on the Scotch Judicature, on which day Lord Rosslyn, myself, and I believe several other friends have been engaged upon a long engagement to Lord Stafford. As I think it very desirable to muster strong on the question, and, as far as regards myself, Thursday is the *only* day that is very inconvenient to me, I own I wish it could be changed to Friday, unless, at your suggestion, Lord Stafford could put off his dinner instead of the debate to Friday.

"Lord Sidmouth, after you went, expressed more than his doubts of the propriety of extending juries to Scotland. He assured me he had always apprized you of this; but as Ellenborough is decidedly with us on that point, I own I think it would be very material to get him to express his opinion upon it in public."

The Marquis of Buckingham to The Same.

1807, April 28. Stowe.—"I have read with indignation the wicked and atrocious charge brought against you almost by name in the King's speech, and I will not say how much I am shocked that no opportunity has occurred of challenging the public attention to a performance which is almost an invitation to a mob to destroy you. The time must come when the managements which you have observed too scrupulously must be thrown aside; but it is hopeless to expect numbers such as you have pointed out, for I am satisfied that the cry is completely against us, and that we shall lose wherever it can be usefully employed against us. It is indeed melancholy that such should be the temper of the people at a moment so critical; but I cannot shut my eyes or ears, and I fear that many other cases will occur in which the supporters of your Government will be turned out. Nevertheless you are tied to the stake and must fight your course. I hope and trust that we shall be quiet in this county, but pains have been taken to raise a cry which nothing but my presence has put down. If a county meeting is called to address, you must appear and assist in resisting it, but I *now* hope that idea is out of the question. Yorkshire and Newcastle are heavy pills to swallow. You do not say anything of Cornwall; can *we* do anything there? I have written to Ireland and

shall be able to assist Mr. Caulfield in Roscommon, and to worry your Captain Gore for Leitrim. I hope Lord Forbes is safe for Longford. I have written to keep my Westmeath votes *in petto*, but I fear that the present members are safe. I have likewise written for support to Sir E. O'Brien for Clare. What is done about Colchester? remember I have some *means* there. I am heartily sorry for Ebrington's contest, and I fear that Proby's disappointment will be great in Hunts. I had hoped he would have been safe as he had not voted in the present struggle. There is much talk of contest in Northamptonshire, but I think that Althorp and Cartwright will succeed. The dissenters all support the former. I find that they (the dissenters) begin to move, and to feel that this cry strikes at them as well as at others.

"I again return to the libel in the shape of a King's speech. The attack upon his Ministers almost by name is quite new, and I am inclined to think that it ought to be repelled (Parliament not being sitting) by some measure of equal publicity; but it is a very difficult subject for discussion, and particularly at present, when your former Cabinet is not only dissolved but are not acting together. I wish you, however, to turn the matter in your mind.

"You have not said one word about West[minster], nor do I know whether Paul stands or not, supported by the Treasury and by H. Wellesley! Still less do I know whether Sheridan stands, supported by your friends."

The Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville.

1807, May 2. Woburn Abbey.—"I have requested Adam to write to you on the subject of securing a retreat for Lord Henry Petty at Camelford, and wish to be guided wholly by your decision upon it.

"From what I hear this morning, I fear ministers have succeeded in exciting an opposition to my brother in Surrey, and I cannot in that case risk so great an expense as must unavoidably be incurred by a contest in that county, for an object so wholly unconnected with family interests.

"Mr. Pym has shown so little courage in this county, that I have been compelled to withdraw General Fitzpatrick from the contest to induce him to stand firm at his post. We should, I am persuaded, have otherwise carried both members without difficulty, which perhaps might have afforded me an opportunity of finding a seat for Tierney; but, embarrassed as I now feel myself from these unexpected events, I fear it is wholly out of my power."

Lord Grenville to Lord Erskine.

1807, May 4. Downing Street.—"In removing my papers from this house I find that I have still in my custody the original letters and drawings (if they can be so called) which

were referred to in the examinations of Sir John and Lady Douglas, and marked by them; and which, you may remember, were sealed up by me in the presence of the other commissioners. Lady D[ouglas] has applied to me for these papers. The P[rince] of W[ales] has also sent me his orders through Lord Moira to return to H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] such papers of his as I still have. But this order, as I take it, refers to some letters of the princess, and not to these papers.

"I should be obliged to you if you would let me know your opinion whether I should transmit these papers to the Secretary of State, or return them to Lady D[ouglas], or send them to Lord Moira for the Prince.

"When you have written your opinion on this question, I will thank you to send it with this letter to Lord Spencer and to Lord Ellinboro', that I may also have the benefit of their advice on a point on which, though not perhaps of any great importance, I should like to do what is correct."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1807, September 23. Eden Farm.—"I send, under a separate cover, another letter forming the sequel to the packet which I confidentially put into your hands some time ago. The facts stated in the last page shows that the King of Prussia is in a predicament not to be envied by the most wretched mendicant in the streets and highways. It appears from the other part of the letter, and indeed from every information, that the Danish measure rests entirely on the naked assertion of political foresight and general expediency; in other words, on *le droit du plus fort*. I wish to consider more specifically than we have yet done the fair distinction to be taken between that business, and the intended measures respecting the Turkish and Portuguese navies. In the plan systematically taken up to defame the late Government by false and impudent assertions, and exaggerations, we shall be told, again and again, that there was no difference between the cases except in the ability and success with which the several measures were arranged and executed. The acquisition of so many ships (which, by the bye, are not valued on the average at above 10,000*l*. each) will please the million for a certain period; but in general a strong opinion of the national injustice and outrage of the act is very prevalent; and those who look a little deeper doubt much whether the advantages of the moment (which are certainly not immaterial for the safety of Ireland) will in any degree compensate for the stain to our character, the implacable hatred excited against us, the eventual strengthening of the entrance of the Baltic against us, and the possible employment in the Russian navy of 12 or 15,000 Danish navy [sailors]. I certainly think it highly probable that what has happened may tend much to invigorate the war against us.

"I understand (from a commissioner of the navy) that the naval stores to be obtained will be very few, the capitulation having been confined to the Arsenal, and the principal stores being in the town.

"In a letter from an old friend, who is in very efficient confidence with the present Government, there is the following paragraph :—

'Whatever you may think in other respects, you must at least allow us some credit for secrecy, promptitude, and efficiency in a measure of such magnitude. We are for the present safe ; in particular Ireland is safe.

'I suppose you lament over the catastrophe of Buenos Ayres ; nothing but the plan adopted could have produced it. It is extremely mortifying, for our garrison was living on the best terms with the Spaniards, our trade was rapidly increasing, and if we had chosen to play the game of independence, I am confident we could have placed all the Spanish provinces on their legs without bloodshed or revolutionary convulsions. I never was so hurt. Many obvious projects of infinite importance are gone for ever.'

"Who selected Whitelocke ? His plan of attack seems to have been devoid of common sense. I understand (indeed on the authority of General Hope) that a trial is to take place.

"I wish that I had some news for Lady Grenville. You probably know that Lord Wellesley has brought Lord Bathurst's house (I believe for 16,000*l.*).

"It is for the present a sort of secret, but I have reason to believe that Mr. Burrel is the successful suitor to Miss Drummond, and am glad of it for the sake of Lord Gwydir and Lady Willoughby, who are made very happy by it.

"My sons were delighted with Boconnoc. We have been ten days in Sussex with the Speaker, Lord and Lady Chichester, the Marlboroughs and others.

"We are now very busy with our planting and are making a border of American plants. I wish that we had only the prunings of Dropmore borders."

Earl Temple to Lord Grenville.

1807, October 3. Dawlish.—"Craufurd is not to have his trial. He has made his peace with the Duke of York, who had, on his first arrival, spoken to him in *most violent terms* on the subject of his surrender. Achmuty has received the King's approbation of his conduct, and is directed to remain at home until Whitelock's arrival, in order to assist, perhaps to prosecute, at his trial. I have seen private letters from Buenos Ayres which throw the blame of the first suggestion of the plan of attacking houses and stone walls with the bayonet upon General Gower, who certainly improved upon Whitelock's instructions by ordering the regiment which composed the column to which he was attached *to take out their flints ;* in which condition the men were led

to slaughter, but not by him; as these accounts state that neither he nor Whitelock were to be seen during the attack, nor until the next morning, when Linieres sent in his proposals. The army was disembarked up to the men's middles in water, and in marshes where their heavy guns could not move with them. It is said that, previous to the attack, General Whitelock had refused propositions for the surrender of Buenos Ayres *and New Spain*, provided the independence of the country was guaranteed; or for the surrender unconditionally, provided he would guarantee that New Spain should not be given up at a peace. *The language of Government* is that on Whitelock's trial facts will come out which will implicate Windham; inasmuch as official documents remain in Lord Castlereagh's Office which prove that the strongest remonstrances were made, principally from the *Duke of York's* Office, against Whitelock's appointment, upon the ground of his former conduct, especially in St. Domingo, having proved him unfit for the command. I am still inclined to think that the present disposition of ministers towards America is hostile; but I believe it is certain that George Berkeley is recalled to make way for the superior discretion and steadiness of *Drury*. They are sending out three regiments to America from Cork immediately."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1807, October 15. Wynnstay.—"You will be glad to hear that I was very much pleased and amused with my various excursions since I saw you, and that I found the inhabitants of Butleigh and of Wynnstay in the most perfect prosperity. By a letter from Stowe I find my brother a little uneasy at the apprehension of too great an eagerness for peace on our part, and of too much hostility from us towards Admiral Berkeley on the American question. I have written to him to say that it will be very fit for us all to converse upon every topic that is interesting to him; that I did not believe you had more confidence in the advantage of peace than he has; but that the difficulty of finding means for war upon the scale of large expeditions would naturally have more weight with you from your attention having been so peculiarly called to that subject; that the American question was a discussion of some difficulty and delicacy, but that both you and I should undoubtedly feel the strongest desire to show all possible regard to the friendship which he has always shown to Admiral Berkeley.

"I see by to-day's papers that they have superseded Berkeley by Sir J. Warren. At Plymouth I was told that Berkeley would have Jamaica, which is a better thing, and would therefore be a kick upstairs; but I have heard nothing of it since, and the paper only notices his removal. When does Parliament meet? Lord Boringdon (as I suppose from Canning) says positively not till January. Lord Westmorland

told Lady E. Palk it would be before Christmas ; and Jemmy quoted a Treasury clerk (an old *protégé* of Lady Chatham's) for having assured him that although the revenue was very flourishing, Parliament must meet before Christmas for the issue of Exchequer Bills : therefore I conclude it will be late in November, or early in December. I found at Haldon that the Addingtons are all very adverse to Government upon the Copenhagen question, and I know Lord Sidmouth has distinctly written so to Lord St. Vincent; but all that imposing opinion does not change mine, and I am much more disposed to think that it is our business to blame them for their neglect at Lisbon, rather than for their activity at Copenhagen."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, October 16. Eden Farm.—"I have been desirous to procure for you some certain intelligence relative to the meeting of Parliament, but I have not succeeded. Mr. Long, whom I met on Tuesday last at a board of Greenwich directors, told me that it was wished not to meet till after Christmas ; and that various accounts had been collected in the hope of finding it practicable, with some managements, to 'tide forwards' till January. He inclined to think that this might be done, but said that it was not yet decided. I have since received a letter from the Speaker in which he says 'I hear nothing yet of Parliament, and concluded from what I did hear in London, that it is not likely to meet early.' The state of the surplus appears to me to be unfavourable for the quarter ending the 10th of this month.

The income was	8,827,471*l.*
and the charge	6,500,000*l.*
Surplus ..	2,300,000*l.*
Deficiency at 5th July	149,000*l.*
	2,151,000*l.*

being in part of 3,750,000*l.* for the service of 1807.

"There is every reason to fear that the produce of the two next quarters will greatly fall off. I am told by the best Custom House and mercantile authorities that our exports are almost totally suspended, and that our imports are gradually contracting ; that orders for manufactures are revoking ; and that not only our European trade is checked, but that the demand of goods for the United States is interrupted. If this account should be in any degree accurate, it will soon affect not only the customs, but the excise, and will also be followed by much individual distress.

Secret.—"Mr. G. Rose has many amiable private qualities, but is not in any point of view an auspicious choice for the service in question. About three weeks ago Mr. Canning wrote to Mr. Vansittart in very civil language and proposed

to him to take a special mission to the Congress 'on the unfortunate affair between the two frigates.' Mr. Vansittart answered that the proposition required to be further opened, and that, at any rate, he must confide it to two friends (meaning Lord Sidmouth and me). I stated very strong objections to the acceptance, and I have reason to believe that Lord Sidmouth also objected to it, and in a style of language more hostile than I should have expected towards the present ministers. Mr. Vansittart declined the offer, and I feel that it is no breach of confidence towards him to confide the anecdote to you. His refusal was strong, and conveyed a censure on what he conceived to be the course of proceeding. I have reason to believe, through Monroe, that the King's ministers wished to have a separate negotiation on the frigate business, and the American plenipotentiaries answered that they were not authorised to discuss the question partially. It was thereupon resolved to send a separate mission, which, if meant merely to give up the point, is undignified and unnecessary; and if meant to urge a negotiation will be offensive and probably productive of war. The line of conduct appeared to me plain and obvious; they should have disclaimed any pretension to stop and search ships of war; and doing that in the most conciliatory manner, should have thrown the other question into a course of protracted negotiation. Least of all, should they have sent a young man without rank or commanding talents, and the son of a person who has often affected to hold a language hostile to the neutral trade of the United States.

"I am looking forward to the successive subversions of Portugal, Sicily, and Sweden, (I presume that we shall try to pick Madeira out of the wrecks). I expect also to see the entrance of the Baltic made hereafter inaccessible, and that Russia will declare against us.

"For the large and small talk of the day I send two bulletins which I received this morning. Be so good as to burn them. Upon the whole the public predicament is quite disheartening.

"His Majesty said a few days ago to a lady through whom I receive the expression, that 'though nearly quite blind, he never was so happy,' having nothing 'to do with any politicians.'"

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1807, October 25. Wynnstay.—"Poor Kidd, the Homer editor, remains still a little hampered by his former distresses; you know you was so good as to concur with Lord B[uckingham] and me in giving him some assistance. I have enquired and find that his story is true, and his distress is not produced by any fresh indiscretion. I am therefore tempted to propose to you, if you approve of it, that the three brothers may subscribe 17*l.* 10*s.* each, which sum from each of us will make fifty guineas for poor Kidd. I have written to propose

this to Lord Buckingham, and if you coneur in it, and will be so good as to tell me so, I will direct Coutts to pay Kidd fifty guineas, and to charge a third of it to each of us.

"Lord Temple comes here to-day.

"I go to Trentham on Wednesday, and probably from thence to Stowe, as I shall hardly face the sands of Norfolk in November."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1807, October 28. Eden Farm.—"The enclosed relates to a provincial interest of some importance in the actual circumstances of trade. Mr. Robley is a respectable and public-spirited merchant, and I conceive that it might be very useful if the Cornish gentlemen could give publicity to the success of Mr. Robley's experiment.

Private.—"The Attorney-General was here yesterday, and talked privately on the state and prospect of public affairs in a tone and language of despondency even beyond my fears and forebodings."

The Same to The Same.

1807, November 6. Eden Farm.—"I presume that you are preparing to quit Boconnoc for Dropmore, where you will be within the course of better information than any that I can send to you.

Private.—"I understand (from Lord Liverpool) that Lewis XVIIIth's arrival in this country has been a surprise, and not an agreeable surprise; and that he had actually, through some agent, and not on any communication with his brother, hired a furnished house in Albemarle Street, and intended to land and proceed to London. After some *pourparlers* with *Monsieur*, a resolution was taken and executed to apprize his ex-Majesty, that he and his suite must retire to Holyrood House; and I presume that this has been done, though very contrary to the expectations and wishes of the unfortunate party, who addressed a letter to the King in a style of levity and *persiflage* beyond what I should have expected. The letter was in the following strain: '*Sire, je vous apporte un souverain le moins puissant, mais le plus fidèle de vos alliés.*' Lord Liverpool seemed to have heard that, on the peace of Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia gave an intimation to his guests at Mittau, in consequence of which they thought it prudent to go to Sweden; and that his Swedish majesty thought it prudent to send them forwards to England.

Private and confidential.—"When I was in town yesterday morning on the business of the Westminster improvements, I was told by a person likely to be correct, that Lady Chatham is at Frognall (in this neighbourhood) under some symptoms of a mental derangement. I most sincerely hope that this report may be without foundation.

"Attempts are making in several manufacturing towns to bring forward petitions for peace. If the actual check to our exports should prevail through the winter, I shall not be surprised at that mode of expressing popular distress. It would be the greatest of all calamities in its effect and impression, both on the French Government, and on our own as at present constituted."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, November 7. Eden Farm.—"In mine of yesterday I omitted to mention that a long proclamation is preparing, and will be immediately issued, to put all the coasts and colonies of nations at war with us under a general blockade. This is to be grounded on Buonaparte's proclamation, on the effect which he is giving to it, and on the acquiescence of other countries in that mode of hostilities. I suppose we shall be told in the usual tone and language that this is a measure of vigour and wisdom for which, in our imbecillity, we had neither head nor heart. It is difficult to reason about it, or to make any remarks, till we have the instrument before us. It is evident, however, that it removes one principal motive which the Americans might have had for remaining at peace with us; and it is equally evident that it increases at the moment the difficulties and distresses of our manufacturers. The West Indians will like it at first view; but it will accumulate in this country a great glut of foreign sugars which must ultimately find a market. One matter at least is certain, it will enrich the people of Doctors Commons."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, November 14. Eden Farm.—"After the description which my sons have given to us of the domestic system of Boconnoc, and of your woods, farms, and park, I am not surpised to hear that you are prolonging your stay in Cornwall. Even in my very narrow scale of amusement within my precinct of 280 acres, I look with reluctance to any change of place; and except that we must go from the fourth till the twelfth December to Shottesbrook and to Blenheim, we shall remain here till the 12th January. Nor indeed would I then go to town if it were not necessary for the education of my children.

"There will not, however, be any want of interesting topics in Parliament. Our Portuguese paradise seems to be gone to the infernal regions. My neighbour Lord Liverpool had quite persuaded himself (and indeed seemed to have ministerial authority for it) that the Braganza dynasty would be transferred with all the ships to Brazil, and that we should acquire exclusively the key to all the trade and treasures of South America.

"The want of due decision and foresight as to Portugal, contrasted with what I must think an unprincipled and

impolitie precipitaney in the Danish business, will form an invidious eontrast. On reading Buonaparte's strietures on our conduet, I could not help exelaiming *pudet haec opprobia nobis et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli** (There were four classieal men at the table when I made the quotation, and a dispute arose among them whether it was in Virgil or in Horaee ; you probably reeollect that it is in neither.)

"In another point of view that very impudent and malignant paper well deserves attention as furnishing a sort of insight into the plans and speculations and eombinations of our arch-enemy. It appears elearly that he expeets Russia to declare against us ; and, *secret*, I happen to know that a messenger arrived on Monday or Tuesday with despatehes of the 10th Oetober from Mr. Stuart, who writes that the new Russian ministers are avowedly hostile to England, and that Russia is only waiting for the winter season, and for an aecount that her ships in the Mediterranean are safe, in order to send some very offensive requisitions to us.

"As to private news, Lord Grosvenor sells his place at Newmarket and his stud, and quits the turf. There are hopes, however, that the Duke of Rutland will be the '*alter aureus*.'

"Lord Selkirk is not mueh to be admired either for his politieal eonduet or for his eloquenee, but he is amiable and good in private life, and therefore I am glad that he is to marry Miss Wedderburn, the sister and partieular friend of my Louisa. Lady Auekland has the great responsibility of buying the wedding elothes and laees.

Postscript.—"The despatehes from Petersburg to which I have alluded state that the Russian ministers are endeavouring to draw Sweden into their league, and expect to sueeeed in that endeavour."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1807, November 15. Stowe.—"I had already, before I received your letter, sent an order to Coutts to pay 50*l*. to Mr. Kidd on our joint account, and I had written to Mr. Kidd to apprise him of it. You will see by the date of this letter that I have not yet taken up my winter quarters in London, and therefore have no other news to send to you than what the post brings to me. Upon the subjeet of Copenhagen I have been less reserved in my answers than you have in yours, because I do not like that your opinion and mine should appear to be ineluded in the violent attack which all the Opposition papers have been making on the *principle* of the Copenhagen expedition, a principle whieh I know not how we are to attack without making ourselves vulnerable upon our former orders respecting Lisbon. It is generally prudent, no doubt, to reserve one's opinion till the case of government

* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I.

is stated, but I cannot help feeling that in their situation we should very probably have given the same order without being able to publish to Parliament the grounds on which we had believed in the hostile mind of Denmark. Another motive with me for not reserving my sentiments on this subject is, that I find by my letters that Windham and Lord Erskine have been loud in Norfolk in holding the language of the *Morning Chronicle*; and again I must say that I do not like that your sentiments or mine should be anticipated upon these great subjects by the general language of the party.

"I met Lord Holland for one day at Trentham, and found him adverse to Government on the Copenhagen question, which he disapproved, he says, no less than de did that of Lisbon! Surely he did not, as I recollect, express at the time the disapprobation that he alludes to. I have a long letter from Lauderdale inviting discussion from me on the political events of the day. He states his alarm at the necessity which will arise out of the growing cry for peace, and his fear of negotiation in the hands of this Ministry; I have told him that I cannot easily bring myself to believe in peace or in Bonaparte's desire for peace under the present circumstances. If to the acquisition of Denmark and Lisbon he can add the friendship and assistance of Petersburgh, as I have no doubt he will, he then stands possessed of all the means and materials which the whole world can ever afford to him for an attack upon England and Ireland; and I can never conceive that he will let slip so favourable an opportunity, for the mere purpose of previously building more ships at Antwerp and at Copenhagen under a new treaty of peace with Great Britain. I feel quite persuaded that, if Russia is with him, he will attack us in Ireland; on which subject I agree with him in the strong conviction that he expresses that we had better keep back as much as possible the agitation of the Catholic question. He says Lord Howick is for keeping back, but Lord Ponsonby is vehement for bringing it forward. It is an undoubted fact that the Primate has made strong remonstrances to Government on the necessity of doing something about tithes; will that stop his promotion to York, or hasten it, to get him away from Ireland? Wellesley has made a treaty offensive and defensive with Lord Melville, whom he was going to visit in Scotland, but has put off his journey on account of his new hopes of succeeding to the Duke of Portland. According to Lord Holland and Lauderdale, Canning takes the lead, and Lord Chatham is to be the Premier. It is frightful for anybody who believes as much as I do that we shall fight this year for England, to reflect upon the insufficient means which our present baby Ministers can supply. Lauderdale means to write to you on the Scotch Judicature; let me know whenever you leave Boconnoc for Dropmore.

"Lord Wellesley has, a fortnight ago, in an underhand way (by Dardis) desired Lord Buckingham to be informed

that there is question of himself under the present circumstances ; and that, as soon as it is decided, he shall write to Lord Buckingham and to you ! ! ! What a strange communication, and in how strange a channel ? Lord Buckingham, of course, has said nothing in answer."

The Earl of Cassillis to Lord Grenville.

1807, November 15. Cullean Castle.—" Will you do me the kindness to give me as much previous notice as you can, of about what time I had better be in town. In a long political document from Erskine last night he says, ' be here a week before the meeting of Parliament at *your peril* ' ; from which he concludes, I presume, that offensive operations are to commence the moment Parliament does meet. I think we are generally rather defective in the notices to our friends. If they are correctly warned, and in sufficient time, of when it's intended to bring on the great questions, Ministers must be overwhelmed. I can't conceive that they will receive efficient support from any quarter. At Lord Wellesley I am astonished ; but even his abilities at a time and in a contest like the present, cannot avail them. Lord Hardwick writes me the Parliament will meet about the Queen's birthday for business. The conclusion of his long letter on the state of things shows that the House of Yorke, at least, are against them. Of his brother, I had long doubts ; but our mutual friend Nicholson Calvert, member for Hertford, in all his letters to me is so clear against them, and even violent, that I conclude Yorke is the same. Calvert has a great deal to say with him."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1807, November 17. Eden Farm.—" The proclamations which I mentioned to you some time ago have made their appearance this morning, and will of course be puffed to the public as proofs of energy and efficiency beyond the reach and capacity of the late Government.

" With that view our proclamation of January last prohibiting the trade from enemies' ports to enemies' ports is stated as having been found insufficient (though, by the bye, it was defended in Parliament by the King's Advocate as the right and proper measure). The step taken rests evidently on the declaration signed by Lord Holland and by me. In other respects, as in the Danish proclamation, it industriously brings into view ' the damnable doctrine and position ' that it is lawful to take any measure of hostility which the enemy shall have taken. In applying that principle we commit direct unqualified infractions of the treaties subsisting with Russia and with Sweden. We do not even leave to those powers, or to America, the power of trading with the Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish and Italian ports

for articles even of necessary consumption. We leave open only a direct trade with the hostile colonies for those articles. My private belief is that, so far as our manufactures are interested, the whole of this measure will operate to diminish still further the diminished export; and that, so far as our West Indian embarrassments are concerned, they must be aggravated by a system which tends to lessen the consumption and to increase the accumulation of foreign sugars. It is, however, difficult to write with any precision on the first hasty perusal of a measure of such extent in its probable operations. I think it not unlikely to bring forward an explosion of hostility both from Russia and from America.

"I do not yet believe the story of Mr. Bond's resignation, (he signed the declaration against Denmark). Lord Buckinghamshire and Mr. Vansittart were here yesterday, and had no idea of such a resignation. I understand that Lord Sidmouth is loudly of opinion that there was no existing necessity sufficient to justify our Danish expedition."

The Marquis of Buckingham to The Same.

[1807,] November 18. Stowe.—"I have been obliged to make a civil visit of 107 miles, and as many back again, to my French colony at Gosfield, whom I have left very grateful and very happy in the exchange of that place instead of Holyrood House. Nothing could equal Lord Hawkesbury's ignorance and brutality towards them. Canning has been very civil, but the whole of the correspondence on both sides appears to be very ill-conducted, and to have made many very unnecessary difficulties. I am, however, very happy in having seized the opportunity of doing a handsome thing, and those whom I meant to oblige appear truly sensible of it and thankful.

"I was sorry to find that they thought very unfavourably of any good understanding between England and Russia, though they seemed to imagine that Sweden might be induced by its mercantile interests to keep up for us that depôt or transit (if such a thing is to exist) for our goods. I was equally sorry to find that they thought the state of Russia very alarming, and the French mischief very eagerly at work."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1807, November 19. Stowe.—"The long expected blow is struck, and you will see in the papers that Lord Grey is dead. Under these circumstances Lord Buckingham agrees with me in recommending to you to write to Lord Howick inviting him to consider of the best means of bringing George Ponsonby forward, as the person, upon the whole, the best qualified to succeed to the lead which Lord Howick had taken in the House of Commons. If you continue to agree now in this opinion as much as you formerly did, you cannot but

see that the expression of that opinion from you may very much relieve the difficulty which Lord Howick might feel respecting his sister's husband; and the difficulty of resisting *his*, Whitbread's, possible expectations of this succession, may be much lessened in the eyes of Lord Howick if Lord Howick is desired to recommend his wife's uncle, instead of his sister's husband. I had a little conversation on this subject with Lord Holland, who seemed disposed to think that the case must find it's own solution between W[hitbread] and Lord Henry Petty in the House of Commons. I confess, however, that I can conceive no inconvenience so great as that of the Parliament meeting without a declared successor to Lord Howick. Then again I have no belief in this sort of arrangement *making itself;* and, thirdly, I am strongly of opinion that Ponsonby is the person upon the whole infinitely more desirable, and likely to be more acceptable, than either of the other two. My last letters from London describe an increasing intercourse between Carlton House and the present Ministers; but I know not to what extent this goes.

"Lord Buckingham has just dropped in conversation his notion of a possible visit from Louis XVIII to Stowe, in the course of 8 or 10 days; I shall therefore probably go to town in 4 or 5 days time, as I am not one of the courtiers of that Court. I have asked my brother no questions on that subject, as he perhaps knows more of it than he may wish to tell; all that I want is to keep clear of it all, which I shall do by a seasonable flight to Cleveland Square."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 22. Stowe.—"Whenever I hear again from Lauderdale, you shall know what is the result of the observations which I made to him upon the language of the *Morning Chronicle* respecting the Copenhagen expedition. I am aware that you distinguish this case from that of Lisbon with some thing more of nicety than I have as yet seen how to follow, but the general abuse has been upon the principle, as it is called; and I confess I see no great ground of distinction as to principle, although the prudence and even morality of the application of it must in each case depend upon the circumstances which are alleged to justify so strong and unusual a step. The great inducement with me for speaking rather more strongly than your letter to Lord Essex, arose from my hearing in so many instances of the unqualified language held on this subject by so large a part of those with whom we have lately acted; a language to which we might be deemed to have given our assent, if we did not put a little activity into the objections which we have felt upon this subject. The death of Lord Grey will infinitely add to the difficulties which will prevail upon this and perhaps upon other topics in the House of Commons; and although I continue

to think the suggestion of my last letter to be the best measure that can now be taken, I am far from entertaining any very sanguine hope even in that case, but I have almost persuaded myself that any other shape will be found quite impracticable. One consequence of the adoption of my suggestion will be probably attended with the inconvenience of Whitbread feeling so much disappointment as to separate himself from the mass of the party ; and this will be no small inconvenience ; but yet I must fairly say I think the unpopularity and impracticability of the man to be such as would, on the other hand, render it quite impossible to act with him.

" Upon the subject of the tithe question, if I hesitate more than you do as to the prudence of bringing it forward, it is because it always appeared to me that you attributed more to the possible success of the measure than I do. I doubt much whether if we had been able to carry it, we should have found any great benefit from it beyond that of having manifested a conciliatory disposition ; and at a time when we all saw there was no hope of carrying the measure of emancipation—which is the only measure of real substance—it was worth our while, and a part of our duty perhaps, to endeavour at all risks to do whatever might be deemed to be within our reach. We have now no such duty to perform except as individual members of Parliament ; and for us to bring forward this measure in Parliament now, would be gratuitously to incur all the hostility of the church and the friends of the crown without any the remotest chance of our carrying the measure, with no great advantage, as I believe, if it could be carried, and with the additional suspicion thrown upon our motives in bringing that forward with all the hopelessness of opposition, which in government we could hardly have been strong enough to carry. This is the general impression of my mind as to the more or less of prudence in our now bringing the measure forward ; but I do not pretend to have any well-informed and concluded opinion upon it ; and I rather expect that our discussions upon this topic will arise from some half measure to be proposed by these Ministers, in consequence of the primate's new representations on this subject.

" I hear to-day that Vernon is to be Archbishop, to make room at Carlisle for Lord Lonsdale's Dr. Zouch, with the prebend of Durham for Dr. Dowdeswell. By the same authority I learn that Canning and Perceval are very ill together, and Lord Melville dissatisfied with them all. I suppose Hood and Beresford go to Madeira, and Sir Sydney to Lisbon ; and all the world agree that Keates's twelve sail are to attack the Russians ; yet the last letters from Petersburg of the 10th October announce to my friends at Trentham an expectation of continued residence at Petersburg, quite incompatible with such an act of hostility. I believe in no peace as I before told you, and rejoice in your writing to

Lord F[itzWilliam] your approbation of his son's manly language in Yorkshire.

"I am told by my brother that his friend at Inglefield Green knows of a situation to be had at St. Stephen's for 4,000*l.* and wants a candidate. I know of none except Giles, who would, I suppose, embrace the offer if made.

"I go, Tuesday, to Lord Carrington's, and, Thursday, to Cashiobury in my way to town."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1807, November 23. Stowe.—"Just as I am stepping into my carriage for Lord Carrington's, it occurs to me to propose to Lord Stafford the seat which I mentioned to you in my last, for Lord Gower, or rather for Henderson, which might place Lord Gower at Brackley, where his place could easily be supplied if Lord Granville asks a peerage for his Russian services, and opens the county to Lord Gower. I have written to Lord Stafford to ask him if he wishes me to pursue this; if he approves, it would be the best possible use to make of this windfall whenever it may be, of which I know nothing.

"Louis XVIII with seven Princes, Duc Castries, Coigny, Serrant, and Grammont, with viscounts and barons in proportion are expected here in a week."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1807, November 23. Eden Farm.—"If there be any analogy between the Cornish and Kentish climates you are now confined to your fire-side by incessant rains and cold winds; such a change will help to reconcile you to a movement towards Dropmore and Camelford House."

Private.—"A military officer in full confidence, and without any of the pedantry and reserves sometimes incident to such situations, came to this place yesterday and left us to-day. I collected from him that Whitelock was put under arrest on Friday; that he is to be tried at Chelsea by a court-martial as soon as the proceedings can be ready; and that Mr. Richard Ryder, the new Judge-Advocate, is to conduct the prosecution. The actual impression seems to be that Whitelocke's conduct, both in the mode of attack, in the want of concert and co-operation during the attack, in his own personal absence from all share and co-operation in the business, and, above all, in the article for giving up Monte Video, was extravagantly incapable and criminal. It seems probable that the last-mentioned point will be made a capital charge, grounded on one of the articles of war. It is supposed that the evidence both of Auchmuty and Craufurd will bear strongly against Whitelocke. You probably know with certainty on what interest or opinion Whitelocke was appointed to the command; it is now

understood that he was named solely at the instance of Mr. Windham.

"I have seen some curious and authentic details of our position at Monte Video, and of the disposition of the inhabitants towards us; and it can hardly be doubted that, with common sense and little exertion, we might have maintained and extended our conquest to a degree incalculably important.

"The militia operation has produced nearly 20,000 to the line; the number required was 2,800.

"I have seen a curious account of the Tilsit dinner from a person in the place at the time. The King of Prussia had some very neat gaiters buttoned with a multiplicity of small buttons from his waist to his heel; Buonaparte asked him if he buttoned them with his own hands; and whether he began at the top or at the bottom.

"In one of Buonaparte's last *lévées* at Paris, he said to the Austrian ambassador, 'tell your master to recollect that there are but two emperors.' The ambiguity was left for meditation."

The Same to The Same.

1807, November 24. Eden Farm.—"I forgot to mention yesterday that it is again the language of ministerial people that the Prince of Brazils will yet go to South America, the Portuguese declaration against us having been made before it was known at Lisbon that M. de Lima had been ordered so harshly from Paris. It is inferred that the embarkation from Portugal will no longer be a matter of choice but of necessity.

"It is supposed that some measures are taking to gain some provisional hold of parts of the Russian fleets.

"A correspondent writes to me 'this neck or nothing system is rather tremendous.'"

The Same to The Same.

1807, November 25. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Eden returned to-day from town. He yesterday called on Mr. Pinkney, who complains of the allegation in the Order in Council that neutral powers had tacitly acquiesced in the Berlin decree; 'it being notorious that Mr. Amstrong represented strongly against us [it] and was answered by the French government that it was not meant to affect the American trade on the high seas, but only to prohibit the admission of British and British Colonial produce into French ports.' That answer was, I believe, published and printed in the American States, and reprinted here. Mr. Pinkney was low, and seemingly in a state of agitation. He said that America was also on bad terms with France; that he had no doubt the non-importation [act] would be immediately enforced against England.

"It is (I believe) true that Starhemberg has reeeived despatehes hostile to us.

"The revival of the history of Don Carlos in Spain is the prologue to the fall of another dynasty; and the House of Braganza seems to have fallen also."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1807, November 26. Eden Farm.—"I understood that the authentieity of the Spanish proelamation (parts of which though shoeking are eloquent) is eonfirmed by other aeeounts reeeived by Government from Paris; and no doubt was entertained there that the Prinee of Asturias would share the fate of Don Carlos. His trial was expeeted to eommenee on the 2nd of this month.

"It is a eo-ineidence that Don Carlos also was 23 years of age. Brantome said of him '*L'on disoit qu'il avoit voulu faire mourir son père; car cela se disoit pour lors en notre cour de France: mais c'étoit en risée.*'

"I do not know whether you have the paper ealled the *Statesman*? In the enelosed paragraph there are some forcible reasonings."

The Same to The Same.

1807, November 28. Eden Farm.—"This will be my last bulletin to Boconnoe. I happen to know that offieial adviees are reeeived that the Russian squadron, seven ships of the line, is in the Tagus: a frigate of ours was fired upon from the batteries. The Portuguese have nine ships of the line. Sir Sydney Smith is sent with twelve ships, but there was uneasiness approaehing to consternation in the Cabinet on learning that the Russian squadron had got in; and in truth the measures of 'the vigorous Government' have in this affair been inexplieably late.

"It is not yet known how the Russians contrived to make a move so well-timed for themselves, or whether it was the effeet of mere aeeident. It is apprehended that a Freneh threat of military exeeution will prevent any of the Portuguese ships from being permitted to eome away, even if the Prinee should have the eourage to wish to go to the Brazils.

"As late as yesterday evening people were as puzzled in London whether to believe or disbelieve the Spanish story. If it be an English humbug, or a French mystifieation, it has at least the merit of being well invented.

"It seems to be settled that Parliament is to meet on the 21st January. I think that we shall resettle here till that day, after an excursion of ten or twelve days whieh we must make at the end of next week.

"*Florus L. 3. c. b., Bellum Piraticum. 'Interim dum populus Romanus per diversa terrarum distractus est, Cilices invaserant maria, sublatisque commerciis, rupto fœdere generis*

humani, sic maria bello quasi tempestate præcluserant.' I hope that we are not typified by the Cilicians.

"You mentioned the danger of teaching the Continent to provide its own manufactures. The *Moniteur* of the 25th September, 1806, says, '*La prohibition des marchandises étrangères de cotes que vient d'ordonner le Gouvernement ne contribuera pas peu à nous faire obtenir le resultat si désirable de fabriquer nous-memes la totalité des articles dont nous avons besoin.*' We certainly seem to be acting in unison with our enemy on the whole of this commercial question.

"Mr. Broderic is to go to the Treasury in the place of Mr. Ryder; and Lord Glenbervie gets the sole possession of his old office, but with the salary reduced to one-half.

"Souza told Lord Henley that he had not received any communication of the intentions of the Prince of Brazil."

The Same to The Same.

1807, December 1. Eden Farm.—"The Cornish bag arrived so late on Saturday that I did not receive yours of Thursday till Sunday. The fine weather of which you boast must have suffered a great change. Here at least we have had snow 'and skating.'

"The very unfavourable turn of affairs on the Continent is going from bad to worse. I am told that accounts are received of a treaty signed by the three Imperial Courts for the partition of Turkey; and that those courts are now engaged to each other by articles of defensive and offensive alliance."

Private.—"Mr. Vansittart writes to me 'that the ministry is under uneasiness respecting Ireland, though Sir Arthur Wellesley writes that the south is more quiet than it was some time ago.'

"The orders in Council, for our co-operation with our enemy in the system of general blockade, multiply so rapidly that I cannot yet find time to consider them; and I only know that the acknowledged necessity of so many explanations proves, at least, that the first measure was ill-considered.

"I have reason to believe that Lord Minto is not only encouraged but solicited by the Directors to remain in India.

"I am told that the Duke of Portland's complaint has returned, and that the necessity of another operation is feared.

"Lord Sidmouth is still unable to bear any exertion.

"Mr. Bond's friends assure me that his resignation was occasioned solely by an extreme nervousness, which once before affected his mind.

"I have a letter from a person not ill-disposed towards the present ministry, and yet he concludes with the following odd phrase. 'Perhaps, after all, if a Cabinet from St. Luke's Hospital would be mad enough to take charge of public affairs, they might be better directed.'"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, December 1. Cleveland Square.—"The post of to-day has brought me the enclosed letter from G. Ponsonby; my first observation upon which is that it is not correct to refer to my *wish* for him to *take the lead* in the House of Commons, You will recollect that I told you of my having pressed upon his consideration at a dinner at Lord Howick's, the importance of *his having a seat in Parliament*, which was the only thing then in question; most undoubtedly I did also state to him as an inducement to his coming then into Parliament, that his being a member and accustoming the House to see him take an active part, would facilitate the giving him the lead in case of Lord Grey's death; and I told him that in my opinion he would in such a case be the properest man. I still retain the same opinion, and so does Elliot, though we both admit that there would be some difficulties; but this mode, difficult as it may be, still seems to me the best solution, as any other course, or the total abandonment of any choice, would in my mind operate a complete dissolution of Opposition. Elliot tells me—*but quite in confidence*—that the Duke of B[edford] will offer the seat first to Lord R. Spencer, but that it is almost certain Lord R. will decline, and that G. Ponsonby will then be chosen. I shall not write to G. Ponsonby till I hear from you. My idea would be that I should say that it would undoubtedly give me great pleasure to see that the mass of Opposition and of our friends should concur in wishing him to take the lead, and that I had stated to you his readiness to do whatever was desired; but that the opinion which I had expressed was only that of a single individual, and that a very general concurrence must be had before any decisive measure could be adopted on so important a subject. Be so good as to tell me what you think of this answer, and return me his letter.

"As to tithes you mistake me if you suppose me to have any wish of shrinking from the question, if it is brought on; but I have no great expectation of any real good short of the entire conciliation of the Catholics, and I do not believe any thing less will save Ireland; if therefore we *brought forward* any motion, though we can carry none, I had rather bring forward the whole than what I think an insufficient part; but I speak, as you know, as one of the spectators, and not as one of the actors, and I have no doubt that your decision will be the best upon the occasion, whatever it be.

"Great rumours of the King making up to Lord Sidmouth; if so, surely the Primate or Canning or both have pressed the subject of Ireland, and have fretted him by so doing. Lord Stafford does not buy for Lord Gower."

Postscript.—"Elliot says Lord Holland has written to beg Lord Howick to come up; and Tierney has sent the letter you wrote to him to Lord Howick—he will hardly come before the meeting."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1807, December 5. Roehampton.—"We are just setting off for Blenheim, and shall return to this place on Saturday next, and on Tuesday, 15th, resettle at Eden Farm.

"Great events arrive so rapidly that I cannot attempt to write about them. They seem to be regarded by the mass of our countrymen with an indifference approaching to stupor; and the only point of anxiety on the Russian declaration is the party question; whether, on the other hand, it bears with crimination on the late Government for not having given (which was impossible) a continental diversion after the battle of Jena; or whether, on the one hand, it bears heavily on the Danish expedition as unprovoked, unprincipled, unnecessary, and eventually productive both of the Russian war, and (which will infallibly happen) of rendering Zeeland in the result a greater thorn and annoyance to us than it could have been if we had pursued a different conduct. We shall be told, however, that this revival of the armed neutrality was settled at Tilsit, that Sweden and Copenhagen must have been drawn into it, and therefore that the Danish measure was right.

"I think, however, there are symptoms of a rising opinion in the country that 'all the vigour' makes a dangerous Government; and that 'all the talents' are beginning to be again wanted.

"In the meantime, I hear from the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire that great distress is showing itself.

"I understand from good authority that the King of Sweden is nearly mad.

"The *memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Vendée* (by the Comte de Vauban) are very curious and worth your reading."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1807, December 5. Cleveland Square.—"If you thought ill of the state of things, the Russian declaration of war, and the daily expectation of a similar decision from Austria will not have made the prospect more cheerful. The hopes of our foreign negotiations are now confined to Sardinia, to which place Hill is gone as minister, and Moore is said to have carried thither all the troops from Sicily except 7,000 men, who are however ultimately to evacuate it. The alleged reason for this is that the Sicilians will not endure us because of our support of their King whom they mean to get rid of; so with these difficulties we abandon the concern altogether, though I know not that either Sardinia or Malta can be fed except from Sicily or England, as the French always out-negotiate us with the Barbary powers. It is supposed that the declaration of the Prince Regent of Portugal was issued to conciliate Bonaparte; but since the last *Moniteur* that hope is gone from the Regent, and our ministers expect him to sail

under Sir Sydney's protection for the Brazils; still, if Sir Sydney is in the Tagus, and the fear of France surrenders the batteries to French engineers, I do not know how he is to get out again; though undoubtedly he may batter Lisbon, which Bonaparte will probably endure with great philosophy. Before Hood sailed, he landed his flat-bottomed boats again; is he gone to reinforce Sir Sydney, or where is he gone? the naval people say it is not Madeira.

"There has been an assurance from Anstruther that Lord Wellesley has, according to his belief, no intention of coming in at present; and I hear there is a question of Lord Gambier to succeed Mulgrave in case Lord Chatham succeeds to the Duke, who, however, still hangs back from the unpalatable surrender of office.

"I have had a long conversation with Tierney and Holland, and I remain of opinion that the mischief of making *no* choice in the House of Commons is the greatest mischief, and that any choice is better than none. I think Tierney as well as H[olland] would acquiesce in Lord H. P[etty]; and I suppose Ponsonby is, I should almost say must be, out of the question. I am confident the Orders in Council are wrong. Is it not madness, when Bonaparte locks the door, for us to bolt it?"

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1807, December 8. Cleveland Square.—"I have this moment received your letter, and am in no degree surprised at the additional pressure which you feel is thrown upon the situation of the country by the Russian war. If I am in any respect surprised by your letter, it is that I observe that you give me credit for a much more cheerful view of the general condition of things, and for a much more active disposition to mix my friends and myself in them, than I am any ways entitled to. If any exertion is to be made in Parliament, undoubtedly I feel that no time is to be lost in the important choice of a leader in the House of Commons; and I cannot but conclude that to defer or to delay such a choice will, of course, annul the means of any opposition to government in the House of Commons. As far as I am personally concerned this is no object to me who have no intention, in any possible case, of giving an attendance which I have not strength or inclination to pursue; my eagerness therefore on these topics rests entirely upon the interest which I take in public affairs while you are connected with them, and on the deep sense that I have of the immeasurable dangers with which the country is surrounded. You put the question whether any good can be done by embarking in Parliamentary warfare; I am by no means prepared to answer that question in the affirmative; I have great doubts whether, in the present state of the country and of the different political parties in it, much good can be accomplished by those who have bodily strength and eagerness enough to attend Parliament; I have more

doubts than ever upon this subject since I daily see new difficulties, not only in the choice of a leader for the House of Commons, but difficulties as to matters of opinion upon great and important points. Lord Howick has written a letter to Tierney in which he refers Tierney to Whitbread himself for an account of his, Whitbread's, sentiments; Tierney does not show me the letter, but gives me to understand that Whitbread is determined to make a motion for peace, contrary to Lord Howick's opinions, who speaks with praise of Lord Milton's language in Yorkshire; but though Lord Howick seems to agree with us on this point, Lord Holland is very strongly inclined to some measure in Parliament for peace, and however conciliatory he will be found in practice, his opinions in this respect come nearer to Whitbread than to Lord Howick. Lord Howick's letter, as I hear, proceeds to state that, under the disagreeable impression of a difference of sentiment between Whitbread and himself, he should naturally not mix much, unless for the purpose and in the case of Ponsonby's taking the lead in the House of Commons. Tierney and Lord Holland very naturally consider this as a strong reason for preferring Ponsonby, and yet they had both expressed so much hesitation—before they had heard from Lord Howick—that in my last letter to you I concluded from their language that it must be Lord Henry, and could not be Ponsonby. Lord Henry and Tierney had both of them taken up the notion of *our* wishing for Ponsonby; I was obliged therefore to state quite distinctly to them that neither you nor I nor Lord Buckingham had any knowledge of Ponsonby or acquaintance with him; and that my chief motive for naming him at all was in the idea that the Foxites were likely to wish for him, that Lord Howick was immediately connected with him, and that he seemed to have a handiness in the House for the daily business of it; but I said if any such choice was made, it was one that we might acquiesce in, but could not possibly originate, having no knowledge of Ponsonby's general opinions and principles, sufficient to warrant out proposing him; and that, if he should be chosen, there must be much to learn and to arrange for any common consent and participation. I shall repeat this again at Holland House to-day to the Duke of Bedford and Tierney, who are to dine there. Tierney's language is fair enough; he says if the thing can be held together, he will give what help he can, but if it is to be new-moulded, and if there are great differences of opinion, he is too old to begin anew, and will in that case go out of Parliament. I shall not write to Ponsonby till to-morrow, and then only very generally; for I by no means wish you too hastily to decide upon the degree to which it may be worth your while to take an active part. I think that a matter of considerable doubt for you; and if you have seen in me any disposition to make our friends active in some immediate choice, it is only because

without that the whole will crumble away, and leave you no decision to make. If things were not so bad I should lean much to your abstaining system; but my apprehensions for the country are so deeply-rooted, that I know not how to reconcile it to my mind to think it can be right to leave these ministers and these measures to themselves, if it is possible to give the country any help by Parliamentary attendance. Then comes your question as to the good that it is possible to do by any attendance, and I must needs say that I do not think it easy to point out what that good can be, other than the great good of keeping together a large party in Parliament which may be ready to take the chance of any better hopes than the actual moment can supply to us.

"D[urdis] has seen the same friend of Lord W[ellesley]'s that he had seen before, and he assures D. that Lord W. had nothing at present to do with them, and that he would decline everything *unless he can do real good by taking the lead;* this is likely enough to be true. Cook says the Duke of Portland is quite alert again, and that Lord Castlereagh is better.

"Lord Vincent says that less than 15 or 20,000 men cannot give security to Sardinia, which is very vulnerable from the Corsican coast."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1807, December 9. Blenheim.—"I this morning received yours of the 5th, on my return from an early walk to see and admire the waterfall, the venerable oaks, and the cedars, admidst the picturesque effects of icicles, a deep and surrounding snow, and a clear sunshine. I receive at the same time the explanatory analysis of the various and voluminous Orders in Council. The analysis resembles the interpreter in Sheridan's comedy, and is 'the hardest to be understood of the two.' In the meantime Mr. Jefferson's message to the Congress is not calculated to smooth the difficulties to which the execution of those Orders must lead. In the present temper of the United States it seems probable that they will enter into this struggle of 'self-privation,' and will suspend the commerce which we profess to interrupt. Upon the whole we must make up our minds to meet a distressed and discontented body of exporters and manufacturers; and I regret it more particularly, because I am sure that much of this mischief might have been avoided by a system of more sense and less vigour. I really see no reasonable chance of emerging with honour or even with safety from the situation into which we are plunged.

"The Emperor Alexander must be silly and shortsighted. I am told that he issued an order for receiving Caulincourt with every possible mark of honour. You of course recollect that Caulincourt was the prominent agent in the murder of the Duc d' Enghien.

"It is true that Lord Pembroke marries Mademoiselle Woronzoff: it has been announced to this family, and is to be declared in a few days.

"I am told that Whitelocke and his immediate friends are under great anxiety on the subject of the court-martial."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1807, December 9. Cleveland Square.—"Stahremberg dined at Holland House yesterday, so that we had a little conversation on public matters; the ambassador expects almost daily to join his wife at Brussells, and he has invited a negotiation with France and demanded reparation for Copenhagen, to both of which demands he has received a negative from us; but as we have said that we see no present hopes of obtaining the desirable object of peace, S[tahremberg] has written to Paris to ask if they have any to suggest, but he does not expect to receive any.

"The D[uke] of Bedford told Tierney that P[onsonby] was unpopular in Ireland, and that his brother Lord W[illiam] had said that P[onsonby] would not do here; Anstruther attacked Tierney on the same subject and said 'the man is a perfect stranger.' If these objections spread it will become impossible.

"Lord Holland told Tierney that he, Lord Holland, would concede as far as not to incite petitions for peace, but if they came, as he was sure they would, he must support them. Tierney agrees with me that this is a very false and imperfect view of the subject, for, if it is right, why should he not encourage it; if it is as wrong as I think it, and as Lord Howick, Lord Milton and you think it, why should it be supported? T[ierney] suspects Lord Henry Petty will go with Lord Holland on this point. Lord Henry Petty is going to marry Lord Ilchester's sister. I have written a mere general letter to Ponsonby in which I refer to the necessity of general concurrence, state to him that my opinion, though favourable to him, is not entitled to much regard as I cannot attend the business of the House; and thank him in your name as well as mine for the favourable opinion that his letter expresses of us. The Spanish news of the Prince of Asturias being named general of a combined army by Bonaparte, is believed."

Marquis Wellesley to The Same.

1807, December 23.—"Camelford House will be completely evacuated for your use on the 1st of January; I expect that we shall have entirely removed all that belongs to us on Saturday next (26th December). And I should be glad if you would send one of your upper servants to town, for the purpose of looking over the house, and of informing me of anything that may be wanting. I shall apply to Frogatt respecting the time and manner of putting you in possession of the house; I suppose that he will receive your directions.

"I hope you and Lady Grenville are arrived from Cornwall in good health."

SIR J. C. HIPPISLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 1. Mells Park.—"The enclosed letter I received yesterday, from Mr. Clinch, an Irish barrister, some of whose correspondence I have before communicated to your lordship.

"Having met Mr. Dillon, at the funeral of his relation, Colonel Strode, in this neighbourhood, and he having mentioned to me that he should visit your lordship on his way to town on Monday, I shall take this opportunity of conveying to you some papers and a *brochure*.

"You probably may have heard that Lord H. Petty is shortly to be married to Lady Louisa Strangways. Lord Ilchester writes Lady Hippesley that the marriage is to take place immediately after Lord Ilchester's coming of age, which will be on the 28th February."

Postscript.—"I send on also a copy of a letter of Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of Madame D'Albany."

Enclosing.

(1) JAMES BERNARD CLINCH to SIR J. C. HIPPISLEY.

1807, December 22. Usher's Quay, Dublin.—"I ask it as a favour that you will allow me to postpone, until I have collected the items of my defence, the question of my long silence since I received your letter, in which you expressed a desire to be informed of the transaction at Naas. As to this latter particular I can only say that I applied to the best source of intelligence, as I imagined, to no purpose. I had heard the same story from Mr. Edward Hay some weeks before I had yours. I encouraged him to hold his tongue and to investigate the fact, both which things he promised faithfully to accomplish. I have not seen him from that time, except to hear his bitter complaints against myself for having allowed myself to be imposed upon by his *enemies* in writing those *remarks* which were sent to you under cover to Mr. Freeling, and shamefully disfigured round the edges with a blunt instrument.

"I am just returned from a dining party at Keogh's, and I am impatient to acquaint you with a recent business of which I know not a probable solution.* [About four weeks since a letter was dropped at Keogh's signed —— Neville. The writer stated himself to be only two days landed from Liverpool, that he was born in Dublin, was removed to France at six years of age, had regularly passed through the Paris University course, and lastly served under the last King as captain of dragoons. Being a loyalist, he emigrated during the Revolution, and settled in London, entered into marriage and supported his family by

* Extract sent to Lord Hawkesbury, January 4, 1808. (Signed) Grenville.

writing. His earnings he lent to a speculator in the late Buenos Ayres imposition, his friend of course failed, and the creditors of his friend seized upon his all. The object of his application was to entreat Keogh to interfere with some private family or respectable school for his admission as a tutor or assistant. To this letter Keogh answered by an invitation to dinner. The man appeared about sixty years old, of perfectly finished manners; and as far as Keogh, who disclaims all pretensions to literary acquirements, could judge from general observation, of an educated turn. During the time of dinner Keogh detected some contradiction in his narrative which induced him to detain another witness to the conversation. Next morning Neville returned to breakfast and questioned Keogh as to the reputable Catholic schools in and near the city. He returned never more; but in two days from his parting visit, he sent to Keogh a second letter of the following import: 'that he had not stated any thing of truth in his former letter and subsequent conversations except in the single point of his embarrassed circumstances; that understanding, from the late *Insurrection Acts*, that Ireland was placed in an *attitude of warfare*, he had come over to serve the cause, and needed not to dwell on the great advantages to be derived by the people from the instructions of an experienced officer.' Keogh immediately sent his son and a friend with a written message, to be delivered also by word of mouth, and insisting upon all further communication between the parties being cut short, with a strong recommendation to quit this place without delay. The visitors were introduced into the room of the females, and when *he* heard the words of the message, he seemed to feel such sorrow and expressed his feeling so humbly, that young Keogh, though convinced his father's life was at stake, could with difficulty repress his tears. It has since been discovered that this same Neville has memorialled the Duke of [Portland] for remuneration as a captain in Hompesch's regiment, and for having distinguished himself in the Irish battles of 1798. I advised Keogh to show the letters and disclose the whole to Curran, who is his intimate and a privy councillor. It is better that Doctor Troy should not be made acquainted with this fact, it may terrify him into some act of dabbenaggine. I think it possible that a distressed adventurer might seek by all methods to raise money, but Keogh still presses the question, how could any man possibly commit himself in writing on such a subject, unless he had some hopes that he was secured from the usual consequences of such a discovery? In short he sets down Neville for a demi-official villain, who comes to gather *ex-post-facto* proof of the existence of a French party in Ireland. If such has been his mission, his employers would deserve such punishment as ought not to be named.

"I also understood this evening that Mr. James Ryan, the *protégé* of Mr. R. McDonell, is now projecting a new

Catholic petition, from which all Keogh's party is to be excluded. This idiot, on the eve of the last Catholic meeting, advised Lord Fingal not to oppose him, as he would be left in a shameful minority. He entertained, for many days previous, a dozen of subordinate blockheads at his table, and amongst the rest a Catholic barrister of no mean degree for impudence and fatuity. On the day of engagement this superlative James Ryan, this admirable Crichton of politicians (who had had the courage to correspond with Mr. Fox as secretary to a Catholic committee supposed to exist here in Dublin) was left in the very small minority of his legal friend, on the first question; and, on the second, he deserted the barrister, who was forced to cry *no* with his head under the table. I was not in Ireland to enjoy this Catalani solo.

"Doctor Troy informed me some weeks ago that certain letters had appeared in the *Antijacobin*, in which I was abused; the author, Doctor Hales, of Trinity College. My bishop seemed willing to hear something like a promise from me of an answer to those letters. Were I living in a country like yours, I might be tempted to greet Dr. Hales; but here it is not so much against Hales as against martial law and Major Sirr I should be compelled to maintain the controversy. Shall I not be confuted by Hadrian, who has sixteen legions? was an answer worthy of the best times of Greece. A Trinity College *emeritus* in Dublin maintains the point, as your Champion at the Coronation. He first propounds, then invites the arch-traitor to contradict him, (the place being well filled with soldiers) and lastly drinks and bears off the gilt bowl. Westminster Hall, on that day, is not the most suitable hall for disputing the nature of a King's pedigree. Sir Martin Wright or old Rymer would feel the bayonets to be sore points.

"I am persuaded that your Ministry are casting about them for a peace to obtain themselves to be recognised by the new kings. In all conscience you have enjoyed them long enough, but I fancy they will not go off without an epilogue. It is a cardinal point, in all stories of dispossession, that the devil considers it a great affront to be asked to go up the chimney without doing mischief. Unless he is allowed to claw the exorcist, he insists upon his approved and immemorial privilege of disappearing perpendicularly and blowing off the roof and chimnies. I have written this after midnight lest an afterthought of etiquette, or the arrear of excuses delayed should prevent me on cool reflection. If there is indiscretion let my zeal excuse it; if not, let my confidence in you. By zeal I mean a very great desire to please you by worthy means."

Postscript.—"December 23. I wrote the account which is the principal matter of the foregoing, without giving Keogh to understand that I would disclose it to any person. Perhaps I have acted erroneously in mentioning it. At all events

it is more probable that the man Neville was not insane when he made his proposal; and, madness set aside, the very best construction to be put on such a letter would be this, that Neville sought by it to put Keogh in his own power, that he might extort money from him at his pleasure. Still the question returns as before. Supposing that Keogh, a mere stranger, should reject his offer and give up Neville, is it not a most necessary presumption that Neville must have prepared some defence as strong, as his own handwriting would be to convict him?"

(2) Lord Hawkesbury to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

1807, October 22. Whitehall.—"I have had the honour of laying before the King the letter of the Countess of Albany to his Majesty, together with a letter which I received from you at the same time, and upon the same subject.

"I have great satisfaction in informing you that I have received his Majesty's command to acquaint the Countess of Albany, through you, that his Majesty will give directions that the sum of sixteen hundred pounds a year should be paid to her, to commence from the period of the death of the late Cardinal of York, and to be paid in the same manner as the pension to the Cardinal was paid.

"His Majesty has, at the same time, commanded me to express his regret that the demands unavoidably made upon him in consequence of the distressing and calamitous situation of so many of the sovereign houses of Europe so nearly connected with his Majesty, should preclude his Majesty from extending the allowance solicited by the Countess of Albany beyond the sum above stated." *Copy.*

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 1. Eden Farm.—"If you adhere to your intention of going to town on the 14th, you will be fully occupied that evening and the two following days by the first bustles of resettling, and by the various conferences which you must necessarily hold with principal individuals attached to your public line. I shall (most reluctantly) move my colony to Palace Yard on the 16th, and unless I should hear from you that you prefer any other day or hour, I will wait on you upon Sunday the 17th at two o'clock (I presume at Camelford House).

"I have grounds for suspicion that Sir John Moore's arrival with his troops has been occasioned either by some mistake in the orders sent to him, or by his misconstruction of them. The safety of Sicily seems to be risked; and if Sicily should be lost, it would be difficult to maintain and retain Malta. This at least is the opinion of Mr. Elliot, whose information as to both islands is the best and most immediate that can be got. It is true that a plan is pursuing to take Ceuta; which place

is supposed to be feebly guarded by the Spaniards and, it is thought, material for Gibraltar.

"If any inference can be drawn from Randolph's speech, which is a warlike speech made by an *anti*-Gallican, it may be inferred that, in addition to all our other accumulating embarrassments and perils, we shall have the United States in a predicament of extreme ill-humour, if not of actual hostility. It is a silly supposition on the part of those who persuade themselves that a country will not go to war because it is evidently contrary to her interests to go to war. I have not the smallest doubt, and shall some day have occasion to explain such a position, that if your Government had not been undermined and broken down, we should at this hour have been on terms of cordial union with America ; of common cause with Danish Zealand, and of no decided hostility with Russia."

Postscript.—"Lady Grenville's botanical essay, announced to Lady Auckland, has not made its appearance, and we are really anxious to save to her the trouble of setting pen to paper on the small business of our pleasure-walks. If in digging the Dropmore borders, and in clearing off-sets, there should be any superfluity of kelmies and rhododendrons, we have ample space for exhibiting them to good advantage ; and I would send for them any where, and form them into a Dropmore border. But we have already made a beginning in that line, and my gardener is industrious enough to extend it. We can therefore well wait ; and, in the meantime, I have provided some consolation by making a rose-hedge by the side of a very handsome walk of about a quarter of a mile."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 3. Stowe.—"I have deferred answering your last letter, not having felt quite prepared to decide as clearly as you appeared to have done, on the subject of the Order in Council ; for although I saw clearly the grounds on which you had formed your opinion, yet it was not quite so clear to me but that the orders issued by Bonaparte were like many others of the same description, a menace, which might be disconcerted by a modified exercise (and modified it has been towards Portugal and Russia) of that proclamation. On that measure therefore my mind was not made up, and I wanted the information on which I might be able to judge. The rejoinder, however, of Bonaparte dated from Milan has removed every doubt ; for it is now beyond a doubt the intention of Bonaparte to close by force all the Continental ports against us, and from that moment, it is certainly our policy to facilitate, as far as is possible for us to do with safety, the intercourse of neutrals for the purpose of keeping up our exports ; and most certainly his project could not be complete, but for our co-operation in blocking by sea what he blocks by land.

"But even this measure, great and important as I admit it to be, sinks in comparison with what in my mind presses

so immediately ; I mean the state of Ireland. I am too much struck with that subject to look to any other, and my reluctance to attend Parliament increases in proportion to my sense, that no good is to be done there ; though at the same time I fear that you carry much too far upon your own principles, and certainly too far for mine, the non-resistance to passive obedience of leaving the blind King and his blinder Ministers to all the fanatic bigotry, and all the imbecility that has brought us to the verge of ruin. I most certainly wish a change of Government, and think it a duty to use every means to *force* it out of the hands of these Ministers ; whether that can be done by Parliament I do not so clearly know, but I am sure it is a duty to expose and condemn measures so mischievous. If you ask me whether I wish you replaced in Government, I answer as distinctly, that I cannot wish you so ill, for in my conscience I believe the game *irreparably* and *irrecoverably ruined* both in our exterior objects, and in our more immediate, and most interior points of Government.

"I speak from information, when I tell you that I am satisfied that a most extensive, perhaps a general explosion may hourly be expected in Ireland; and that nothing now will prevent it but concession, much beyond that proposed last year, and perhaps going further than even I could easily be brought to entertain. I am equally confident that the half measures now in contemplation will (even if they are not ultimately abandoned by the K[ing's] servants as I believe they will) be more mischievous, than the attempt to coerce by force immediately ; but every hour increases the disaffection, and the strength of those who are endeavouring to urge, and to arm, every peasant against us, while the real Government of Ireland (I do not speak of the D[uke] of Richmond and of Arthur Wellesley) are inflaming and stinging them to madness.

"It is *certain* that Junot and his army were expected in the south-west of Ireland about Christmas Day; and it is only to Providence that we are indebted for that deliverance. Our Ministers and Lord Strangford had given up all hopes of the Portugese emigration, which took place without the least knowledge on his L[ordship's] part, of that intention. But had the P[rince] of Brazil from any motive deferred that resolution, Junot would have found the means from the Brazil ships, all victualled and watered, to have embarked 25,000 French and Spanish troops under the protection of the Portugese 9, and the Russian 7 ships forming a force of 16 sail, sufficient to have forced Sir S. Smith's 9 ships from their blockade ; and in that case we should have heard of that event, and of Junot's appearance in Bantry Bay, at the same moment. He might then have burnt the fleet, for which he would not have cared a farthing ; and if the peasants had risen, as I am persuaded they are ready to do, all our

power would not have driven him out. So much for the foresight of our Government, which is still further illustrated by the arrival at Gibraltar of General Moore's army on the 6th December, being seven days after Junot's force was in Lisbon.

"D[octor] Moylan writes to me to complain bitterly of the articles inserted in the Government papers of a visit of two days to Bulstrode, and of a correspondence with the D[uke] of Portland on a Papal Bill, all which are utterly void of any foundation; and are inserted for the purpose of making him an object of suspicion, and of reviving in Ireland the cry of 'no popery' as against the Catholic bishops, and of reviving it in England as against the body at large, as acting under the Papal and French influence. He has not seen or written to the D[uke] of P[ortland] for above two years.

"With these impressions of immediate and inevitable ruin, I am but little tempted to attend Parliament except for the object which you deprecate, of raising the indignation of the country against such insanity, and such profligate neglect. I shall, however, be in town in the course of ten days, after my French party leaves me (on the 16th) and I shall then be better able to judge whether it is worth my while to cross the pavement into the House of Lords for the discussions that will then be going on."

Lord Grenville to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

1808, January 4. Dropmore.—"I do not know what your correspondent's object could be in mentioning to you the facts contained in the letter which you have sent to me, and which I received yesterday; but it appeared to me that I could not, consistently with my duty, be in possession of those facts without communicating them to the Government.

"I have therefore this day sent to Lord Hawkesbury the letter and extract of which I herewith enclose you copies.

"It is always unpleasant to be mixed at all in such matters; and you will I am sure excuse my saying freely that I cannot help wishing that you had yourself taken the step to which the communication you have made to me has compelled me; nor can one avoid observing that, if Mr. Keogh entertained any suspicion that the business was connected with any plan to entrap him, the most obvious mode of defeating any such purpose was that of an immediate communication of the whole to the Government of Ireland." *Copy.*

Private. Francis Magan to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 5. Usher's Island, Dublin.—"The same motive which led me to write to your lordship but a few days ago, induces me again to trouble you before I have had the honour of receiving an answer to my letter, to mention the circumstances that have since occurred.

"Lord Fingall within the last two days, although the requisition had not been sent in, intimated a desire to meet and converse with a certain description of Catholics in town this day. Some of the most respectable of the body, about thirty in number, assembled accordingly, when his lordship stated his object in calling them together to be, to hear their sentiments upon the propriety of presenting a petition to Parliament the ensuing session, on behalf of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

"But one sentiment prevailed; they were unanimously of opinion that a petition should be laid upon the table, as early in the session as possible. It was thrown out however, and seemed to be acquiesced in very generally, I might perhaps say unanimously, that being laid upon the table, it might be left to our friends to move to have it taken into consideration, at their discretion. It was asked whether your lordship's opinion was known upon the subject; the answer was of course that it was not, and from the indelicacy there would be in soliciting that opinion under the circumstances, it was not to be expected that it could be known.

"They conceived that petition should be presented, a copy of which was transmitted to Mr. Grattan last year, unless the usage of Parliament should make it necessary to frame a new one, from the circumstance of its having been printed and published; which, it was suggested, was contrary to the rules of the House. The idea certainly was mentioned of having a petition from each of the counties; but from the situation of some parts of the country, it was thought it might be more practical that there should be but one from the whole kingdom. However, that will be again taken into consideration and finally decided on at the general meeting which is fixed for Wednesday, the 20th instant.

"I have thus hastily sketched the proceedings of this day, under the impression that in the present state of things, it is of considerable moment that your lordship should know what has been done as soon as possible, which I trust will be my apology for trespassing upon your time. I should otherwise have requested Mr. Wickham to make the communication to your lordship."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 6th. [London.]—"I have just heard (in a way that I can entirely rely upon it, although I must not describe it by letter) that a proposition for peace did arrive; has been entertained by the Cabinet, and will probably lead to the conclusion of peace. This is very opportune for the Ministers, as I hear that nothing can describe their general state of panic and confusion; but what will you say when I tell you that Sicily *is now* evacuated before this proposition came; and what will you say when I

tell you that I suspect it is in contemplation to give up Gibraltar ?

"Lord Chatham is said to have refused the reversion of the Duke of Portland's office, and I have reason to think that Lord Hawkesbury has likewise declined it."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 8. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Fisher will probably have sent to you a state of the surplus for the 5th January quarter—24,000*l*. I understand that the 'complement' to the Lady-Day Quarter ought to be about 1,600,000*l*. and I do not think it likely to produce above half of that amount, although it is a quarter exempt from many of the principal charges.

"I have some reason to believe that a sort of *pourparler* on the subject of pacification is going forwards; that the Emperor of Austria, unwilling to quarrel with us, offered a mediation; that we answered that we previously wished to know the general basis; that, in communication with France, he replied that plenipoteniaries should first be named.

"I should have mentioned that, in his first communication, there were expressions relative to the freedom of the seas.

"You probably know that the Queen of Etruria is to become Queen of Portugal; and that Etruria is to be annexed to Italy.

"I have received from the Council Office a printed copy of the Orders of the 11th November, with the explanatory orders, instructions, further instructions, analysis, tables, in the form of a pamphlet.

"Surely there is something both impudent and foolish in the attempt to originate at Glasgow the machinery of addresses on our brilliant and successfal energy, at the close of a year unexampled in its course of public calamities.

"We have sent a cart to Palace Yard to-day for the rhododendrons; and Lady Auckland was quite shocked to hear that the cargo was so bounteous. She will write to express her obligations as soon as the packages shall have arrived.

"Lady Grenville seldom goes too near to the fire. Two children in cottages within a mile of this place have been burnt to death this week, and merely by sparks flying from the fire.

"Mr. Vansittart, who is here, tells me that Lord Sidmouth is so imperfectly recovered from the effects of his fall, that he is still unable to bear any kind of exertion."

Sir J. C. Hippisley to The Same.

1808, January 8. Stow Easton House.—"I regret extremely that the communication of Mr. Clinch's letter should have occasioned so much dissatisfaction in your mind. Wishing to apprize you at the moment, of my intention to forward the packet by Mr. Dillon, without much consideration I

put Mr. Clinch's letter in the envelope, merely as intimating an occurrence of some singularity at least, though Mr. Clinch had himself hesitated whether he was correct in making the communication to me. Your observation respecting Mr. Keogh is certainly very just; but I fear my correspondent may be implicated in a personal quarrel with him, in which I may come in for my share. I had written to Mr. Clinch to make enquiry concerning a proceeding at Naas, which I had before communicated to you on the authority of Dr. Milner when in Ireland, namely, that of "two magistrates [*illegible*] swearing the [*illegible*] of Naas not to confederate with the Prince of Wales against the Duke of York. Dr. Moylan made me a visit from Bath some time afterwards, and assured me that he was at Naas, with Dr. Milner, when this circumstance was stated on authority which they both credited. It was my intention, if I had received further confirmation of the fact, to have communicated it to Government.

"With respect to the contents of my last communication to you I fear some further apology is but too necessary, as nothing is more foreign from my intention than to be officiously troublesome. You may think I have attached too much importance to the objects therein stated, yet I am persuaded that every enquiry will but too much justify the apprehensions I had entertained for the security of our Oriental territories.

"Two days since I dined with Lord Pembroke at Bath, with whom I had formerly been much on the Continent, and who, I knew, had much valuable information connected with these objects. He observed that it would be improper, consistently with his late mission, to disclose to me all he knew on that subject, but he had no hesitation in saying that my apprehensions were well founded; and, *at this moment*, that Napoleon was acting in the spirit of them. He did not think, indeed he said he was confident, that it was *not* Napoleon's intentions to take the Russians with him across the Indus, but to leave them in Turkey; and that though the provinces near the mouth of the Danube were to have been wholly evacuated by the troops in a given time after the last treaty, he observed that these had accumulated since to *three times this number*, as when the treaty was signed.

"I cannot forbear mentioning to you this part of our conversation, though perhaps I am incorrect in using Lord Pembroke's name on this occasion. The fact however appears too important not to mention in corroboration of what I had before stated.

"I will not trouble you further than to repeat my regrets, and to assure you this [that] if you have felt embarrassment on the occasion, I have suffered a greater degree of painful sensation than I can express."

Enclosing.

H. Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, M.P.

1808, January 1. Cork.—"You must, I am confident, be very much surprised to read in the *Sun* of the 21st last month and other London papers, that I had submitted to the Duke of Portland documents concerning a Papal Bull addressed to the Roman Catholics prelates of this kingdom, engaging them to use their influence with the people of their persuasion in favour of Bonaparte's views and objects; and that said Bull was accompanied by another paper from the French ruler, holding out as a motive for their compliance, the ascendancy of the Catholic religion in their country. As soon as I read this notorious abominable falsehood, I thought it incumbent on me to have it contradicted as soon as possible; and therefore on the 27th of the month, I enclosed a paper of that purport to the Marquis of Buckingham, and requested his lordship would have the goodness to have it inserted in the *Sun* and other London papers; and I got it inserted in all the newspapers of this city. Whoever fabricated this falsehood had certainly in view the publishing it; when not long since, they had it inserted in the said newspapers that I had been at Bulstrode on Catholic affairs with the Duke of Portland at the time I was here in Cork; nor have I had the honour of seeing his Grace, or any communication whatever with him, these five years past. If this be a ministerial manœuvre to continue *the cry of no popery*, as there is great grounds to apprehend it is, what must we think of such Ministers who resort to such infamous means to impose on his Majesty and on the public, and to foment rancorous divisions among his Majesty's subjects in those kingdoms?

"If these falsehoods were not published under the sanction of Ministers, would it not be right in them to have them contradicted?"

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 9th. Cleveland Square.—"I return you your letter from Lord Grey which is in general pretty much what I expected him to say, except that his language about Copenhagen is more hostile to the measure than we had heard that he was; I attribute this chiefly to the strong determination which Tierney tells me that Whitbread has taken to make immediate war upon Ministers on that subject. Sheridan has passed a week with Whitbread, and what I hear from that quarter does not seem very promising, but the best must be made of it that can. In the meantime I do not see or admit the inconsistency which Lord Grey describes in a moderated and rare attendance in the Lords and Commons, after so much earnestness to find a leader in the Commons. The answer to this is that, if no such leader had been named, there would

have been no party whose movements could have been either restrained or accelerated ; but in truth Lord Grey's expressions on this subject must be taken as marking only the reluctance which he has annually expressed to leave his fire-side and family, and which becomes still more inconvenient to him on account of the inadequacy of his present income to support his present rank.

"I have heard nothing more of peace, but I continue to depend upon the accuracy of the information which I have given you, although it has not yet reached the knowledge of the public. Ministers are still out of humour about Moore's return, although they dare not attack him as he had their order for doing so ; their expedition under Spencer is still in great part subject to the uncertainty of the winds, though near 30 transports have been heard of. The P[rince] lives entirely alone, and some of his nearest friends are beginning to be unaffectedly solicitous about the general state in which he appears to be both in body and mind.

" Lady Chatham is much disordered in her senses, and that circumstance is said to have confirmed Lord Chatham in his determination not to succeed to Duke of Portland ; Lord Hawkesbury likewise declining, it is now thought that for their common interest the best thing is for the Duke of Portland to keep it ; and I am thoroughly persuaded he never meant to resign it.

" The Stowe invasion begins on Monday, and does not end till Saturday. The house of Bourbon are each of them to plant, with their own French paws, trees that are to grow round the Round House in the park, to eternise the fame of their visit."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1808, January 10. Eden Farm.—" I have had occasion to see an Exchequer paper, by the help of which we may have some general and conjectural notion of the financial circumstances of the current year.

" The surplus of the Christmas quarter will be stated at 115,000*l.* and not at 24,000*l.* as at first supposed—still I believe that a surplus of 1,600,000*l.* is wanted for the Lady Day quarter.

" The war taxes, property tax, and customs and excise war taxes for the several years ending January 5th, produced as follows :—

	War taxes.	*Property tax.*	*Customs and Excise War taxes.*
1806.	13,171,000*l.*	4,406,000*l.*	8,765,000*l.*
1807.	14,821,000*l.*	5,983,000*l.*	8,838,000*l.*
1808.	18,827,000*l.*	9,850,000*l.*	8,977,000*l.*

" With respect to the war taxes you will recollect that in the last year's budget, they were taken for the year ending 5th April next at 21,000,000*l.*

"The present quarter of the property tax will probably be higher (about a million) than the correspondent quarter of 1807. But upon the whole I do not believe that the war taxes deficiency will remain less than 1,200,000*l.* Nor do I think that the deficiency of the consolidated surplus will be less than 800,000*l.* **Add* for the Danish prize money, which the public purse will be required to pay, at least 1,000,000*l.* *Add the diminution of revenue occasioned by the last year's loan of* 12 *millions at* 10 *per cent.*, 1,200,000*l.* *Add*, at a most moderate computation, the charge of all these expensive expeditions, and the transport service, 2,800,000*l.* *Add* arrears of subsidies, unforeseen exigences, 1,000,000*l.* *Add* the twelve millions, on the scale which formed the foundation of your finance plan. The total to be raised will be 20,000,000*l.* I am told (and on no bad authority) that it is in contemplation to recur to the old mode, and to raise the whole, whatever it may be, more or less, by loans and [taxes]."

"11th; on revising the above, I think that the sums stated in the sentence* underlined were provided for by your plan. But on the other hand a considerable change is likely to be incurred by the increased expenses of the army; and Mr. Vansittart, who is here, and with whom I have talked on the several points of my statement, agrees with me that the estimate may 'fairly' be taken at 20 millions; besides unforeseen emergencies, such as the enormous expense which would attend a quarrel with America; the defalcation of revenue by the suspension of commerce and manufactures, which must eventually affect excise, customs, stamps, incidents, war and other taxes."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 11. Eden Farm.—"After a long search I have found the list which I took on the occasion of our last and greatest division. Have the goodness not to mislay it, as I have not copied it, and it may be as well to destroy the other list which I received yesterday and return. You will see on looking into it that it has many *errata*, and some which would be very awkward.

"There is so much to be done upon this list, that I fear the result will fall short merely from the want of time. I should like to go through it with you, and we can perhaps find half an hour in the evening of Monday; unless I hear to the contrary I will suppose that you dine that day at six. I have just written to Lord Grey that I will call upon him on Monday.

"Lord Albemarle, Lord King, and Lord St. John could severally have been of use as to the lists. Your secretary can dispose, in the course of to-morrow, of several of the details which are matters of course. Mr. Fremantle, if in town, can assist as to others; or Mr. Charles Wynne; Mr. Eden

also is in Palace Yard or between Westminster and Roehampton, and with very little instruction could materially assist; and there are many names which must be referred to Lord Grey. I again fear that we are running too near as to time."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1808, January 18.] Palace Yard.—"I have sent for the pamphlet respecting the Orders in Council. It would be material if we could find some proper mode of bringing that business to a full and earnest discussion. It branches into all the more important interests external and internal; and we have many advantages in it. I heard accidentally that in the House of Commons it is meant to-day to give way to Mr. Horner's motion; I do not know what that motion is.

"I have the pleasure to learn from all sides and descriptions that Mr. Eden did solidly well in an incidental statement of the American intercourse question. It is a curious question. Heretofore we were taunted with our concessions to America, and now, in reply to their late measure of non-importation and non-exportation, we are giving to them the renewed exercise of all the privileges of their late treaty. It is absurd too, and will perhaps be glaringly so before the bill can pass. Lord Liverpool, on whom I called to-day, strongly recommended to me an American pamphlet reprinted here, entitled *Letters from a Farmer of Boston*. I have sent for it.

"Mr. Perceval was unlucky yesterday in calling the Danish business a 'heartrendering service.' Lord Castlereagh was not less unlucky in stating that the King's consent to the expedition was obtained on the 19th July. That date evinces the anachronism stated by my son, and will give force to the Duke of Norfolk's motion.

"Lord Liverpool seemed to fear, and probably from authority, that the King of Sweden may be intimidated into the confederacy.

"I am assured that Buonaparte has actually ordered the destruction of the Portuguese vineyards in favour of Bourdeaux."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, January 24. Palace Yard.—"I feel disposed, if you think it proper, to give notice on Wednesday, that I mean to submit to the House on a very early day some considerations respecting the Orders in Council, as essentially affecting the commercial and political interests of the empire. I think that I have more to say against both the principles and expediency of those orders than can easily be answered; and they are so inseparably connected with the great objects of our American negotiation which I am desirous to explain,

and also with the order of the 7th January, 1806, in the issuing of which I had some share of responsibility, that I feel myself personally called upon. The whole subject is most urgent as well as most important ; and with your aid and concurrence, we cannot fail to show to the public, if not to the Ministers, that the new orders were ill-conceived, and have a most dangerous and calamitous tendency.

"If you should see the matter in this point of view, I should wish to wait on you, when you may find it convenient, for a quiet conversation."

James McLaurin to Lord Grenville.

1808, January 25. Glasgow.—"The Catholics of Glasgow, though precluded by their humble situation from interfering with politics, yet feeling themselves deeply interested in the welfare of their country, have deputed me to express to you lordship how sincerely they lament, in conjunction with many of their fellow subjects, that his Majesty's government in these awful times is deprived of the great abilitcs and experience of your lordship and of your late colleagues in administration. It is with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration, that they reflect on the grand and salutary measures which were devised under your lordship's administration for the prosperity of the empire, and pursued with the greatest uprightness and economy. They cannot forbear particularly specifying not only the abolition of the slave trade, which alone reflects immortal honour on the Ministry who accomplished it ; but also the noble attempt made by your lordship's administration to remove every odious distinction on the score of religion, and to unite his Majesty's subjects of all persuasions in one firm patriotic band, calculated to ensure the prosperity of the empire, and to repel the presumptuous foe who might dare to invade these happy isles. As men they must feel, when their principles are so frequently calumniated ; but as Christians they chcerfully sacrifice their feelings to the welfare of their country.

"Attached by gratitude as well as by principle to the best of sovereigns and to the best of constitutions, whether within or, in some respects, without the pale of that constitution, they are equally ready to contribute their aid, and to shed their blood in defence of their King and country.

"These, my lord, are the sentiments which animate his Majesty's Catholic subjects in Glasgow, and which they have appointed me to convey to your lordship along with a silver cup, which the right honourable Lord Archibald Hamilton is to be so obliging as to deliver to your lordship, and of which they hope your lordship will do them the honour to accept in testimony of their respect for your lordship's abilities, and of their gratitude to your lordship's exertions towards the security and welfare of the empire."

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1808, January 27. Stowe.—"I have been writing all the morning and must therefore be very short on the subject of Westmeath. I should think it highly inexpedient to offer George at any time for that county, for which he could not permanently sit; and it would be idle to be talking now of what might be fit to be done when he is of age. I wish you therefore to answer Mr. Magan civilly, but vaguely.

"I have been endeavouring to keep Westmeath out of the hands of Government. Lord Longford has written to me, and I have declined any assistance to his brother. Lord Delvin has not writ to me though he is canvassing, which satisfies me that he stands upon Government *politics*, though Pakenham is to have the Government *interest*. I have therefore writ to Lord Delvin to recommend to him to continue to support his father's political views, and to express my regret that I cannot support him on those grounds. A letter from Mr. Sterne Tighe (who was put forward by the Catholics last year) to Newport, has given me the means of writing to him a distinct declaration of my wishes that the county may elect a gentleman who may support the Catholic claims, as set forth in their petition, and my persuasion that this measure is essential to the salvation of the empire, and to the local tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland; and that I have reason to think that my tenantry are disposed to support any independent gentleman on those grounds. I have likewise put other irons in the fire, and I hope, at all events, that if we do not find ourselves strong enough to carry a friend, we may at least gain time by persuading Smith to keep his seat. Lord Moira should write to Lord Granard to keep him disengaged; but I do not like to write to him as he would require me to promise always to support him in the county Longford, for which (though I supported Lord Forbes) I wish to be free.

"I should be very glad that Tighe could be elected, and would assist him in every way; for he would belong to *Newport and to us:* I have therefore directed Box to communicate with him, and if Newport would advise him to stand (supposing always that he has a reasonable chance), I think he might be induced to offer himself. I have written to various Nugents to keep them disengaged.

"I have no idea that the Rochfort squadron is gone to Lisbon; their course, when last left, evidently points to the West Indies, and probably to America. If to the Leeward Islands, Cochrane will have in addition to his two 74's, the three ships from Madeira, namely two 74's and one 64. If to the Chesapeak, Warren has on that station three 74's and one 50. Cochrane might therefore make a battle; but Warren could not. Hood has two 74's at Madeira who might join any of these stations, if he has timely notice; but my idea is, that the French will run to Guadeloupe, land their troops, and

then run for the Chesapeak to bring home their one remaining ship and their two frigatcs.

"I shall be in town at the end of next week; perfectly agreeing with you that nothing is to be done, but very indignant at the ground taken by Government respecting Copenhagen."

Postscript.—"Your correspondent has interest in Westmeath, and you may urge him to support (as I do) the independencc of the county against the present Government and the supporters of their opinions."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, February 9. Palace Yard.—"As you are not likely to be at the Housc to-morrow, I propose (if I do not hear to the contrary) to call on you about eleven o'eloek on *Thursday* morning; five minutes conversation may be very material, both on the Danish business and on the Orders in Council. With respect to the latter it may perhaps be desirable to give notices on Thursday (with some little detail) for additional papers to be moved for on Friday.

Question; as to improving the idea of an address to the King, stating what ought to be the feelings of the country and of Parliament on the obscure, mutilated, and varying documents respecting the Copenhagen bombardment; and requesting his Majesty to take the proper measures for restoring the relations of peace and amity with Denmark. This would be less objectionable than the proposed vote of censure, which will be rejected by a very increasing majority."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, February 15. Palace Yard.]—"The time fixed for proceeding to-day with the evidence is three o'clock; and it is agreed that we are not to sit later than nine."

Private.—"I submit to you that it will be material in attending to the examinations to keep in view the expedieney of grounding on them an address to the King to rescind the Orders in Counеil; sueh an address to be moved on the first open day after the recess; to be stated very fully so as to make the whole consideration generally intelligible; and to be supported by the assemblage of our whole strength; and the same in the House of Commons. That measure will nearly close my Parliamentary campaign, and I shall be glad to retirc to my lawn and library and think as little as possible of the public calamities, which must have their course to a certain extent."

The Same to The Same.

1808, February 16. Palace Yard.—"It is no compliment to you to say that your most powerful spceeh of last night was a complete exposure of the illegality, injustiee, inexpediency, and rashness of the Orders in Council; but the measure,

however culpable and absurd, will be kept alive, if we do not redouble our attacks on it.

"I incline to think (but I submit it entirely to your better judgment) that I might with propriety, and with effect, remind the House that I had stated many apparent illegalities subsisting in the different orders; that I had stated doubts how far the courts of Admiralty are bound to obey such orders (I understand that Sir William Scott answers that question in the affirmative); that I desire to be answered how far the evidence of those several illegalities is admitted or denied; and that, if I am not answered, I will on Thursday se'nnight make a motion on the subject.

"I cannot recollect whether an order can be moved, as a matter of course, for the attendance of the judges on a particular debate.

"If the illegalities be not denied, there must be bills of indemnity, and also bills to legalise the provisions of the orders; and the latter must pass before the House of Commons bill imposing the duties can go forwards. I take for granted that you have got the printed copy of that bill; it contains many most attackable clauses.

"Lord Sidmouth has called on me to show the draft of his proposed motion. It is an address to represent—'that it is important to the dignity and character of the country that no measure should be taken that may have the effect of preventing or putting to hazard the eventual possibility of making restitution of the Danish ships, conformably to the spirit of the declarations,' and so forth.

"Lord St. Vincent is to speak on the impropriety of employing those ships in preference to better vessels of our own."

Postscript.—"I was accurate yesterday when I mentioned to you that the acquiescence is falsely asserted in the orders; you will find it in the clause about certificates of origin."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, February 12.] Palace Yard.—"I hear through the Post Office that a Gottenburg mail is arrived; that a person is come from the King of Sweden to press for men, money, and arms; that the Russians continue to advance in Finland where there has been a battle with great loss on both sides; that French troops are crossing the Belts into Zealand, and expected to proceed into Sweden; and the King of Denmark died on the 13th.

"The ministerial language of the day as to America is that on the whole the last accounts are good, and that there will not be any war. But it is not denied that the intercourse must remain suspended; and consequently that the merchants and manufacturers must suffer, and consequently the revenue.

"It is very material that we should have some adjusted

plan of proceeding. If we pursue the examinations well and attentively their result would probably lead to an address to the King so worded, on authenticated statements, as to tend to draw the public attention very materially."

Private.—"Mr. Eden has seen Mr. Pinkney, who privately thinks that the discussions must end in war; and has no account in any of his letters of the instruction which Mr. Monroe is to bring to him.

"You will see in the papers the President's message on the Orders in Council."

5 *o'clock* p.m.—"I return your papers with thanks, and will hope to be at Camelford House at half-past two to-morrow.

"I have been told that the ministers will avail themselves of the obscure and contradictory expressions in the orders, to give a more favourable construction respecting the American trade than some of the expressions imply.

"The *cotton* clauses are so perplexed and involved that I really have lost my understanding in them.

"With respect to the sugar question I conceive that Mr. Brougham is right. Foreign colonial produce cannot come or be imported here on pain of forfeiture except in vessels of the country producing them, or in British ships (to be reported for exportation as the case may be).

"By the 43 George III c. 26, *goods specified in an Order of Council* may be brought in neutral ships from *any port or place not* in amity with His Majesty.

"But by the Order in Council the goods in question can be brought only from places which *are* in amity with His Majesty.

"With respect to the close of the Order of the 18th, it certainly cannot authorise or protect an illegal importation.

"The documents required by our laws which most resemble certificates of origin are the certificates of the produce of colonial goods required to exempt them from paying the foreign duty.

"I have discovered a curious and most positive illegality by the 7 George III ch., 45, s. 10. The Isle of Man is restricted from the exportations which the Orders in Council legalize.

"I understand too that Guernsey and Jersey cannot legally export tobacco, sugar, or other articles the produce of Asia, Africa, or America.

"I had marked that inaccuracy in Baring's book as to Sweden, in order to mention it to him; but I do not know with certainty whether America is to be permitted to carry colonial produce to the Swedish ports."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, February 20. Palace Yard.—"I yesterday moved the printing of the American Intercourse Bill, and the second reading was fixed for Tuesday next, prior to the other debate.

" I have ascertained the accuracy of the Isle of Man objection beyond all doubt ; and there is another clear illegality on the same subject in the 26 George III c. 37, s. 3. I submit to you that it would be desirable to resolve that breach of a statute ; and also, as a second resolution, the breach of the Law of Nations in warning ' *and directing* the ships so warned to proceed to England '; that outrage has nothing to do with the pretended doctrine of retaliation.

" On these two illegalities so established (and I have reason to believe that the first will be acknowledged) you could ground a third resolution respecting the bad exercise of an assumed prorogation, and the true extent of that prorogation.

" The Tax Bill is already in distress. Mr. Perceval admits several of the objections started on Thursday night, and means to new-model the Bill, and to introduce some new provisions which (from what I have heard of them) will not mend the matter."

Private.—" I saw Mr. Pinkney to-day. I could not with propriety enter into many particulars with him. He seems to expect to be ordered to go to some mission on the Continent, and believe that there will be a war, or something very nearly approaching to it."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, February 19. Palace Yard.]—" I called twice on you to-day, wishing for five minutes conversation on many points, and particularly on the American message for which Mr. Eden moved yesterday. He established clearly, and I believe it is no longer disputed, that the expression in the speech as to the refusal to ratify is utterly incorrect ; and in fact that the treaty is in a course of ratification by the senate, if other obstacles should not interfere. The very material considerations resulting from that circumstance are such, that it would be very desirable to remove the discussion into our House. Lord Holland is very well disposed to move it ; but it would come with more force and effect if you would think proper to take it up. The point is, ' the ratification being still dependent, the Orders in Council were issued without notice ; and those Orders are direct and violent infractions of the 8th, 9th and 10th articles of our depending treaty.' This point may be stated to the fullest conviction ; and I have private and confidential reasons for believing that the Ministers who issued the Orders had never taken the precaution to examine or even to look into the treaty. The consequence of their being so inconsiderate may eventually make the whole difference between peace and war."

The Same to The Same.

1808, February 22. Palace Yard.—" I received yours, and have put your draft of resolutions into the hands of

Lord Carlisle. He is very earnest, but perhaps in the actual state of his constitution, the enterprise is somewhat more than his strength can cope with.

"I send four Bills, merely to take the chance of their accompanying you in your chaise. I moved to-day that the Bill for continuing your treaty shall be read a second time to-morrow, when I hope to be able to point out some results strongly calculated to increase the difficulties which are pressing on the Orders in Council.

"Lord Hawkesbury did not appear to-day, and we remain without any papers to show that the decrees 'were enforced with increased vigour.' He is to bring those and the other papers to-morrow at half before five."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, February 24. Palace Yard.—"Assuming that you will receive your post letters before you set off from Dropmore to-morrow, I have given directions to the Parliament Office to forward the papers presented yesterday by Lord Hawkesbury, and I have also sent to you a curious account for which I moved some time ago relative to the supplies of the West India Islands.

"I have given Lord Clanricarde's proxy to Lord Carrington's name; he seemed to be unexceptionable for it, and heartily disposed to take it. I already had two proxies.

"Mr. Tierney came to me for an hour this morning, and fully comprehends all the difficulties arising out of the American treaty act. So far as rice and tobacco are in question, those difficulties are removed by the amended Bill; but the principal point remains, and others have been added, particularly by the clause relative to St. Domingo. The course now adopted in the House of Commons must divide the Bill and obviate one objection which we had foreseen; but the progress will be so much slower; and in truth this very precipitate measure wants only time and a little wholesome delay to be understood and exploded.

"One short way of describing the Bill is that it is a Bill to induce all neutral nations to withdraw all trade whatever from our ports, and to transfer it to Sweden, Sardinia, and Sicily, which are open, and do not oppose any vexations or taxes.

"Your Algiers case, which I return, is quite perfect, and most strictly fair. The Chancellor means to argue that the certificates of origin are to be construed *quo animo*? but that is not the tenor or purport of the decree.

"The Prince has given Lord Lake's office to Mr. Sheridan, and with a very handsome letter.

"Exclusive of the illiberal idea of depriving a nation of medicine (bark), it is a curious circumstance that this same *cortex peruvianus* can come to us only from the port of an enemy.

"I have just found in my portfolio the half of a letter which I wrote to you some time about the illegalities; (in your former visit to Dropmore). I suppose that I sent the other half, which must have seemed odd.

"There is a curious incident which will come to light to-morrow before the debate. When Lord Hawkesbury yesterday brought the papers relative to 'the enforcing increased rigour,' he privately requested Lord Grey and me not to move the printing, lest it should expose the sources of intelligence. Lord Lauderdale has discovered them *verbatim* in newspapers of October. You should come to-morrow, if you can, *before* five."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, March 1–6. Palace Yard.]—"I will not fail to look into the entries mentioned in your letter, and will make a proper extract for your use. My son George, who is a good assistant in such matters, is at present in Dorsetshire at Lord Ilchester's.

"We were aware of the clause at the end of the Bill, and think it likely to come forward to us, if (which I incline to doubt) the Bill itself should come forward. William has found some precedents which make it difficult to refuse a hearing to the merchants; and, in the mean time, some accounts will arrive from America such as either to knock down the whole foolish fabric of the Orders, or to give a pretext for taking it down.

"I will look into the order book, and also into the proceeding which gave rise to the special order respecting tacks.

"I believe that there is to be some conversation to-day on the absurdity of the whole system as now operating on Sweden and Sicily. The Chancellor, whom I saw on Saturday night, seemed to be in a fidget about the legal discussion. I fear that Lord Erskine will draw it into too much length.

"I do not know any news. The royal family will be at the Queen's house to-day till Friday. Lord and Lady Pembroke and Lady Di Herbert are to be presented on Thursday; and at the same time Lord and Lady Craven (*ci-devant* Miss Brunton). I have not heard that Mrs. Heathcot (the ex-columbine) is also coming into the circle; but the Queen says that her drawing-room must now be called the green room."

Postscript.—"You have not genial weather for your excursion; the wind here is full of sharp sand and pins and needles. Lord Melville arrived on Friday, and is talked of for the Admiralty.

"There are accounts that the Rochfort, Toulon, and Carthagena fleets are all afloat for some combined movements in the Mediterranean. It is possible that this may produce some new naval victory to us. It is, I believe, certain that we are to send a large force to Sweden."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1808, March 14. Palace Yard.]—"I send the Tax Bill under a separate cover. I have not had time to bestow more than five or ten minutes upon it. You will find it in many respects vulnerable, even the title seems to be of the 'Tack family.' As to the provisions of such a Bill, the evident absurdity is hardly credible. It is a Bill for imposing a tax on the ships of the United States at a period when they are not permitted to quit their own ports, and when, if they could quit their port, they would of course prefer the ports of Sweden, Sicily, and other countries free from the vexations which we hold out.

"There is to be another petition from Liverpool to-day, but I understand that it is open to the yesterday's objections, which however gave great and visible embarrassment to the Treasury bench.

"The Prince of Wales, whom I met this morning in the streets, told me that Lord Melville is sent for; and Sir Walter Farquhar, who has just called here, tells me that Lord Melville is certainly coming, but that he leaves Lady Melville at Dunira and professes not to intend to stay."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1808, March 15.] Cleveland Square.—"I enclose to you Garlike's correspondence with Canning, which you will return to me when you have read it. It appears that as many as 12 or 13 despatches from Garlike (of a later date than any now produced by Canning) had been received by Lord Grey before he quitted office. I should therefore propose that as soon as Canning has produced and printed his garbled selection, Lord Grey should complain in the House of Lords of the mutilating his correspondence, and should move for the substance and extracts of it down to the period of his quitting office. This debate will afford him the means of speaking likewise from Garlike's authority of the injury which he complains of, if (upon consideration), it is thought advisable to a add Garlike's complaint to the case."

Enclosing 7 letters.

(1) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, February 28. Pall Mall.—"The more I compare the copies and extracts of the despatches from Copenhagen which it is now intended to make public, with those transmitted to Mr. Fox, Lord Grey, and yourself, particularly from October, 1806, to July, 1807, the more have I reason to be alarmed at the extraordinary light in which I shall not fail to appear after that limited publication; not as with respect to any opinion of mine on the inefficiency of the system pursued by the Danish Government; or on the impracticability under it of affording timely assistance to Denmark

in a sudden and pressing emergency, on the risks of which improvident system every despatch I could desire to see published furnishes fresh and ample illustration; but with respect to the assurances and explanations given to me by His Danish Majesty's confidential servants, and reported by me to those of the King.

"On this account, and with the same respectful motives towards you which, on the reading of some of those papers in the House of Commons, first induced me to express how far I thought myself aggrieved, I now take the liberty of renewing the representations I had the honour of making to you yesterday to the same effect; and of urging my most earnest hope, that it may yet be thought expedient to lay the whole of the despatches, between the above mentioned periods, before the House of Commons.

"I deprecate the publicity given to Ministerial papers. It has already had the effect of checking the communications and confidence of foreign Cabinets to His Majesty's Ministers on the Continent; and that at a moment when the usual legitimate sources of information have been nearly altogether withdrawn. It has been amongst the foremost of the causes alleged by the Court of Copenhagen itself, for refusing the eventual concert it was so desirable to establish; and in the present instance will tend to make the personal character of His Majesty's foreign Ministers matter of circumspection and distrust. But I have reason to deprecate still more the object of your motion in the House of Commons on Friday night, because the production of the papers so limited, yet so essentially connected with papers which have not been produced, will as to me, who have thought a fair interpretation of the sentiments of the persons in the Government to which I was sent, improvident and dangerous as their system was, to be a proper part of my duty; and who have claimed as the King's Minister the consideration due to that honourable line of conduct, will, as to me, have the effect of placing me in a dishonourable predicament from which it must be my first endeavour to be extricated. I entertain no unhandsome surmises; I am sure it will be repugnant to your feelings to see me in that predicament. I believe in your wishes to relieve me from it; but this is the predicament to which I have gradually, though unintentionally, been brought; and I do indulge the hope that this application from me, circumstanced as I have been during the last twenty years, and now am, will itself be judged a sufficient reason for granting my request.

"The *Morning Chronicle* having explained your motion to be for the period of November and December, 1806, and of January, 1807, I took with me to Downing Street the numbers of those months only; and extension of dates will of course increase the numbers." *Copy.*

(2) George Canning to Benjamin Garlike.

1808, February 29. Foreign Office.—"I am extremely sorry that you should feel yourself under any difficulty in consequence of the publication to which I have been most reluctantly driven, of those despatches of your's to which I referred on the night of the debate upon Copenhagen. When that reference was first made by me, it did not enter into my contemplation that there could be anything in it in the smallest degree painful or disadvantageous to you; nor do I now find in any thing that you have said or written to me upon the subject, that you complain of any misrepresentation; as assuredly there was none to complain of. But though you do not make this complaint, others have made it so loudly on your behalf, that I should do both you and myself injustice if I did not meet it directly in the only way in which it is to be met.

"This cannot be unexpected to you, for, when I had the honour of seeing you in Bruton Street more than a fortnight ago, I told you that if the assertions of misrepresentation were repeated, and repeated on your behalf, I should be compelled to justify myself by producing the papers which I had quoted. That they have been so repeated, I need not inform you.

"About a week ago I sent you a more distinct intimation that I was afraid the necessity of resorting to publication would become inevitable; but that I would, of course, communicate to you whatever I proposed to publish; and would omit any thing that you might wish to be omitted from any personal feeling or convenience of your own. If you felt at that time the objection to any such publication as strongly as you now state it, I have to lament that you did not, in the interval between [then, and the] notice in the House of Commons on Tuesday, take an opportunity of making that representation to me, which you have now made when it is too late to attend to it.

"With respect to augmenting the mass of papers, by adding all the rest of your correspondence, though I perfectly agree with you that such a disclosure would, as you stated in your letter to me of yesterday, furnish fresh and ample illustration of the improvidence and inefficiency of the system pursued by the Court of Denmark, and of the impracticability, under it, of affording timely aid to Denmark, when any sudden and pressing emergency should arise; and that it would (as I understand you stated to Mr. Bagot to-day) make out the case of the British Government still more strongly; yet after that admission you must allow me to remind you that the course of the Government has been already decided; that the Government desires no stronger case than it has; that this publication is purely to meet a personal calumny; and to set right, not any misrepresentation of your's (for you impute none), but the mistaken idea that you had been misrepresented.

"The only two points to whieh I spoke from your authority were (1st) the want of any settled system of defence for Holstein; and (2nd) thc danger to be apprehended from the state of some of the departments of government at Copenhagen. To these two points the despatches comprised within the order are full and perfeet. Nor have I bcen able to find anything in your preceding or subsequent correspondence that bears directly upon them; eertainly nothing that in any degree contradiets or weakens the impressions those despatches so clearly eonvey. At the same time you cannot but be awarc that they are sufficiently full of the reports of assuranees from the Danish Minister, and of expressions of your own relianee upon these assurances, to do away all fear of your not having appeared both to have received such assuranees, and to have faithfully transmitted them homc.

"I ought perhaps to add that your No. 12 of last year, which you pointed out to me on Saturday as containing an answcr to Lord Howick's No. 1, is to make part of the collection." *Copy.*

(3) Benjamin Garlike to George Canning.

1808, March 1st. Pall Mall.—"I have the honour to aeknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and it is with the sincerest concern I have still to apprehend, after a long period of public service in which I have watehed the public disasters with an anxiety inferior to that of no one, and in stations where personal character has come so mueh to my assistance, that I shall now be committed in a manner from which, if there is no relief, I must appear unworthy of the high posts with whieh I have been honoured. For this apprehension goes to the difference between the impression which will bc given by the publication of the despatches in question, and that impression which would follow, not the constructive reading, but thc positive information they contain as far as concerns the disposition of the court of Copenhagen during my residenee there.

"I made no earlier remonstranee on the subject, for after I heard from Mr. Bagot on the 16th ultimo (it was in answer to a pointed question Mr. Bagot informed me of your resolution to publish *the whole* of the correspondence), I did not pursue that answer into the reserve in which I now understand it was held. I learnt on the 17th that it was supposed something had 'occurred to alter your intention or induce you to postpone thc measure'; and, in the meantime, if any ground of complaint had suggested itself to me, I should naturally have followed the handsome course of waiting till I eould enter on the business with you at the intcrview in expeetation.

"I should now trust that the inclination to rely on the effect of that interview rather than begin a remonstrance before further explanation had been given, would not be considered as a reason for with-holding your good offices.

I should trust that the circumstances in which I have described myself, would alone fully support a motion for the production of further papers; and on grounds still more easy than those to which you reverted on Friday night. Your letter does not however afford much encouragement for this notion; for I see with pain your reluctance to produce even those papers, which the notice already given enables you to bring forward; or those of the month of January which, till I was in Downing Street on Saturday, I had believed to be included in that notice.

"I am not much disposed to enter on some points of inferior moment which arose in the intercourse of yesterday; but it is not unnecessary that they should be adverted to.

"In my letter of Saturday I had it particularly in view to clear the purpose of that application from the more general question with which it is connected. If I had meant to give an opinion on the impracticability of timely succour to Denmark, I should have distinguished between Holstein always open to attack, and Zealand, where the attack must have been delayed by the preparations.

"In my conversation with Mr. Bagot, and on his adverting to the question of an extensive selection of papers, I stated the propriety of my request to that effect, by showing that the reports I had made of the good disposition of the Court of Copenhagen do not belong to any particular discussion respecting those dispositions, but had been attached to the incidental points of business which had occurred; and that while all those points showed the irritability of the Danish Ministers on neutral questions, they also showed the uniformity of their declarations to resist aggression. But I did not mean the making out of a stronger case for Government. When the turns and permission of conversation have inadvertently drawn from me an opinion of this nature, that opinion has always been that an advantage would be found in a fuller admission than I have yet heard of the reality of those sentiments of the Danish Government (the Danish Government certainly believe in their reality) which I have so often reported; although those sentiments were not of sufficient weight to prevail against measures adopted for the defence of the interests of Great Britain.

"There is one further point to which I am anxious to solicit your attention. I know nothing, till I see them printed, of the complaints to which you allude as having been made on my behalf. I am acquainted with only one of the persons who made them, and the conversation to which he alluded, which was most accidental, was spent on my part in insisting against the intention I discovered of using my name in the House of Commons; or of urging any opinion of mine. I advert to this point not so much with regard to what has been said, as to what may yet be said on the subject. I have no disposition to go about complaining. I think the necessity

of making this representation to you one of the greatest misfortunes that could have happened to me. It is from you that I should hope for redress, and in urging my wishes to that effect, I should be sorry if I had either gone beyond the necessity of the case, or overlooked what is due to His Majesty's Government." *Copy.*

(4) Benjamin Garlike to George Canning.

1808, March 2. Pall Mall.—"I have not received any answer to the letter I had the honour of addressing to you yesterday. But I understood from you in our short conversation of yesterday that it was not your intention to produce any more papers, except Nos. 12 and 13 as answers to Lord Howick's No. 1 of last year. The object of this letter is not to make any new request for that purpose; for I am not aware that I can add anything to the strength of the considerations personal to myself which I still think should induce you to consent to the publication to the extent which I have already explained. But I therefore conceive it to be the more necessary, both from regard to those considerations, and to the position in which I am left, that no misunderstanding should belong to the case as it now remains.

"On comparing the tendency of all these papers which it is now your intention to lay on the table of the House of Commons, with those which are not printing, I am still of opinion that I shall appear in the dishonourable light of which I have complained. I repeat this opinion with the less reluctance, because it occurs to me, on again looking at your letter of the 29th ultimo, that the readiness with which I have been most willing to suppose you would enter into my feelings on the occasion may have taken from that full and plain expression of them which it was certainly my intention to convey, and which I can in no case renounce.

"It was from yourself I learnt, when I had the honour of seeing you at your own house, what passages had been omitted in the quotation made in the House of Commons. I understand that those passages, which are most important in my view of them, will be restored to the publication now to be made. I really should not come back to this circumstance, but for your remark that I have myself made no complaint of misrepresentation. When those passages are restored, my complaint will remain what it has always been, namely; that that partial production of papers, for whatever purpose they were produced, has given to my representations from Copenhagen a character which, as to the assurances of the Danish Government respecting the possible projects of France in Denmark against Great Britain, does not belong to those representations.

"It is painful to me to trouble you with this letter; but I owe it so much to myself that no misconception should attach to the actual state of this unfortunate business, that I

cannot persuade myself I ought not to lay it before you." *Copy.*

(5) George Canning to Benjamin Garlike.

1808, March 3. Foreign Office.—"I have received with no little surprise your letter of yesterday. Having had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you (in the presence of Mr. Bagot) since the receipt of your letter of Tuesday, and having complied with your request by adding to the papers your *second* answer to Lord Howick's despatch of January, it really did not occur to me that you could, by any possibility, expect a written acknowledgment of the same letter.

"I have nothing to add to what I have already repeatedly stated to you; nor can I alter the course upon which I have been obliged to determine in laying your despatches before the House of Commons, unless I should learn from you that you are prepared to give to the two following questions answers very different from any that you have yet given.

1st. "Do you mean now to retract what is stated in those despatches respecting the danger which would, in your apprehension, arise on any sudden emergency from the want of timely preparation on the part of Denmark, and from the dispositions of certain parts of the Danish Government at Copenhagen.

Or, 2ndly, "Do you mean to state that the causes of that danger were subsequently altogether removed; and that there are despatches of yours which describe their removal.

"These are the points to which I have spoken from your authority, and to which that authority appears to me to be clear, decisive, and uncontradicted." *Copy.*

(6) Benjamin Garlike to George Canning.

1808, March 4. Pall Mall.—"I have had the honour to receive your letter of yesterday's date. It was only a few moments before I learnt in Mr. Bagot's room your desire to speak with me, that Mr. Bagot informed me he had sent to Bruton Street the letter I took with me to the Foreign Office. I was perhaps wrong when I afterwards questioned your having received it before you left your house. The principal reason I had for again taking the liberty of writing to you was lest, as I did not then insist on what I had just stated on paper, it might appear that I had acquieseed in the production of No. 13, as affording the degree of satisfaetion I had felt it neeessary to solieit; a preeaution which appeared rather more advisable after some other miseoneeptions to whieh I had possibly contributed, I mean those which you have already given me the opportunity of enabling you to correct.

"I shall answer both your questions in the course of this letter, but I beg leave to offer some previous observations.

"I am not prepared to say that the notions transmitted by a Foreign Minister for the mature reflexion of His Court, always make up a preeise statement of so much undoubted information to the date of the eurrent despateh. I presume that no Minister writing with the common anxieties of his station ean settle in this manner, and from one eonveyanee to the next, the amount of all that presses on his apprehension from the seene before him. I say this generally and without insisting on it's foree. It seems more obvious and more important to add that there are no points of information, collected from despatches of seven or eight months anteeedent date, whieh ean elaim to be eonsidered without referenee to other very leading statements.

"Subjeet to these remarks, I answer your first question by saying that I do not mean to retraet anything that is advaneed in the despatches which it is your intention to lay before the House of Commons. The whole ease, I apprehend, will stand thus. I have dealt on the danger to whieh Denmark would be exposed 'in the case of the Freneh being already in Holstein,' and if Denmark, unconneeted with other powers, neglected the means of resisting further attaek; and I supported the idea of danger by the notorious bias of persons in inferior departments of the Government (not the Government itself) who, if Franee were allowed to take possession of Holstein, might perplex the leading members, and favour an aeeommodation with Franee to the prejudiee of Great Britain.

"But on the other hand I have also reported the assuranees of the Danish Government to maintain their neutrality, to accept no dishonourable proposition, and to repel aggression from whatever quarter it eame. These were not accidental assurances; they were brought to St. Petersburgh, and formally made known to me by the Danish Minister there, previous to my setting out from thenee for Copenhagen. They were eommunieated to me at the same time by Prinee Czartoryski, as would appear by referenee to the despatehes I wrote from St. Petersburgh. They were repeated on my arrival at Copenhagen; they were made applieable to the supposition of foreible measures from Prussia or Franee to shut the Holstein ports, and as sueh reported to Mr. Fox April 17, 1806. They were repeated in the most solemn manner by the Duke of Augustenburgh, in my No. 27, May, 1806. They are eontained in a written assuranee from Count Bernstorff to me, No. 28, 7th May; and on my alluding in that same despateh to a former expression of Count Bernstorff of the weak means of Denmark to resist those powers in Holstein, I was informed that I had not done justice to his remark; that it was not '*que le Dannemarc pourrait être engagé à céder à une force supérieure; mais que rien ne l'y engagerait; rien que la conquête entière du Dannemarc*,' No. 28, 7 May, 1806.

"Even if Holstein should yield, I gave it as an opinion that under no menace from France would Denmark narrow still further the free access of British ships to the ports of the islands.—No. 66, 25 October.

"And it is proper to remark that, whatever doubts I cautiously expressed in my No. 92, respecting the abandonment of Holstein to France, they are accompanied with most *important and essential* explanations in No. 99, December 30, beginning with the words 'I have to remark that in the dispatch' and ending with the words 'that such a supposition will not be admitted.' Yet unfortunately that explanation so belonging to my own doubts, is not to be produced; although within the reach of the motion made in the House of Commons, being in December. It is true that this despatch is written in reference to a communication from the Swedish Minister; but it could commit no one though published *in extenso*, His Swedish Majesty having directed that communication to be made to me.

"Similar assurances to resist the proposals of France to shut the ports were transmitted in No. 9, January 24; and in No. 15 of the same month Count Bernstorff adds, '*Quant à nos intentions vous les possediez entièrement. Je dois presque dire que nous n'avions pas de secrets pour vous. Si vous pouviez voir les lettres entre le Prince Royal et moi, et entre mon frère et moi, vous n'auriez guères plus appris que par la confiance que je vous ai montrée.* And this in the heat of an unpleasant discussion on the Order of Council of January 7th.

"I will not cite the same assurances of resistance, as given on the question so often brought forward of removing the station for the packets; nor the pointed expression of them in despatches I had the honour of addressing to you, in No. 76, July 4th; and No. 93, July 28. But I would here appeal to any mind like your's, whether, on comparing the despatches on which you rely so much, respecting certain dispositions in Denmark, and the danger of retarded, unconnected preparation (I mean unconnected with any other power) with the assurances I have quoted, as given *by the Danish Government* in the most solemn manner in every temper of discussion, and on every important transaction, whether, on judging of the impression already made by the former communication to the public, and merely bearing in mind the declarations of Denmark to accept no terms from France contrary to the engagements of Great Britain and Denmark, whether, after these comparisons, I have not every reason to complain of the predicament in which I stand, or can be too earnest in my applications to you to relieve me from it.

"I beg leave to repeat that I do not offer this comparison in support of any opinion of mine, in the present state of things. I refer to opinions, and hopes, and fears, and positive declarations of my own, and of the Danish ministers, not as of equal value in parts, but as helps to his Majesty's Government

who are alone competent to the decision. I wish only to appear a faithful reporter. If my authority is resorted to, I cannot overlook the essential declarations I have received in the manner I have described, from the Danish ministers themselves.

"I would take the liberty of asking you this; whether for the same reasons which determined you against a charge of misrepresentation to produce the papers in question to the public, you can be surprised at my importunity to prevent the charge which must be incurred of having deceived the Danish Government in the expectation given to them that I had faithfully stated their representations, given through a long period of business, and in circumstances so trying, as to leave no doubt as to the nature of those representations?

"With regard to your second question I have certainly to state that the positive assurance of Denmark to resist the aggression of France in Holstein, that is of an attack meant to bear against Holstein, and to arm against the further progress of France from that province, which assurances were given after the date of the despatches of November and December, do bear as a resolution of that Government against the impression conveyed by the extracts and copies of the correspondence of those months as referred to in your communication to the House of Commons. But I have so fully adverted to every chance connected with the state of the war down to the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, that I think I should injure the general sense of my despatches by a particular reference to any. I retract nothing. I conceive the parts to derive their just value from the whole, and I am considering nothing but as to the fact of my appearing to act as fairly by the Danish Government as they conceived I was doing during my residence in the country.

"I sincerely apologise for the length of this letter; if there should be anything in it which the number and fatigue of your avocations may have kept from your attention, I shall be most happy to know it. I had no thought of engaging in this discussion on my arrival in England; am now impelled by those personal considerations only which I once more take the liberty of recommending to the desire you have already expressed to meet my wishes." *Copy.*

(7) Benjamin Garlike to George Canning.

1808, March 9. Pall Mall.—"I wish to express my thanks to you in as far as the proposal made to me this evening through Mr. Bagot was conceived for the purpose of diminishing my apprehensions on the subject of the papers to be laid before the House of Commons. I understand the proposal to be that you should communicate those papers in manuscript, and not consent to the printing of them, unless a motion to that effect were persevered in by those who might differ with you in opinion as to the expediency of that particular point.

"Mr. Bagot will have informed you of my difficulty in expressing any opinion on the occasion. My ignorance of Parliamentary usages would naturally prescribe to me that reserve. I entertain besides increasing doubts as to the possibility, the nature of a debate considered, of giving effect to your intentions; and, as I informed Mr. Bagot, the impression I wish to counteract has unfortunately been already given by the first statement read from certain despatches in the House of Commons. It is in support of that statement the present selection of papers has been made, and my complaint has consequently been equally directed to that selection.

"I should undoubtedly be desirous to prevent the production of papers so essentially connected with the papers with-held. But with my distrust as to the possibility of confining the communication to the House of Commons; and still more so as to that of qualifying the effect produced by the first verbal quotations in any manner short of a fuller reference to the Danish correspondence; I have also to fear that by lending myself to the proposal I should contribute to give to the House of Commons itself the same undue impression of which I complain. Would it not be on my part, if any act of mine were possible in the case, the tendering to the House of Commons a statement of opinions against which I have not ceased to protest? My fears increase as I write. Would not the secrecy enjoined in the communication favour and strengthen that very supposition of fullness and sufficiency in the present selection of papers which, in truth and honour, I cannot acknowledge as belonging to them.

"You will judge of the weight these observations acquire from the information I received this morning from Mr. Bagot, that the despatches Nos. 12 and 13 of January, 1807, which are answers to Lord Howick's No. 1, are withdrawn from the selection to be laid before the House of Commons, on the ground of their referring to the state of the Danish navy as reported by me in the course of the last year. I have felt as much surprise as sorrow at this information. I have not indeed been able to reconcile it either with the expectation you gave me in your letters of February 29, and of March 3, that those numbers would be produced; or with the explanation you gave me in Downing Street as to the facility of producing them; or with the alleged ground of with-holding them; as in truth any such objection must equally bear against the production of any of the papers in question (for I understand that a motion for the production of all these papers was also negatived); or with the tendency of the objection itself as to the whole of Nos. 12 and 13, those despatches containing (besides the explanations of the state of the Danish navy) the assurances of the Danish Government to maintain their neutrality; and their protestations of having entered into no engagements with France.'" *Copy.*

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1808, February–March.] Palace Yard.—"You will hear that Lord St. John puts off his motion, and I am sorry for it, though the reason is good enough; but we shall have at least an hour's discussion of the most useful kind upon the American treaty bill. I am very solicitous, if it be possible that you should come to the House at half-past four, as I wish before I rise on the American treaty bill to explain some particulars to you.

"I do not say it lightly, but on the fullest consideration, when I add that we can to-day give a new shape to the whole silly and mischievous system of the Orders in Council, 'such as must lead to their entire abandonment, with great disgrace to the authors, and, I am sorry to add, with great calamity to the country.'"

The Same to The Same.

[1808, February–March. Palace Yard.]—"I return this moment from the House; your absence was a great grievance to me, more especially as your note did not arrive. It was necessary to have the second reading of the American treaty bill; I stated on it (what the ministers certainly were not aware of) that the 7th section as to tobacco, the 7th as to rice, the 9th as to exportation to the United States on the same terms as to our own colonies and islands, are all utterly at war with the clauses of Mr. Perceval's *amended* Bill, which Mr. Eden will forward to you by this post. The objection is certainly accurate; Lord Bathurst only attempted to answer it by saying that the American treaty Bill may be amended or altered. In short they gave no answer, and the matter remains for the reflection of the House of Commons.

"The Brazil bill on Thursday. The motions of Lord Carlisle continue for Thursday, and Lord St. John is then to fix another day.

"I have not yet had time to read your letter and enclosures."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, March 24. Palace Yard.]—"What I stated in the House on Tuesday relative to the counteraction between the bill continuing your treaty and the bill now before the House of Commons was fully admitted last night in the debate. The third reading of the treaty bill is to-day, and certainly must not pass without a strong animadversion. I will readily restate my objections, and if enforced with the strength that you can give to them the dilemma will be complete.

"I shall go to the House about half-past four, but if you should come about that time perhaps you would call on me in your way.

"What passed in the House last night showed extreme embarrassment."

Charles Butler to Lord Grenville.

1808, March 30. Lincoln's Inn.—"The attention I before experienced from your Lordship, when I troubled you on the Roman Catholic affairs, induces me to trouble your Lordship further on them. There is a general wish among the Roman Catholics to petition for the removal of their remaining disabilities: and it seems to be the wish of the Irish Catholics that they should petition. A meeting of Sir John Throckmorton and a very few of the leading men amongst them will take place on Sunday.

"Any recommendation from your Lordship will, I am sure, have the utmost weight with those gentlemen, and may be safely trusted to them. The drawing up the petition will probably be committed to me, and I should esteem it a great favour if your Lordship will permit me to wait upon you to receive your sentiments upon the measure.

"I should not take this liberty, if I were not perfectly satisfied of the importance of something's being done to quiet the minds of the Catholics in Ireland and England.

"The Attorney and Solicitor General have given their opinion that Roman Catholics are equally liable with other subjects to serve in the militia. Of this I never doubted, and I am much concerned that the question is agitated."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1808, April 2. Palace Yard.—"At the meeting to-day of the commissioners for Westminster improvements we received answers from all the Exchequer offices except yours; which is in some degree requisite to the completion of a report on our past and future proceedings.

"I collected from the Speaker that the adjournment is likely to be from Wednesday, the 13th April, to Monday, the 25th. Could we not therefore close our campaign between the 2nd and the 9th May? I am anxious to see whether after Mr. Brougham's speech next Wednesday, Lord Hawkesbury will propose to call evidence in support of the Orders in Council. Mr. Perceval has taken that course in the House of Commons, and (as I conceive) unadvisedly; for he will not be able to prove much, and whatever remains disproved will stand established and strengthened.

"Our measure of an address will be highly material in all points of view, and it is also very desirable to settle as to who shall move a similar address in the House of Commons, one or two days subsequent to ours. The intemperate and offensive address of the Common Council is an odd incident. Nothing can be more hostile to Government; and yet it was voted at the same assembly which carried the address last Wednesday to the King.

"The Mediterranean news seems to-day to be discredited; if it should not be confirmed, I expect soon to learn the loss of Sicily.

"About a fortnight ago, when Mr. Whitbread was speaking of collateral mischiefs resulting from the Danish expedition, Mr. Eden handed a note to him to say that our exports to the Danish dominions had been during three or four years above 4 millions per year. Mr. Rose most warmly and positively asserted in answer that this was an extravagant misstatement, and that the amount was not *a tenth part* of the sum supposed. On the following day the account was called for, and is now delivered. It appears therein that the annual average of the exports to the Danish dominions in Europe was very nearly five millions!"

JOHN POWER, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford, to [SIR JOHN NEWPORT].

1808, April 18. Waterford.—"Though I were not honoured with your aequaintance, permit me to say friendship, still perhaps I should make no apology for submitting the following observation to the honest and able representative of my native city and his own, to the tried friend of his country, whose time, health, and talents are all devoted to its prosperity and happiness.

"In all appearance, matters regarding the Catholics of Ireland, and among the rest the question on the grant to Maynooth will soon come before the Imperial Parliament. Of your zeal in their just cause that body has the fullest conviction; and you are well acquainted with the nature of our ecclesiastical ministry and its circumstanees so far as may be necessary for the fair discussion of the question shortly to be brought forward. But I beg leave to observe that, as yet, it remains for some friend of ours in the House to put in its full light the injustice of charging our people with ignorance, and our priesthood with wilful and studious neglect of instructing them, whilst, on one hand, the common people of Ireland have been, and are still for the most part, deprived of the opportunity of learning even to read; and on the other, the ministers of our Church are so few in proportion to the multitudes committed to their care. On reading some of the publications daily issuing from the press, whenever the state of Ireland is the main or incidental subject, I am equally astonished and concerned to find in several of them, great illiberality, much falsehood, and gross ignorance of Irish affairs. Some of them, under the appearance of friendship, speak of us as a race of sturdy beggars, who indeed don't deserve what we ask, but still should be indulged, lest we may conspire and take off all by force. Others affect to lament our want of knowledge, and to ascribe all the misfortunes of our unfortunate country to a wicked priesthood, who from principle, keep the people blind-folded to lead them where they will. These men, no doubt, know the homely saying, that 'there is many a way of killing a dog beside hanging him.' Perhaps they are afraid lest the Legislature should

think of remedying the evils complained of by an increase of Catholic priests, and therefore they endeavour to show them as unworthy of being trusted with the people's instruction, and that a greater number of such would only make bad worse. This may take in England, where it seems the worst things of the kind take amazingly ; but you know how to appreciate it, and, and what is more to our purpose, you know how to refute it. It is a fact (to prove the injustice of the allegation against us) that in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, there is scarcely a parish, I mean a district under one pastor, where there are not from three to five thousand souls, Catholics, having but two clergymen to officiate for them. The town of Clonmel, with near ten thousand Catholics, has but two clergymen, with the occasional assistance of two regulars or friars, who reside there, to go through the incredible labour and hardship of administering a very ritual religion to such a multitude.

" Carrick and Dungarvan are nearly in the same predicament, and there is actually near Dungarvan a parish with at least four thousand souls where we have only one clergyman. It will be asked why these parishes are not better served ? because we have not clergymen for them. Undoubtedly those poor people cannot be well instructed, but must the pastor be charged with indolence or any thing worse, because he cannot miraculously feed the four thousand ? or they be charged with ignorance when they have not the means or opportunity of instruction ? Let justice be done, and fair play given to the Irish people and to their priests ; let there be schools for the poor on a fair plan, and the necessary aid and encouragement given to the candidates for Catholic priesthood, so as to secure a number sufficient for the exigency of the country.

" The majority of our priests are the sons of honest farmers ; and though generally of the better sort of farmers (whose walk in life is perhaps of all others least exposed to the growing depravity of modern times) they very seldom can afford a son thirty or forty pounds *per annum* at a good school, and afterwards continue it for a number of years at the higher studies of philosophy and theology. The consequence is, that when aid is not to be had from foreign universities as heretofore, or from the legislature at home, their education will be in the first instance stunted, and inadequate to the people's useful instruction ; and, in the second, their numbers will be insufficient for the purpose ; a people, however, who will not become Protestant for the sake of instruction, and who only can be made good men and good subjects, by being made good Catholics. Indeed, we are much wronged when we are charged with keeping the people in the dark for bad and interested purposes. We see no benefit to be derived from it, but a deal of mischief. Whatever others make think of our religion, we have of it ourselves so good an opinion that we never fear the light to shine upon it. We apprehend

nothing deformed in it. We are not ashamed or afraid to avow its principles (would to God, we were so confident of our practice), and as we think it founded on unerring truth, so we are easy as to its duration, and satisfied at least that it does not want, but scorns, the support of error, falsehood, or imposture. From anything I have said, it is not to be inferred that I admit the Irish Catholics to be absolutely ignorant, or even comparatively so; for I am warranted by the Protestant bishop of London to believe that he has in his district Protestants in a state of ignorance little short of Pagan; an imputation that I defy to attach to any part of Catholic Ireland that I know. But I say, if the Legislature acts wisely and fairly towards the Irish people, clergy and laity, the population of this country will become as good Christians and as good subjects as Europe can boast. They will become a tower of strength to the empire; jealousy, fear, and discord will cease to divide us; and surrounding nations will behold an enviable spectacle in renovated Ireland."

The Earl of Lauderdale to Lord Grenville.

1808, May 2. London.—"Your brother mentioned to me that you was likely to be in town to-morrow. I have thought it however right to submit to you what follows, as reasons for delaying the Catholic question, in hopes that you will get the letter before leaving Dropmore, that you may turn it in your mind in your way up.

"I suppose Lord Grey has stated to you the impossibility of his leaving Howick at the present moment; indeed Lady Grey's being unwell, and the childrens' governess having unexpectedly left them, are circumstances that make it quite impossible to press his coming up, till after she has lain in. As soon as that has happened, I know he will come up for a week. He has himself such a desire to take part on that occasion that, if it was not to be attended with material inconvenience, I should on that account wish a delay of ten days or a fortnight, which, from what his mother tells me, would give us almost a certainty of his attendance. But this is not the principal ground on which I am disposed to urge it. The Duke of Bedford informs me that there is a disposition among the Roman Catholics of Ireland to think that Grey is lukewarm in their cause, and that he is much afraid his absence could not be explained in such a manner as to prevent their being confirmed in the opinion that has been spread abroad.

"Under these circumstances, I think, if the delay is not very objectionable indeed, it becomes desirable to a degree, not only in justice to Lord Grey, but for the sake of the cause; as I can conceive nothing more disagreeable than its being supposed that there is the smallest shade of difference betwixt him and you upon this question.

"Will you have the goodness to let me know, whenever you come to town, what your intentions are on the subject. The Duke of Bedford, Lord Ponsonby, and several others with whom I have talked, seem all to be equally anxious for the question's being put off.

"I cannot conclude this without saying that it is not my fault that you have not had the model of the machine which I mentioned. I tried to make it myself; but finding that I could not succeed to my wish, I wrote to Scotland to make it from the original, and they have been searching for it (as they write to me) in vain. When I see you however, I think with the aid of what I formed on my first attempt, I can explain it to you in such a way, that you will be able to give directions that will make your carpenter in the country understand it."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1808, May 3. Palace Yard.]—"In the hope of promoting your private wish and convenience I have proposed to the Chancellor to put off the debate on the Scotch Judicature to Wednesday se'nnight. He says that there is some possible difficulty on account of some gentlemen of the Scotch bar who are waiting here for the result; but that he will decide to-night, and inform me to-morrow, that you may know by to-morrow night's post. I think that it will stand for Wednesday sénnight, and though I go with my family to settle at Eden Farm on Monday next, it will not be very inconvenient to me to meet you in this House on the Wednesday, as Lady Auckland and I mean to go to the drawing-room on the following day 'to take leave.'

"I understand from Lord Lauderdale that a proposition will be made to you to put off your Catholic question *for a fortnight*, that Lord Grey may be present, and also, I believe, that you may be more in concert as to time with the House of Commons.

"I quite agree with you, from a sense of self-conviction as well as of self-convenience, that no good is to be done by a further attendance in this session. But it appears to me essential both in consistency and decorum, and indeed also from a due regard to your numerous friends and followers, to consider well the manner of closing our campaign; and surely it ought not to be closed by an abrupt and unexplained retreat. Besides, from a due regard to the merchants and manufacturers who came so handsomely forward on the subject of the Orders in Council, we ought to have a solemn and efficient debate. We are on excellent grounds in that business, and *I know* that the Ministers are embarrassed by it. They would have got rid of it if America had gone to war, at present they are in a dilemma; they must either retract an absurd measure in the maintenance of which they are committed; or they must risk its operation with increasing

distresses to the trade, manufacturers, and revenue, to a degree which will at last awaken the whole empire from a stupid apathy.

"I conceive that it would be desirable also, if you postpone the Catholic question for Lord Grey's return, to postpone your motion of address for the same assigned reason, to a day or two after that question; and surely 'it would be most desirable on your moving for the address to secure a special and strong attendance of all our friends for that day.' I urge all this in so long a paragraph, because I understand that among many of our friends there is (particularly among the Commons) a current language of surprise and dissatisfaction that we 'are letting down' the whole of an opposition which was on solid grounds and well supported. Tierney yesterday told Mr. Eden that he wished to move a committee of trade, and to make other motions; but that those who ought to lead seemed so lukewarm that he felt discouraged. I hope that you will turn all this in your mind, and let me know what you think of it.

"If the Chancellor would take the Scotch debate on the 11th, Lord Sidmouth's question might be on the 12th; and the Catholic question and the Orders in Council address might be put over to the 25th and 27th, or to the 30th of May and 1st June; before that time we are likely to have material intelligence from the United States.

"If you make this postponement relative to the Orders in Council, I think that we should do it with some incidental conversation upon it in the House, previous to the Scotch debate.

"At last we have an opening of spring after six months of unbroken winter from the 1st November to the 1st May.

"I do not like the Bill for the better residence of curates as to that part of it which authorises the bishops to give, in all cases, one-fifth of the income of livings to the curates. It is an interference as to freehold property in possession beyond what has ever been attempted, and of dangerous innovation and example."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, May 4–7. Palace Yard.]—"Thinking it *possible* that you may have been disposed to remain at Dropmore till Monday or Tuesday next, I write three of four lines within the sound of the last post bell.

"At the House to-day it was settled to proceed with the Roxburgh cause *de die in diem*, and I presume that it may occupy about six days more. Lord Sidmouth gave notice that on Tuesday he will move relative to the Danish ships, with a view to two points; (1) That ships which had been wrongfully brought in, and which had been adjudged to be restored, ought now to be restored; (2) That the proceeds

of the other ships detained and condemned ought to be set apart. Lord Sidmouth desired me to mention this to you.

"The Chancellor did not give a notice, but he means to bring forward the debate on the Scotch judicature upon Thursday next. Lord Melville is gone back to Dunira.

"As to other matters I postpone them till your return. I was asked by many on what day you were likely to make the motion about the Orders in Council; I presume not till after the 23th, and consequently not till Monday or Tuesday fortnight.

"I mean to settle on the 9th or 10th, and with a pious resolution not to revisit Westminster in the year 1808 after the debate on the Orders in Council."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, May 18. Eden Farm.—"It will be some convenience to me to be apprized of your final arrangements for the two proposed debates. I presume that the Irish question will take place on the 27th or 30th instant; and that the address on the Orders in Council will stand over to the 3rd or 7th June. I shall be sorry to be forced to town on any of those days; but I apprehend that we cannot, with due regard to our own consistency, suffer the session to close, without exhibiting so strong a case as the merchants have established. More especially as I have reason (from the best authority) to believe, that the hope of any early accommodation with the United States, which was for a moment entertained, has quite disappeared.

"Lord Sidmouth did me the honour to communicate to me the draft of his Danish Resolutions, and also apprize me by letter of the days fixed. But I declined attending, and I understand that you did the same. He will not be pleased.

"We are enjoying our farm, shrubberies, fruit garden, and flower garden more (if possible) than ever; and we wish that we had better hopes of being able to induce Lady Grenville and you to look at our small sceneries, before you go to the gigantic domains of Boconnoc."

The Same to The Same.

1808, May 23. Eden Farm.—"I do not know that it will materially help your decision as to the propriety of bringing forward a motion on Monday next on the subject of the Orders in Council, but I transcribe the following paragraph from a note received two days ago from the American Minister."

Private.—"'I am aware that your lordship's motive for not calling before you left town was equally delicate and friendly. I should have been glad however to show my respect and confidence in every way in my power. In truth the arrival of the *Osaga* has not enabled me to do anything in the way of communication; but a short time will I hope render

American affairs more explicit and intelligible; and I join sincerely in your lordship's wishes that the result may be favourable to the peace and friendship of our two countries.'

"He adds that he means to go very soon to Worthing. All this is enigmatical enough; but I infer from it, and from some words which Lord Hawkesbury dropped when I last saw him, that there is not any specific proposition on either part. Still I quite agree with you that, under the apparent circumstances of the two countries, we cannot debate the subject to advantage; and yet, having had so many preliminary discussions with confessed advantage in argument and in truth, and having called to our bar so many respectable individuals who have established a case of great strength against the Orders in Council, I certainly feel that we ought to avoid every possible imputation of *deserting* so good a cause. If you can suggest any decorous and consistent mode of getting out of this dilemma, I shall personally be most glad to take my final leave of the session next Friday. The King's ministers are certainly desirous to avoid the proposed debate; and I have reason to know that several of them are desirous to withdraw the Orders in Council, which have notoriously destroyed all foreign trade, and are creating a public distress that must soon express itself very unequivocally.

"Any line from you either by the Tuesday or Wednesday night's post from Beaconsfield, will find me here on the following mornings.

"Do not take the trouble to return the enclosed scrawl. I infer from it that the proposition for the relief of the West Indians will not be carried, and would be of no avail if it were carried. It is clear in every instance that Government has a loose and half-faced support; but, on the other hand, the ranks of Opposition fight without system or concert, and consequently without effect."

The Same to The Same.

1808, May 25. Palace Yard.—"It would not be difficult to call for further accounts relative to the utter interruption of our commerce with the United States and with the continent of Europe: the great (if not decisive) objection is that it would oblige us to return to town on Monday.

"Might not our object be attained with due decorum before the debate on Friday next by my taking notice that the accounts of the *5th April*, for which I heretofore moved, have not yet been given; I could then move them again in a form to obviate the pretended cause of delay; and I could throw out a few remarks which might lead you to postpone, for the present, the intended motion for an address, on the fair presumption that the Ministers are endeavouring by negotiation or otherwise to get rid of measures so obviously ruinous to trade and revenue.

"Still, if you think that the magnitude of the business, and a sense of the consistency, makes it material to have a special conversation on the whole question in the House, I would only give a notice on Friday for whatever day you like best, and would cheerfully swallow the bitter pill of another journey to London.

"If you should send your decision in half a line by to-morrow night's post, directed to Palace Yard, I shall receive it on Friday morning.

"If you decide for Monday, I shall drive to the House after a two o'clock dinner, and drive down again on Tuesday early; and we may in that case have a debate of four or five hours."

Postscript.—"Possibly, after all, you will be of opinion that you can within a short compass say every thing that may be necessary in postponing your motion for an address; and in that case that you could get rid of all trouble on Friday. I shall be quite contented, any way."

Most Reverend Dr. Milner, Vicar Apostolic, to Lord Grenville.

1808, May 26. London.—"Dr. Milner who is regularly appointed to be the Agent of the Catholic prelates of Ireland, though he has not had time to consult his principals upon the momentous question of the Crown's interference in the appointment of Catholic bishops, yet has every reason to believe that they will cheerfully consent to its exercising a *negative power* in this business. That is to say, the Catholic prelates, when they have made choice of a proper person to succeed to the vacant see, will send up the name to his Majesty's Ministers, and, if it is objected to, will send up another and another in succession to a reasonable number till one of them is approved of. Should the Pope refuse (which is not likely ever to be the case) to confer the essential spiritual powers on the persons so named and approved of, they will consult together again, and present other names till one shall occur against which neither the Crown nor the Apostolic See have any objection. Such is the decided opinion of the above mentioned Episcopal Agent."

Endorsed by Lord Grenville.

Delivered to me by Dr. Milner, May 27, 1808.

Lord Holland to The Same.

1808 [May 29. Holland House.]—"I write lest the convivial talents of our noble chairman yesterday should have made you forget the protest, to remind you that those best acquainted with Ireland as well as all our most zealous friends are persuaded that the entering one may be attended with great advantage, and the *want* of one remarked by the jealous and suspicious among them.

"I have not heard from them the topics they most wish to be insisted upon, but a short and vague general reason

for the first, and a second in favour *of the time*, for the purpose of introducing our persuasion that it will ultimately be carried, seem to me to be most calculated to secure many signatures, and to produce the effect we, and even our opponents, must wish in Ireland."

*The Protest.**

Dissentient.

1. "Because we are fully satisfied that the removal of unmerited and degrading exclusions, affecting a most numerous and valuable part of the community, and the communicating to the whole people of this united Kingdom all the privileges and duties of the British constitution, would be a measure of unquestionable justice and wisdom.
2. "We conceive that this determination would in itself afford the best security for our civil and religious constitution. But the proposal of considering this subject in a committee of the whole House afforded the opportunity of establishing by the authority and wisdom of Parliament, and with the cordial concurrence of all parties, such additional safeguards as must tranquilize the apprehensions of the most fearful, and allay the jealousies of the most suspicious.
3. "From the increased support and diminished resistance which this proposal has now experienced in both Houses of Parliament, and from the manner in which it has been discussed even by its opponents, we look with perfect confidence to its approaching and entire accomplishment. But we are of opinion that by delay many of its happiest effects are endangered. And we are confident that there never was in the history of the world a moment in which a measure in itself desirable was more imperiously called for by circumstances of uncontroulable necessity. The uniting and knitting together by a system of liberality and confidence the hands and hearts of all His Majesty's subjects, in defence of the invaluable blessings of security, liberty, and national independence, is at this perilous crisis the first duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity; and the only mode by which we can reasonably hope, under the protection of Providence, to maintain and transmit those blessings amidst the misery, conquest, and desolation of so many surrounding nations." *Written by Lord Grenville.*

Doctor Edward Dillon, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, to The Same.

1808, June 1. Tuam.—"Holding the place of an Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church of Tuam, I deem it a duty to address you these lines, thanking you for the irresistible, and at the same time, wise, and temperate manner

* Against maintaining religious disabilities of Catholics.

in which you supported the Catholic petition. Indeed it is but an act of justice by speaking in such high terms of the loyalty of the Catholic prelates, who look up only to the Legislature of their country for relief.

"I can assure you that the bishops will take the very first opportunity to discuss the means by which the Legislature and the public may be assured, that none but loyal and peaceful subjects, and such as shall be so acknowledged, will be promoted to the important station of Catholic bishops. I must observe that some communications on this very subject have heretofore taken place."

Doctor J. T. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to Lord Grenville.

1808, June 10. Maynooth College.—"The able and irresistible, and at the same time wise and temperate manner in which your lordship has supported the Catholic petition in Parliament, justly claims the gratitude of all Irish Catholics, and particularly that of the Catholic prelacy.

"Permit me then as a member of this prelacy, and on the part of Doctor Caulfield of Ferns, Doctor Ryan his coadjutor, Doctor Delany of Kildare and Leighlin, Doctor Lanigan of Ossory, the only Catholic prelates of this ecclesiastical province, to thus convey our heartfelt acknowledgments and grateful thanks for your splendid exertions on the occasion, and especially for the justice your lordship has been pleased to do to the loyalty of the Catholic prelates in general, who, be assured, look up to the Legislature of their country only, for relief. They will take the first opportunity to discuss the means by which the Legislature and the public may be certain that none but loyal and peaceable subjects, and acknowledged as such, will be appointed to the important station of Catholic bishops; and flatter themselves these means will be discovered, some communications on the subject having been made to the Irish Government soon after the Union Act had passed."

Lord Grenville to Archbishop Troy.

1808, June 16. Camelford House.—"I have the honour to acknowledge your very obliging and flattering letter, and I have great pleasure in thinking that the manner in which I have endeavoured to do justice to the great cause entrusted to me, has been satisfactory to so distinguished a part of those interested in it. I never have been engaged in the discussion of any subject in Parliament which I have considered as more important to the honour and welfare of my country.

"I am thoroughly persuaded that the Catholic prelates of Ireland will continue to inculcate to those who look up to them for religious instruction those great duties of loyalty

to their sovereign and attachment to the laws and government of their country, which are held in common by every profession of Christians. Nor can it, I trust, in the awful times in which we live, escape the attention of the great body of our Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, that the religious freedom which they enjoy, though still imperfect, is far superior to that which is at this hour enjoyed either in France or in any of the countries subjugated by her power; and is infinitely preferable to any situation in which they could be placed by any internal convulsion, or any foreign invasion of their country.

"Although I have not a distinct recollection of all the details of what passed at the time of the Union, on the part of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates, respecting the future appointment to those situations in the event of that complete removal of civil disqualifications on account of religious belief which was then intended, yet the general impression on my mind was that of a complete conviction that all security on that head that could be reasonably desired by Government would cheerfully be acceded to by all who were interested in that great work. And I was too well acquainted with what had been done on the subject in other cases nearly similar, to entertain the smallest doubt that, with such dispositions, that matter might with the utmost facility be adjusted to the entire satisfaction even of the most scrupulous and jealous persons. But the declaration on that point which I was lately authorised to make has evidently produced considerable impression on the public mind in this country, and has in that respect been attended with the most beneficial consequences." *Copy.*

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, June 20. Eden Farm.—"I hope not to see the House of Lords any more this year; but I understand that you are likely to be there on Wednesday next. In that case I submit to you that it might be useful, previously to going to other business, if you would recall to the observation of the House that on the 30th May we moved for returns of imports, exports, duties, bounties, from London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Greenock, Bristol and Hull; and if you would move 'that those returns be made forthwith.'

"In truth I have reason to believe that the little policy of official manœuvre is playing off by the present Government beyond all example. The Inspector-General wrote a tampering letter to me about a fortnight ago, alleging a slight ground of delay, which I immediately removed; but I see symptoms of similar juggling in many other matters respecting the management of Bills and papers in both Houses; the statements of the consolidated surplus and so forth. This is bad political artillery, and will soon recoil; but it has an effect from day to day; and those who use it look more to the present pressure than to any general system.

"With respect to those same Orders in Council, a few words from you on Wednesday next would be well bestowed; every day's experience confirms all that we said and predicted respecting the pernicious absurdity and folly of that measure, which is absolutely ruining our manufacturers, merchants, navigation, and revenue. And also is destroying all our foreign interests, as may be seen in the late accounts from America (which accounts, by the by, have been suppressed in most of the newspapers). And what is worst, I do not see at present any decent pretext that the Ministers can find for rescinding the orders.

"Some curious embarrassments are created by Palmer's job: Lord Hawkesbury professes a stout intention to set it aside, and to risk a quarrel with the Speaker (who violently supports the job) and the House of Commons. But I fear that *his* courage will fail."

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, June 24. Roehampton.—"I felt particularly disappointed that you did not move for the return of the accounts 'forthwith'; because such a motion cannot be made so properly by any other person. I was not mistaken respecting the result of those accounts, as the enclosed letter will show. We must consider it *quite as a private letter*, and cannot make any reference to its contents, if we mention the subject to any other person. Perhaps therefore you will have the goodness to return it to me. Irving shows little wisdom respecting either his own interests, or those of the public, or indeed those of the Ministers, in concciving that he has any discretionary judgment respecting the orders of Parliament. And this conduct may at last bring him to the bar of one of the Houses. In the mean time I would not wish to be supposed to know that there is any hesitation; and, if it were in my power to go to the House, I would move as a matter of course for the return 'forthwith.' Would you have any objection to writing a line to Lord Holland to make that motion, unless it should occur to you that there is any other person more proper? It would not be necessary to state to Lord Holland that we are apprized of the managements and tricks which are going forwards.

"The prosperity of the whole kingdom is likely to be destroyed by that mad measure of the Orders in Council; but nobody cares about it, and we have discharged a thankless duty."

Enclosing.

N. VANSITTART to LORD AUCKLAND.

1808, House of Commons, Thursday night.—"I forgot this afternoon to mention to you that I had heard from Irving in the morning. He said that the accounts you moved for

were made up to the 5th of April, and nearly ready to be presented to Parliament; but that as the returns from the outports had *a very unfavourable appearance*, he doubted whether in point of prudence it would be thought right to make them public; and therefore desired to know whether I did not think he might properly delay bringing them forward for some time. I answered that I thought the question of prudence, with respect to the production of any accounts, rested entirely with Parliament; and that it was his business to make up, and present all that might be ordered, as speedily as circumstances admitted; and that by doing otherwise in any instance, he would expose himself to serious censure. He afterwards mentioned that, for some weeks past, trade had begun to be more brisk than it had been; and that in particular very large shipments were making to America, by old and established houses. He however believed they cleared out for Nova Scotia, and not for the United States; which circumstance confirms what we have seen in the American papers respecting the great smuggling in the Bay of Fundy.

"I got to town in time to hear great part of Percival's opening. It was clear and well reasoned, but not very satisfactory in supporting the consistency of the present motion with the former proceedings of the House of Commons. Palmer followed in a short, timid, and embarrassed speech. We have since had Windham; Sir T. Turton, violent, frothy, and bitterly personal to Percival; Johnstone in support of the motion; and Tierney in a most acute and logical argument against it, with a good deal of personal severity." *3 o'clock Friday morning.*

"Percival is making his reply. The speakers since Tierney have been Bankes, Rose, Burton, and Canning *for* the motion; and Ponsonby, Fuller, Sir Francis Burdett (who wears a pepper-and-salt coat exactly like George's) and Whitbread against it; the last as usual forcible, but coarse and biting."

Martin Devlin to Lord Grenville.

1808, July 1. Templehill, Newry.—"The grateful acknowledgments of the Catholics of Newry, which I have the honour of presenting you, as one of their illustrious advocates, are not the less due, or less felt by them, that your unequalled exertions in their favour have not been crowned with success. It is in my mind an additional motive of our gratitude that you ventured to stand forth in our cause, when the tide of popular prejudice, promoted by ministerial influence, ran so impetuously against us, that you must have foreseen you had to encounter all the obloquy of party prejudice and bigotry, in becoming the advocate of an injured, insulted, calumniated, *murdered* people.

"You may be surprised I make use of the word *murdered*, but in this unhappy country it has too frequently been the case, with respect to us, these last fifteen years. Such

treatment of the Catholics had begun to abate during the last three administrations in this country; but the recent rejection of our petition has so revived the persecuting and insulting spirit of Orangemen, that on the evening of the 23rd ultimo, when a number of Roman Catholic men, women and children had assembled at a bonfire in the vicinity of Newry (which has been a festive practice time immemorial in this country) [they] were assaulted, bayoneted, and shot, unarmed and unoffending as they were, by a party of armed Orangemen.

"It is impossible that *men* treated as we are can be so zealous and enthusiastic in defence of their country, and its liberties, as the situation of the empire seems at present to require. I fear very much the envied, the boasted, the invaluable blessings of the British constitution, are doomed to perish in our own day, and that your ashes will be moistened with the tears of those who survive the liberties of their country, in bitter anguish for having rejected the salutary advice of you, and those worthy characters who acted with you, on the question of our emancipation.

"*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, is an old proverb; *Solamen miseris, socios habere doloris* is another. That the former may not be verified with respect to the British empire is my fervent prayer; if it should, it will be poor consolation for the Catholics to be involved in the common ruin."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, July 12. Eden Farm.—"You will of course have heard that the last quarter gave a deficiency of about 400,000*l*. It is always a bad quarter. In the last year the deficiency was 149,000*l*. In this instance however it is below the most desponding calculations. The current quarter may possibly give a good surplus; but I do not believe that the three remaining quarters will produce 3,900,000*l*. the surplus required, or even $\frac{3}{4}$ of that sum. I understand that the commercial returns to the property tax have greatly fallen off, and there must evidently be a sinking in the customs, excise, stamps, and other imposts.

"The details of the Portuguese and Spanish explosions are regularly sent to me by some old official friends, who are sanguine enough at this hour to believe that Junot is '*aux abois*'; that Dupont has been killed and his army defeated; and that Murat's army will be taken at Madrid. In short they give full credit to all the extravagant tales told in what they call the *Oviedo gazettes*; and yet I have seen from a confidential department of the military branch of government some particulars which incline me to apprehend that, at this hour, Dupont may be in possession of Seville, and possibly of Cadiz; that French armies are pouring into Spain in all directions; and that a patriot army of 17,000 men had actually been defeated and dispersed; and lastly that Junot is in such strength at Lisbon that General Spencer did not

think it safe to land, or expedient to remain with his troops off the Tagus. A few *Moniteurs* and Bayonne bulletins may be expected, and will throw much light on the state of things. In the mean time it is certainly a great advantage to have so far diminished the naval force of the enemy, and to have such a diversion to his energies.

"The Swedish business is curious. Sir John Moore had a long conference on the 22nd and 23rd of June with the King of Sweden, who made some proposals extravagantly ridiculous. They parted seemingly on good terms. At night the Swedish Adjutant-General came to his room, and told him that he was not to go away without the special permission of the King. Sir John Moore ordered his staff privately to embark; and, on the 27th, escaped in the chariot of the secretary of Legation and got to Gottenburg. I shall not be surprised if this mad King should now join the French confederacy. The anecdote attaches a sort of ridicule on us.

"It is true Lord Chatham is to command. Query, where?"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, July 19. Eden Farm.—"Lord Liverpool was so good as to send a messenger to me at eleven o'clock last night with the account of Lord Collingwood, which will be printed in to-day's papers; but neither he nor others who have sent bulletins make any allusion to a despatch from Sir Henry [Hew ?] Dalrymple, dated 24th, which I have seen through a *private* friend, and which positively states that on the 21st, and not before, the first division of Castanos' army marched from Utrera (south-west of Seville) towards Cordova; that Dupont was then pretty far advanced beyond Cordova; and that Moncey, with 10,000 French, had marched towards La Mancha from Madrid on the 4th of June. Still, if Lord Collingwood's intelligence be direct and authentic, we may infer that Dupont will surrender; but hitherto every account received by Government has only proved the falsehood of the preceding account.

"If matters be as represented, I cannot comprehend why Spencer has not landed with his force; or even why a part of the Gibraltar force did not march to join the Spaniards."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, July 20. Eden Farm.—"We are just returned from Roehampton. Lord Bristol and Lord Westmoreland met us there, and the cheerfulness of the latter seemed to be unabated, although Lord Burghersh had set off yesterday morning for Portugal; and an account had been received that Lady Westmoreland is going to the Brazils; and the jury was actually sitting on Lady Boringdon's history, to prepare its details for the eye and comments of the public.

"It was evident that the news received yesterday by the *Confounder* had fallen far short of the galloping expectations of Ministers. The date at Cadiz was as late as the 2nd instant, and there was nothing new in the contents of the letters except a general report that Dupont still remained at Andujar. By the bye, I do not believe that report, if it be true that a French army had marched from Madrid towards La Mancha with supplies on the 4th June. But Lord Westmoreland had evidently not heard of that operation, and appeared to know nothing of Sir Henry [Hew ?] Dalrymple's despatch ; nor had that despatch nor any extract from it been communicated to Lord Liverpool, and yet I know that it exists.

"Sir John Moore was to have dined with us, but was obliged to set off to embark with the additional force, (I believe about 12,000) which is sailing, and is to proceed to be put under the command of Sir H. Dalrymple. Burchard [Burrard ?] is the senior officer in that embarkation. It is supposed that it is again in doubt whether Lord Chatham shall not go to command in Portugal, and that one motive (hardly adequate) is to get the ordnance for Lord Mulgrave ; in order to get the Admiralty for Lord Wellesley or Lord Melville.

"It occurred incidentally that some operation on the side of Italy by Sir John Stuart is expected ; that Sir John Moore's management in Sweden is not relished ; and that the Swedish subsidy continues to be paid."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, August 4. Eden Farm.—"You will understand that some of the particulars which I am going to mention would only be mentioned by me to you, and that I would not mention them any where, so as to be cited for them. Though my opinions on the Portuguese and Spanish speculations have been flatly and avowedly contradictory from the beginning to all that has been professed and circulated by Government, two or three private friends connected with the War Office have good-humouredly continued to make full communications to me ; and yesterday I had in my possession for an hour the correspondence of General Spencer, Castanos, and Sir Henry [Hew.] Dalrymple of the 2nd, 3rd, and 7th July ; and that of the confidential officers accompanying Sir Arthur Wellesley dated off Lisbon 25th July. The general impression and purport of those papers can so little be reconciled to what is circulating by the ministerial news-writers, that the system of deceit seems to me to surpass even the days of Austerlitz. In one word, the true state of our prospects is far gloomier than the gloomiest of our speculations and predictions ; and yet the country and the whole world is assured through the court newspaper, that we are going forwards with brilliant and uninterrupted success.

"First as to Portugal—Sir A. Wellesley found that he had little assistance to hope for from any military aid on the part

of the patriots. He expresses therefore an earnest anxiety for the arrival of the troops under General Spencer. He meant to proceed immediately from the mouth of the Tagus to Mondego Bay, and to land there, and to take post at or near Coimbra. He had received accounts by deserters and through other channels that Marshal Bessières, two or three days after the defeat of Cuesta, had marched to Benevento, and was actually pushing forwards towards Almeida with 10 to 12,000 men, in order to proceed to join Junot. If that report should be confirmed, (and those who send it incline to credit it) it would imply great confidence in the strength and positions of the French armies in the line of post from Bayonne to La Mancha and Andujar; and a prospect of much more difficulty and risk in Portugal than we had expected to encounter. And indeed if the French successes in Spain should be rapid, I should expect soon to see a French army of 50 or 60,000 men in Portugal.

"Next as to Spain.—Castanos, in a letter of 2nd July, writes to General Spencer that by the treachery or misconduct of a large body of Aragon volunteers, which had been entrusted with a pass in the Sierra Morena, called Puente del Rey, an army of 10 or 12,000 French had got possession, and would thereby be enabled to effectuate their junction with Dupont. Castanos marched on the 3rd from Cordova to take a position on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, nearly opposite to Andujar; and he writes that he must attempt to force the bridge of Andujar, or to pass the river higher up; and, at all events, that in obedience to the positive order of the Junta of Seville, he will try the event of a battle. Still under all the circumstances he requests most earnestly that General Spencer may be allowed to advance to Xeres to be ready to help, and to cover his possible retreat towards Cadiz, and to enter eventually that city in order to enable the ships to get out with persons and property, and to escape to South America. Much unpleasant correspondence had arisen on this proposition, and also on a demand for money to pay the Spanish sailors; and much difference of opinion prevailed among the individuals who have the responsibility. Sir H. Dalrymple had flatly and strongly expressed his disapprobation of General Spencer's conduct in having landed. No battle had taken place on the 12th or 15th, and the French re-enforcement must have joined before that time.

"Under all these circumstances our credulous countrymen are made drunk with joy and triumph by official paragraphs and bulletins; and this leads me to remark, that Lord Louvaine, a Lord of the Treasury, not a soldier, the guardian and head of his family during his father's imprisonment in France, with a young wife in a state of pregnancy, and with three young children, is actually gone as a volunteer with General Stuart (Lord Castlereagh's brother).

"I give credit to our friend Lord Temple for more judgment than I should do, if I did not believe that he is only yielding to the impulse of his regiment, and did not give that impulse. But these are small matters to be brought into view as connected with the particulars above stated; and really it is impossible not to look forward to the ultimate result (whatever partial and possible successes on our part may intervene) without serious concern and apprehension."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, August 7. Eden Farm.—"As an Irish peer I have received Lord Clancarty's circular for my vote on the occasion of Lord Clanricarde's vacancy. I believe that I mentioned to you some weeks ago, quite as a *private* communication, that it had been proposed to Mr. Vansittart to be one of three Commissioners (Lord Clancarty being the first) to go to Bengal with very extensive power of enquiry. Vansittart declined without hesitation, and continued to do so when further pressed. Possibly the whole project, which was evidently an indirect mode of transferring the government from Lord Minto to Lord Clancarty, has since been laid aside.

"Accounts of the more interesting kind are hourly expected from Spain and Portugal. But, as yet, I have nothing to add to the discouraging circumstances mentioned in my last. If Marshal Bessières' march from Benevento shall have commenced on the 21*st* July (which Mr. Charles Stuart, now at Corunna, seems to think was the case) he may be sufficiently advanced in Portugal to embarrass Sir Arthur Wellesley, who is supposed to have been near Coimbra (about 130 miles from Lisbon on the 28*th*). Benevento is about 320 miles from Lisbon.

"The Spanish bulletins are beginning to be duly depreciated; and Mr. Canning is reported to have exclaimed

'They beat us all at Oviedo,
They bounce and lie still more than we do.'

"The delusion however still prevails among the young people; Mr. Lemon, I believe, is going to Spain; Lord Louvaine is actually set out, a lord of the Treasury, not a military man, with three children, and Lady Louvaine in an increasing way; and he representing here all the interest of his family, his father being in a French prison and likely to be injured by this foolish step. And Captain Herbert has just deserted from his family, and is come to town, to go also as a land-volunteer.

"I have reason from very good female authority to believe that Lady Melville is most impatient to restore her lord to office, and is tampering by letters to Windsor for that purpose."

Postscript.—"Three millions of dollars have already been sent to Spain; and the expenses of the expedition, including transports, stores, arms for insurgents, is enormous.

"It is said that the bishop of Durham is giving 70,000*l.* (the result of a late law-suit) as a fund to raise the small livings in his diocese."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, August 13. Eden Farm.—"I gave a very accurate account of the despatches from Cadiz and Gibraltar to the 15th July; and certainly it was reasonable to infer either that Castanos would not attack, or that if he should risk an attack, he would be defeated; least of all was it to be expected that, in the course of five days, Dupont and his army and re-inforcements would be prisoners of war. The impression made upon my mind was accordingly such that when the first account of the Seville *gazette* arrived on Monday last, I firmly believed the whole to be a Corunna forgery; and I continued to think so even till yesterday, when I first saw the letters said to be written by Castanos on the 18th and 19th August [July]. I cannot resist the weight of those letters: they seem to me to be genuine. Still, however, where the events in themselves are so incredible, and at the same time of such incalculable importance to us all, I should be extremely glad to have a little scrap of direct confirmation from Lord Collingwood.

"I have not been singular in my scepticism during the whole of this week. Much doubt and anxiety has prevailed even in the minds of some official people. Do not take the trouble to return the enclosed letter, but be so good as to destroy it.

"It is now to be presumed that Sir A. Wellesley will have had a safe and easy task in Portugal. Junot will have been more than half discomfited by the news from Andujar, and by the counter-march of Bessières from Benevento.

"The results which these extraordinary circumstances may create in the north as well as in the south of Europe, added to the extraordinary profusion of expense which has taken place, will probably oblige the Ministers to have recourse to Parliament in November."

SIR J. C. HIPPISLEY to THE SAME.

1808, August 31. Stow Easton House.—"As the 14th of September has been appointed for the assembly of the Roman Catholic prelates in Dublin, I am very anxious to have the aid of your lordship's opinion and advice whether anything further can be advantageously urged to them to promote the object which I trusted would not have been encompassed with so many difficulties.

"I enclose extracts of two letters I wrote to Dr. Troy, early in the discussion; I kept no copies of those I afterwards addressed to him and Dr. Moylan. One of Dr. Troy's letters enclosing the resolutions of 1799, I transmitted before to your lordship, but the *resolutions* themselves were not returned

with the letter. I should be greatly obliged to you to favour me with it, when you can conveniently put your hand upon it.

"I enclose a letter of Cardinal Zondadari (which I sent to Dr. Troy and has been returned by him) to prove what the practice was in the United Provinces, where the civil power *confirmed* the election of every *priest*. There are no bishops in the United Provinces.

"The letters of Cardinal Antonelli, when at the head of the Propaganda, will show the readiness of Rome to assent to any proposition for the advantage of our Government, provided it does not clash with canonical discipline; and most assuredly the *negative* in the mode proposed is of that description.

"The letter of Cardinal Borgia, who succeeded Cardinal Antonelli as Prefect of Propaganda, is a proof that Rome did not object to a provision made by our government for the Roman Catholic clergy; though Dr. Troy had originally expressed great doubts of the assent of the See of Rome.

"The enclosed copy of letter of Sir H. Dalrymple I will thank you to return to me as soon as you have perused it; it was confided to me under circumstances of some delicacy, but I do not scruple to communicate it to you."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, September 16. Eden Farm.—"I have reason to believe on the authority of an official friend (whom I must not name in a letter) that the despatches from Sir Hew Dalrymple have been perused by the King's ministers with expressions of 'the most painful surprise and dissatisfaction.' It appears however from several circumstances that this intelligence had been expected. We happened to dine yesterday with the Duchess of Brunswick at three o'clock, and that the Duke of Kent, who with a *brusquerie* that electrified us all, stated in some detail that he expected nothing but disappointment and disgrace from the proceedings of our army in Portugal, subsequent to the victory of the 21st. The news arrived about three hours afterwards.

"Till we see the despatches, or at least till we know more details than I have yet learnt, it certainly is difficult to comprehend the capitulation of the 30th, after the victory of the 21st, and the subsequent arrival of large re-enforcements to our army. It must be confessed that the Ministers had sent a force amply adequate to their purpose; but so far as our Continental interests are in question, the effect of what has been done will be worse than nothing. We give the impression to the world that we could not venture to renew our battles; though we had double the force of the enemy, and every collateral advantage; and we stipulated to send the French army to the very place where Buonaparte will wish to have them in furtherance of the great attempt which he is now making to conquer Spain. If he should succeed

in that attempt, Portugal must of course be enveloped in the fate of the Spaniards.

"Exclusively of such considerations, the Ministers are now greatly embarrassed as to the other plans which they were pursuing. I have understood that Baird's expedition was intended to land in the north of Spain, in the hope of helping the insurgents to recover the essential district between the Ebro and the Pyranese [Pyrenees].

"The considerations which further present themselves are so large and so complicated that I will not attempt to pursue the subject further at present. But I confess that I begin to fear that both Spain and Portugal will fall; and to think it within possibility that our armies may be exposed either to capture, or to disgrace, or to both.

"It seems to be believed that Parliament will meet in November, but the Speaker has not yet had any intimation."

The Same to The Same.

[1808, September 18.] Eden Farm.—"I am just returned from a Greenwich Board where Lord Hood showed me the particulars from Sir S. Hood, of his having taken a Russian ship of the line. The others, which escaped into Baltic Bay, (westward of Revel) are in an open place at anchor; but under some land batteries which the Russians are extending and strengthening. Sir Samuel Hood was expecting to be joined immediately by the Swedish ships, and very soon by Sir James Saumarez; and it seems probable that further captures of a part or the whole may be made.

"Be so good as to destroy the enclosed. The sense of dissatisfaction described in it is very strong and general. In truth the necessity of such a convention is very difficult to be reconciled to Sir Arthur Wellesley's expression of 'a complete victory gained by a part of his army over the whole force of the French in Portugal.'"

Postscript.—"I have just seen the convention, and it is a new surprise to me to see the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley signed to such a convention on the 22nd, with an army which he had completely defeated on the 21st."

Private. The Same to The Same.

1808, September 20. Eden Farm.—"The opinions of our countrymen on what has recently happened are so universally the same that I find it difficult to say any thing on the subject that is not anticipated in every newspaper. I have just received the two enclosed notes, and send them as specimens, and from intelligent sources; as these notes are from the nature of the transaction somewhat personal, I beg the favour of you to re-enclose them to me.

"I have had occasion to learn, and from immediate authority, what are the feelings at Windsor. On the 4th instant Souza received from the Bishop of Oporto a letter of the 24th August

transmitting a copy of the provisional articles, drawn up with a French column and a blank column. The Bishop remarked that the 1st column was copied from Kellerman's handwriting, and that the blank column had been left for any contra-project; but that the French propositions had been received without objection, and signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Souza carried this note to Canning who received it with indignation, and with expressions that it was *impossible* to be true. It was forwarded to Windsor, and treated in the same manner; but still believed by all concerned to be true. Still there were hopes that something might occur to prevent the conclusion. At present the King is exceedingly angry, and it is settled that Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley shall all be recalled, and that the command shall remain provisionally with Sir John Moore (who, by the bye, showed himself at Stockholm not to be remarkably right-headed). In the meantime the dishonourable employment assigned to our frigates and transports may occupy them many weeks, and interrupt and confound all the operations which were in view.

"An old friend of yours and mine feels all this most poignantly; in truth from the 2nd (when the news of the 'complete victory' arrived) to the 4th when Souza's communication was made, that person was under the persuasion that the whole political and military influence of the United Kingdom would be in his hands, and in those of his three brothers.

"There is a puzzle about the bishopric. Lord Liverpool and Lord Hawkesbury are urgent for Hall, who has only a small living to give up. The King inclines to Legge, who can only spare the living of Lewisham. And the Duke of Portland is for Walter King who would give up two good benefices."

Spanish Affairs.

Report on the composition of the Central Junta.

1808, September 28. Aranjuez.—"I have had several opportunities of being in company with the Duke of Infandado. You know how attractive his manners are, and the revolution has made him one of the most interesting characters in Madrid. I despair of seeing much of the Count Florida Blanca and Janellanos; the first has severe duties to fulfil, for a man of his great age, as the P[resident] of the central Junta, at present scarcely formed; and the latter, I am told, is much broken by his long imprisonment, and must devote the greater part of his day to public business. The Junta are assembled in the palace here, from 9 to 1, and from 7 to 9 in the evening, the *siesta* and visits occupy the few hours that they remain at home.

"I enclose you a list of the members of the central Junta, with such of the observations upon them, as may be collected

from conversations with different people. You will be surprised not to find Saavedra among them. The truth is that the Junta of Seville was formed by the mob, who looked at their work, and did not like it, until some one proposed to give respectability to the whole by placing Saavedra at the head. This provincial Junta is not abolished by the establishment of the central one, at least at present; and the people who are accustomed to obey it, acting under the name of Saavedra, would run riot, if they found it abandoned to the *mauvais sujets*, that they originally placed there. The absence of Saavedra is thus accounted for by the people of Seville; I am afraid the hasty formation of many of the provincial Juntas may be felt in the central one. In some parts of Spain the Juntas are named by a Captain General, in others selected in haste by a mob from the persons among them, and in very few were the deputies the choice of the people. It is natural therefore that complaints should be heard against many persons sent to the central Junta, sometimes for incapacity, sometimes for want of character, and at others that they are not natives of the provinces that they represent. There has been likewise great licence in admitting a larger proportion of members from one kingdom than another, which is not yet talked of for a grievance, though deputies from large cities have been sent back, as 2 from Cadiz, and the same number from a Junta at Carthagena. I agree with you, in your opinion, that the popular assembly should be numerous, but I cannot find a Spaniard who does not think that the number of deputies in the Central Junta is already too large; these numbers are as follows, those marked thus * were present on the 25th.

Seville.—*El Señor administrator, el arzobispo de Laodicea.** He is appointed to officiate as Bishop at Seville, for the Archbishop of Seville and Toledo; a good man—very warmly attached to his patron. The Archbishop of Toledo is a Bourbon, but was not acknowledged by the Court of Spain until the Prince of the Peace married his sister—his younger sister was proposed as the second wife of Ferdinand VII. The Princess of the Peace now goes by the name of the Countess of Chinion.

*El Conde de Tilli.** The other deputy is a noted gambler, who was at the head of the populace at Seville May 26th, a man of some wit, but very slender capacity. It is said that he cannot go to Madrid on account of a criminal process against him for stealing jewellery.

Granada.—*Senor Don Rodrigo Regualme**, a man of great talent and very likely to become a leader in the national Junta; bad heart, and suspected of dishonest intentions.

*El Canonigo Luis Gines Funes.** An ecclesiastic who is not likely to take an active part in any business.

Cordova.—*Marquis de la Puebla.** A plain *good sort of a man.*
Jaen.—Don Juan de Diez Rabe.*
Don Sebastien de Toiano.*
Don Francisco de Paula Castunado.*
Estramadura.—*El Intendiente* Don Martin *Garai*, a man of great talents, an high sense of honour, very likely to become a leader in the Junta, deficient in discernment and not unlikely to be misled by Rigualme.
*El Tesorero Feliz Ovalle.** A man of excellent understanding, great acquired knowledge but ill digested—not likely to take an active part in public life. Subservient to his colleague Garai.
Asturias.—Senor Don Gaspar Melchior Janellanos.* It would be impertinent to sketch his character, but it may be proper to add that the Spaniards believe that he will not develop his talents or take a lead, lest he should be suspected of being ambitious of holding the reins of government.
*El Conde da Campo Sagrado.**
Leon.—*El Senor Don Antonio Valdes.* The Spaniards speak of his '*esprit de corps.*' Daniel, elected in his room by Cuesta, is not received.
Castilla la Viega.—*El Viconde de Quintanilla.*
El Senor Don Lorenzo Boniface Quintano.*
Don Francisco Xavier Cove.
Valencia.—*El Conde de Contamina.**
El Principe Pio. Two quiet members unless they touch upon nobility. The latter is friendly to the Council of Castille.
Murcia.—El Conde Florida Blanca.*
Marques de Villar.* Good natural talents without acquirements.
Cataluna.—Marques de Villal.*
Baron de Sabagona.* A good man, of considerable knowledge of books.
Toledo.—El Vicario Don Pedro Ribero.*
El Avogado Don Jose Manuel Garcia de la Torne, a lawyer of an intriguing disposition and mischievous temper.
Arragon.—Don Francisco Palafox.* Brother of the general.
Senor Don Lorenzo Calvo,* said to be very clever and very cunning.
Mallorca 7.
Islas Balearcs.—Don Tomas de Vin,* an officer in the militia of his island, man of letters, and unlikely that he will take an active part.
Marques de Togone.*
Gallicia.—Conde Gimondi, an honest patriot of plain understanding.
Senor Avalle, who was a cipher in the Junta of Corunna.
Biscay, Navarre and Madrid are wanting.

"Deputies are arrived at the army of Palafox from Navarre, out of whom they are to be chosen; and the Conde de Attamera is said to be one of those named for Madrid. I cannot account for other provinces wanting. I understand that their first meetings were devoted to arranging the form of choosing a president, the duration of that office, *et cetera*, and the dividing themselves into committees for the despatch of business. Florida Blanca, it is supposed, will continue president for two turns, and then that the president will be chosen by lot. Marquis de Villar is appointed to be their organ of communication with the British envoy. They have been pressed upon the subject of military arrangements, since the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, who is empowered to treat about the movements of our army; and they talk of appointing immediately a council of war.

"The state of parties seems to be this. The Council of Castille and the people of Madrid talk of a Regency. The Central Junta declare that they shall exercise the power of the sovereign, and they have proposed to the Council of Castille an oath of allegiance, at which they begin to revolt. It is said that the present members of the Council of Castile are persons unworthy of their trust, mere creatures of the Prince of the Peace. However little they may merit this harsh language, it is certain that the people of the provinces detest them for having issued the edicts of the King (father) on his resumption of his crown at Bayonne; and of the Bonapartes, with the same tame submission as that of Ferdinand. The host of writers and others employed by them at Madrid give them a strong party in their favour; and those noblemen whose views are inclined to the Regency, think well of them. The Junta, however, are alive to the feelings of the people, and they have assembled at a distance from the Council of Castille; but I apprehend they will issue their edicts through that constitutional organ, though the people consider it as impure; so, much discussion must be expected. The Duke of Infantado might have been at the head of the Government; a council of Regency has been a favourite idea among the people, but it never will be so with the Junta. Should such a council be formed, the Duke would be the leading man in it. He is popular, he has been the friend and fellow-sufferer of Ferdinand, has been once named by him Regent, at the period when Charles IV disinherited Ferdinand, and the latter appointed the Duke Regent, in the event of his being prevented ascending the throne on the death of his father. It was this commission to the Duke that was the cause of the arrest at the Escurial. I cannot help thinking that the Council of Castille have the ear of the Duke of I[nfantado], that they wish to put him forward, but on his part we hear of nothing but joining the armies.

"The Central Junta are sometimes spoken of with contempt; it is uncertain whether that may be attributed

to the bad characters of some members, or to a jealousy of the growing influence of the people. It is sometimes represented as ridiculous the people exercising the powers of the Crown; and the slowness of their proceedings is complained of. Don Juan Reviz de Apodaca, who is already in London, is appointed by the Central Junta their envoy. The other deputies are all recalled.

"I rather expect that everything is arranged for our army joining the Spanish forces on the frontier." *Copy.*

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, September 29. Eden Farm.—"Having at this time a good supply of game, and a great abundance of fruits, we happened during the last three days to have had crowded tables and a variety of company, of different parties and descriptions; and I do not recollect any instance in which the feeling of all parties were so strong and so warm as they are with respect to the French convention. It is French in all senses, and is not accompanied in the *gazette* with a translation for the benefit of the country gentlemen. I am told that Sir Arthur Wellesley's family and friends are loud in their protestations that he utterly disapproved it, and merely gave his signature in obedience to his Commander in Chief.

"It will not, however, be easy to persuade even the weakest and most credulous minds, that either the articles of war, or the principles of military subordination require an officer to sign a convention dictated by a beaten enemy *because* his superior officer orders him to sign it; nor indeed is there common sense in the supposition that Sir Hew Dalrymple would give such an order, and such powers, to an unwilling and resisting plenipotentiary. This line of defence, however, is to be taken; and it remains to be seen how far the Ministers, from a desire to manage the feelings of the family and connection, will countenance this explanation. In the meantime I sincerely lament the circumstance, abstractedly from its political importance, and with a view only to its effects on the feeling and character of the individual, whom I believe to possess great military talents, and powers of mind very considerable, though I cannot account for the step which he has taken.

"In the two instruments, even if the general measure had been right, there are many particulars both in form and in substance highly objectionable; and also some conditions on our part, especially as to Spain, which we have no power to carry into effect."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, October 1. Eden Farm.—"You will have seen that the last accounts from Portugal announce that the French have been induced to acquiesce in an explanatory article,

humiliating enough for them so far as it goes, and conciliating in some degree to the Portuguese so far as it may be executed. There are new reports that Sir Arthur Wellesley protested against the instrument to which he had affixed his signature. Nothing is incredible in these times ; but such reports originate probably in the indiscreet zeal of friends. In other respects nothing has occurred to explain or palliate the folly and disgrace attached to the whole transaction. The natural result must be an attempt of the several generals to shift off a part of the blame from their own shoulders to each other, and also to the King's Ministers. I have some reason to believe that it is determined in the Cabinet to send the whole to a court of enquiry, and in that mode to suspend, to a certain degree, and for a certain period, the invectives of the country and of Parliament. In the meantime new incidents may possibly arise to divert the general dissatisfaction.

"Lord Carysfort will receive some interesting details from Lord Proby. If the writer of the answer to Mr. H. Williams had been within reach, he would have considered the nomination of Lord Proby 'as attended with danger to the public interests, and would have felt himself under the necessity of taking measures to counteract so great an evil.' That *little* anecdote would be offensive if it were not ridiculous. It brought immediately to my mind a remark made by Cardinal de Retz '*On fait quelquefois grace à l'impertinence, en faveur de l'extravagance.*'

"The Speaker was here on Tuesday and Wednesday. He did not appear to know anything relative to the meeting of Parliament ; and he saw Mr. Perceval on Wednesday morning. So far as I can collect, means are now using to get a full statement of money matters ; and to accelerate payments into the Exchequer ; and to ascertain the surplus for the 10th instant ; and eventually not to meet Parliament till after Christmas, if such meeting can be avoided. I shall probably write again soon."

Postscript.—"We are to be told that Lord Hutchinson's capitulation with the French at Alexandria was somewhat analogous to the Cintra convention, and yet that Lord Hutchinson was made a peer.

"I believe that Sir John Moore is marching from Portugal towards the northern frontiers of Spain."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1808, October 7. Stowe.—"I had made a delightful progress by all the mouths of Devonshire, then up by Sherborne Castle and Knight's at Downton, to Llangedwin, when I was surprised by a letter of summons from my brother, who wrote to say that the Prince had desired to come and pass three or four days at Stowe 'not as Prince of Wales but as his best and most sincere friend.' The earnestness of my brother's letter left me no doubt, and Watkin and Henry very

goodhumouredly put themselves into a chaise with me and we arrived here before Tuesday, on which day the Prince and Duke of Sussex with the Downshires and Carletons came to Stowe from Ombersley.

"The Prince is perfectly well both in health and spirits, and as gracious as such a letter would lead one to expect. I have had some conversation with him, and my brother has had a great deal. He speaks very graciously of you, and it is evident that the chief object of his visit has been to talk over the speculations which he entertains of a change of government; that a change will be made I do not at all believe, nor can I find any solid grounds for that opinion, or any grounds whatever except such as belong to the embarrassments of the ministers on the subject of the convention. The Prince is however very sanguine; he talks much of the King's extreme dissatisfaction with the present men, of his dislike and contempt of Lord H[awkesbury] and he further adds that the King frequently talks with great praise of your talents, and he the Prince is persuaded that the King would desire nothing more than to have you in the government, if the Catholic question could in any shape be kept from him. I need not repeat to you that, although I think it material to state to you these as the present speculations of the Prince, I do not myself see any reason to believe that there is any ground for them. My own expectation is that the Ministers will sacrifice Sir Hew to the public indignation, that they will pacify the enraged Wellesley who is just come home, and that Bonaparte's army will advance into Spain and render the English command there an object of less interest and ambition than it now is; the real difficulty will be for ministers to find the means of paying the bill for these expenses, and I should not think that an enviable task for any man to accomplish. It may however be your lot to engage in it, and the Prince has been very explicit to my brother as to his own dispositions towards you, whenever he has any option on these subjects. The Prince goes to town to-morrow to see Holland before he embarks for Spain, and he goes to Windsor on Sunday.

"My brother had written to Lord Wellesley to state his wish to be of use to Sir A[rthur] as far as could be consistent with the most decided disapprobation of the convention; and Lord W[ellesley's] answer desires to defer writing on the subject till he hears more from Sir A[rthur]; but meantime he thinks himself able to assure Lord B[uckingham] that Sir A[rthur] disapproves highly of the convention, protested against it, and will be found to stand entirely clear of all the blame that is attached to it; this is accompanied with words of violent invective against that '*insolent upstart C.*'

"The Duke of Sussex yesterday received a letter from Princess Mary to tell him that she has never in her life seen the Duke of York so much oppressed and out of spirits as he now is; and from what I collect of the Prince's conversation,

he is not a whit more cordial to the Duke now than he was two years ago.

"I find that they sounded the Prince about Lord Moira's going in command, that he encouraged the idea, and then they took fright and abandoned it; the report now is that they have sent for Lord Hutchinson, and the Prince thinks that they may probably mean to send the Duke of York and Lord Hutchinson with him; he does not seem to know anything of this with certainty. The whole bent of his conversation is to express a strong wish that you may not be too difficult if any proposition is made to you from the King; and it is evident to me that he wishes to promote and assist a negotiation of this sort, and feels confident that it might be made practicable. I have no faith, and have told him that I have no faith, in any considerable change, but this language from me is not popular with him, for he is evidently possessed with the notion of the King's intentions to make a change, and has made himself eager in the wish for it, and in the belief that it will happen.

"I write you this hurried scrawl while the Prince is driving with Lady Buckingham, but I suppose you will have a long letter from my brother as soon as he has leisure to write.

"Lord Stafford has met Lord Ashburton who has given him his proxy, saying that he does so supposing you to be full."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, October 10. Eden Farm.—"I dined on Saturday at Lord Liverpool's, and learnt from him that the Treasury calculators think it practicable to 'go on' till after Christmas; and consequently that it is not meant to meet Parliament before the 10th, or perhaps even the 20th January.

"We shall probably see to-morrow the return of the surplus; there are hopes, which I sincerely wish may be verified, that it will not be less for the quarter than two millions; but I shall greatly doubt it till I see it.

"The East and West India importations have certainly been very great; but the warehouses are filled to the brim, and the duties therefore are not received.

"General Burrard remains in command at Lisbon. Sir John Moore goes with a large body of troops to the north of Spain. But the march through Portugal is so full of difficulties that he must re-embark and proceed by sea.

"Sir H. Dalrymple is expected in the course of this week. Sir A. Wellesley's return does not yet appear to have thrown any light on the motives of the convention. But there certainly was not any protest on his part. Some persons high in office, who wish to cultivate the Wellesley interest, argue that the commander-in-chief only is amenable in such cases; that whatever is signed by any inferior officer, and is previously known to the commander-in-chief, is absolutely the act of

the latter ; and that it is an impertinence to ask whether the inferior approved or disapproved either previously or subsequently. Thus, the whole is to be thrown on Sir Hew ; and he is to be defended by showing on the other hand that, in the opinions of the generals under him, the difficulties of the country, the French possession of all the forts, the equinox, the further measures in view, the want of provisions altogether made it his duty to adopt the convention.

"There is certainly to be a court of enquiry, possibly to be followed by a court-martial. Much both as to this and larger matters will depend on the result of the struggle to be made towards the north-west angle of Spain."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 11. Eden Farm.—"I have received a note this morning from a person who has daily occasions to confer with the Ministers. I infer from it that all the officers arrived from Portugal take the line of defending the convention, and disavow the fable that it had been protested against.

"The words are, 'it is said that the terms were for the purpose of accelerating the evacuation of Portugal. Junot might have kept us employed in that country for six months. It is now expected that Sir J. Moore may reach the northern provinces of Spain in time to co-operate in driving Joseph beyond the Pyrenees, before the arrival of his brother's reinforcements. Tonnage for the embarkation of 20,000 men was provided, independent of what was to be employed in carrying the French *to a destination where* they will be paralized for this campaign.

"'The French army in Portugal was more numerous than was apprehended here ; not much inferior to the whole corps of British troops sent to dislodge them ; and their positions in and about Lisbon could not have been carried without considerable loss.'"

SPANISH AFFAIRS.

1808, October 14. Aranjuez.—"The Central Junta are still at Aranjuez and have put off to a distant day their removal to Madrid. Last night they made the following appointments :—

Cevallos	to be	Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Hermida	,,	Grace and Justice—or Home Department.
Cornell	,,	War.
Escaño	,,	Marine.
Saavedra	,,	Hacienda—or Treasury.
Bishop of Orcusc		Inquisitor-general.

"Florida Blanca is is to continue president of the Junta with a salary of 25,000 dollars a year. He is to reside in the palace, to have the title of Highness, and to have an escort of guards when he appears in public. Garay, one of the deputies,

is appointed Secretary of the Junta. Each of the members is to have a salary of 3,000 dollars. Their persons are declared inviolable. They are to wear the dress of Counsellors of State with a crimson velvet mantle thrown over it on gala days. They are all arrived at Aranjuez, and Cuesta and Valdes are now before them waiting their decision. The Council of Castille is very submissive and obedient to their orders, and they have become very popular at Madrid.

"Since the report of the French having received reinforcements, there has been unusual activity in providing for the march of the armies. By intercepted letters it appears that the French are promised reinforcements on the 20th.

"To-day, being the birthday of Ferdinand 7th, there was a court in the palace, and the few foreigners at Aranjuez were presented to the President at the head of the Junta. No foreign minister was present except Mr. Stuart. The only members of the diplomatic corps remaining at Madrid are the Russian ambassador, Count Stroganoff, and the Chargés d' Affaires of Austria and the United States. It is said that the Junta means to appoint Ministers to Vienna and Petersburg."

1808, October 21. Saragossa.—"The greatest zeal and activity pervade Aragon. No province has received less assistance or made greater exertions. The defence of Saragossa is one of the most extraordinary events in modern war. The Aragonese soldiers are finely formed men for military service. There is a want of muskets here, but a supply is expected from Seville by the way of Tarragona. There is great enthusiasm in favour of the English among all ranks. Palafox and his staff wear cockades, half Spanish and half English, with Ferdinand 7th on one side and George 3rd on the other. He is a young man, of a good figure, a spirited intelligent countenance, and pleasing manners.

"There has been an action in Cataluna, in which 3,000 French have been defeated with the loss of 1,000 men by the Catalans."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, October 18. Eden Farm.—"Though I am much occupied in this month by planting, wood cutting, and such work, I learn partly from the newspapers and partly from accidental correspondents that there are great changes for the worse in our Continental prospects. It is now understood, that the Russian fleet cannot be captured; that the Russian and French emperors are not likely to disagree (I expect to hear that a kingdom is given or promised to Constantine); that Austria disavows any inclination to quarrel; that Napoleon is, probably at this hour, on the road towards Bayonne; and (which is justly alarming) that Marshal Ney is actually at

the head of an immense force on the northern coast of Spain and has retaken Bayonne [Bilbao?]. If those last circumstances should be true, our armies now sailing from English ports and from Portugal may arrive too late, and may soon become objects of extreme anxiety to us.

"Much doubt is entertained respecting the prudence of the King's answer to the city address. It is evidently not the composition of Lord Hawkesbury, but its unpopularity may lie unpleasantly on his shoulders."

Postscript. Palace Yard, October 18th.—"On coming into town I met an Admiralty acquaintance who told me that accounts dated the 5th instant from Corunna to the Admiralty state that, on the approach of Ney with 12,000 men towards Bilboa, the Spaniards retreated without loss or interruption; and that Cuesta, Palafox, and Romagna were forming a junction, and talked with the utmost confidence of being able to surround and take Marshal Ney's whole force. My informant added, that our force, now meant to be assembled, would consist of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry; but that great difficulties had been started by the Spaniards, respecting the means of finding quarters, provisions, or forage. The official language admits no doubt of success."

George Ponsonby to Lord Grenville.

1808, October 19, Corville, Roscrea.—"I am afraid that you will think me very remiss in not having written to you before upon the subject of the Catholic proceedings in this country, but I have waited for an answer to a letter I wrote to Grattan, who was in Dublin when the bishops passed their resolutions, and who had seen some of them afterwards. I send you among other things a copy of that answer, which I have very lately received, as he had sailed for England, and my letter did not catch him before he left Ireland. When I arrived from England there seemed to be no doubt of the bishops agreeing to the plan traced out in Mr. Milner's letter to me, and from which I stated what I said in Parliament; and Lord Fingall told me on Friday last, that neither he or Milner had the least idea of their not declaring their acquiescence in it until the day almost of their meeting. After they had passed their resolution and published it, Doctor Milner wrote to me a letter of which I send you a copy; and I cannot help observing that it required a good deal of confidence to write that letter to me, after having published in the Waterford, and, I believe, the Cork newspapers, a letter which I have cut out of one of them and now enclose to you. At the time I received his letter relative to the conduct of the bishops, I was in a part of this country distant from Dublin, and in which neither a Cork nor Waterford paper is ever circulated; and I wrote him a very civil answer expressive of my regret at the resolution of the bishops, and of my apprehensions of the injurious consequences which might

follow from it ; and I also mentioncd my satisfaction at his having been continued in their agency. Some time after, Mr. Lee, the late member for the county of Waterford, came to William Frittie's, where I was, and showed me the newspaper with Dr. Milner's letter in it, which so astonished me that I determined to go to Dublin and see Lord Fingall and Doctor Milner. I went accordingly and saw Lord Fingall, but the Doctor had been some time gone to England. I asked Lord Fingall if he remembered that when the doors of the House were unlocked after the division, I saw him in the lobby, and asked him (he having been present at the debate) if I had observed my instructions, and been correct in my statement, and that he had replied ' most correct, perfectly exact.' He said he remembered perfectly both the question and the answer, and that his opinion was exactly the same still. I then showed him the publication, and Doctor Milner's letter to me upon the day before the debate, and pointed out to him thc charges against those he calls ' our orators,' and the contradictions in the letters themselves. He expressed great surprise, but also great satisfaction at my having luckily kept the letter of Milner. We then proceeded to thc discussion of the resolution, and after making to him the observations which the word *inexpedient* naturally suggested to me, I asked him if they would declare that they meant to apply their resolution only to the *present state of things*, and that their refusal to make any alteration in the mode of appointing their colleagues, was to be considered as commensurate only with the refusal of Parliament to consider their claims. He replied that individually several had made that declaration ; but that they had been applied to to make it collectively, and had declined to do so. He said the laity were determined not to acquiesce ; that the bishops must give way, for that otherwise their resolution would be a bar to their claims ; and he said it was in the contemplation of the laity to try and send a person to Rome, as they conceived the Pope to be favourably disposed. I could collect from him that there were great feuds and animosities among the Catholic body, and to this circumstance I am much inclined to attribute the conduct of the bishops, that is of the majority ; for he said that he understood that six of them had voted against the rcsolution. The conduct of their petition last year having been entrusted to Lord Fingall, and their cause appearing to be much advanced in the public opinion, it seemed to me that the party among them which is opposed to the party of the gentry, or what they term the aristocratical party, and which had suffered by its intemperance while you were in office in 1806, was determined to thwart the success even of their own general cause, rather than allow the credit of it to their adversaries ; and for that purpose joined with some of their high churchmen who do not choose that any layman, even a Catholic (much less a Protestant) should

have any interference in what they eonsidered a chureh privilege. Besides, I need not point out to you how much the indigence of the catholie clergy puts them in the power of the agitating and designing part of their own community, who can easily work on the minds of the ignorant (much the most numerous) part of their floek, and upon whom they are principally dependent for their support. From all that I have been able to learn, the gentry are universally disgusted with the eonduct of their clergy; but I daresay the clergy can, if they please, excite the common people against the gentry. I am the more confirmed in the truth of this conjecture by a letter which I reeeived from the Catholie Archbishop of Dublin before I left London (and of which I enelose you a copy) in which he expresses the greatest satisfaetion at what I had said relative to the disposition of their bishops; and none 'of the orators' are accused of having said anything contrary to their sentiments, or subversive of the rights or doctrine of the Catholic ehurch. In addition to the other matter which I send you, I enclose you a letter published by Mr. Lee, and addressed to the Catholies of the city and county of Waterford, and in which you will observe certain words marked by a stroke of the pen beneath them. These words were inserted by Doctor Power, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, and he showed me the original manuscript corrected by Doctor Power himself. Lee could not find out which way the Doctor voted. I also enclose you a eopy of a letter which the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin has written to Newport upon this subjeet; although this is probably unneeessary, he having in all likelihood sent it to you himself.

"This country is perfectly quiet exeept in the counties of Kerry and Limerick. The Bishop of Limerick is now in this house, and I have had much conversation with him about the disturbances whieh are within his diocese. In the former county every thing is levelled against tithes, and he says the outrages far exceed those of the 'Threshers;' but no special commission has been sent, nor any effeetive steps taken to repress them. He says the government has been much urged to exert itself, but that they have deelined, saying they *do not choose to have it thought that their administration is weak or unpopular.* Of course he does not wish this to be repeated. In the latter eounty there seems to be little more than an absence of all government; the magistracy does nothing, and a licentious populaee indulges itself in whatever excesses it pleases. I do not believe that any polities, or rather any French agency, mixes in these disgraceful proceedings.

"If you answer this letter, pray direct to me under cover to Edward Taylor Esquire, Mountjoy Square, Dublin. I expect to be able to set out for London the first week in Deeember."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 19th. Trentham.—"I am glad to find by your letter that your wanderings to the end of the land have so much exceeded your expectation; my picturesque course has been a good deal disturbed by the forced march to Stowe of which I have already given you some account, and I know not that I have anything very material to add in respect to the royal visit, except that it lasted from Tuesday to Saturday, and that the Prince departed from Stowe with the opinions which I had described to you, and left me with some expressions of surprise at the total incredulity which I took the liberty of professing. In that incredulity I do now most entirely remain; but I must fairly own that I have found since, that the language which the Prince held has prevailed much more than I had expected, and has so much prevailed that I do not wonder at any *very* sanguine mind having been much impressed by it. I find by my friends here that being last week at Bishops-Thorp, they saw a letter written to H. G. the *master of the house*, from *his eldest* sister, in which she spoke 'with great *dismay* of the division and confusion that prevailed among the Ministers, and more than ever congratulated her brother that in time of such storm he had got into a safe harbour.' I have likewise just received a letter from Brighton in which the writer tells me that Tierney, who is there, gives it as his opinion that although Canning has succeeded in resisting the appointment of the Duke of York, he has so entirely quarrelled with most of his colleagues, that he will certainly quit the government. I believe no such thing, but you see from these two opposite sources of intelligence how much the reports of this nature are current, and how widely they must have spread. That Canning has much inflamed the dislike which the King and the Duke had to him, and that he has mortally offended his colleagues and especially Perceval, I do not in the least doubt; but I have not the least confidence in their being stout enough to turn him out, and still less in his resigning his office as long as he can keep it. In the same manner also do I reason about the Wellesleys, whose friends have vapoured loudly as to what they and Sir A[rthur] will do, whereas I think it is easy enough to know what they will not do, and upon that probability, I see that you and I are most perfectly agreed. Your letter, however, shows me that you are inclined to give great weight to the argument of Wellesley's supposed *protest*, and to the assertion of his having signed only in obedience to his general; such also had been the inclination of my mind, but at the house which I have last left I had, as you may guess, some opportunity of hearing what was supposed to be his language, and these expressions are of so very flabby a quality that they have in them nothing that resembles any firmness of character, or confidence in his cause. The words quoted to me as having been used by him to Ministers

are these, 'he had done *his* duty, had *no complaint* to make, but would not be *punished*'; and that these words were actually his I am the more persuaded, because the person who quoted them, spoke of them with great admiration, as an instance of the firm and manly language which he had held to Ministers. It seems that he rested his cause wholly upon the King's receiving him at Court, and claimed his right of going to the *levée as a Privy Councillor*. Lord Castlereagh suggested the inconvenience of Wellesley meeting the city address, but finding Wellesley persist in going, Lord Castlereagh on the Wednesday morning sent a message to *Wellesley's aide de camp* to say that he would present Sir Arthur. Not one word, however, have I heard from any good authority of *protest* either verbal or written; and if he means to assert that he signed only *in obedience*, he must have to prove that he made at the time the strongest protest verbal or written that the circumstances of the case would admit of. My own guess is that he thought every possible advantage lost in his being prevented by Burrard from pursuing the retreating army, and that he was ill-judging enough to conceive that the disgrace of the convention which he signed would fall upon Burrard's conduct in having produced it, and not upon his signature. If this however be the case, how comes he not to see that a complaint on his part against Burrard is the only possible tendency to justification of his own character in the first instance; and, secondly, that complaint against Dalrymple for forcing him to sign is the only justification of his own signature to the convention; and yet, with all this, his words—if they are true as I believe them to be—announce to Ministers that *he has no complaint*, but that he must not be punished; and I perceive that the general notion is that Government is to defend Wellesley and Burrard, and as much of the convention as they can. In the meantime, however, you will have remarked that Ministers in leaving Burrard in command of the whole army, have shown that they do not even question his conduct in his having stopped the proposed pursuit by Wellesley, and that, so far, they have actually pronounced in favour of Burrard *versus* Wellesley.

"*A propos* to protests, I must not forget to tell you of the incalculable mischief that has been produced by the protest of the Irish Catholic bishops, and by Milner's letter on that subject. Both at the houses that I have left, and at this house, and by letters, I find a most eager determination to mark the strongest dissent from this new violence on the part of Keogh and the democrat Catholics; and on this subject my own opinions would lead me to be as warm in language as my friends are, but the public calamity produced by this misconduct of these furious demagogues overwhelms with me all other considerations. If by this intemperance and dereliction of all loyal and moderate professions of former

times, they make it thus impossible for us to press, and hopeless for us to obtain from the country or the King, the real grounds of union and harmony between Great Britain and Ireland, what can we ever look to again for the tranquillity of that country, and the safety of this ? "

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 28. Eden Farm.—" Though the times are interesting and eventful, I do not know that I can send from Kent into Cornwall any intelligence beyond what you will find with customary exaggerations and distortions in the several newspapers.

" I will, however, transcribe the following note which I have just received from a friend connected with the official people.

" ' We are living in a state of most anxious expectation from Spain. It is true that Moore is to march northwards, and it is by the advice of Castanos that he has taken that course.'

" ' The two Emperors wrote two letters to our King in the same words, only with an alteration of precedence in their signatures. The answer is not yet sent.'

" Few of the strange arrangements in the conduct of our naval and military force have surprised me more than Moore's proposed march. The distance from Lisbon to Burgos cannot be less than 550 miles, which for a march of 12 miles per day, without halting, would be 46 days. Supposing the army therefore to set off on the 16th October, it may arrive about the 1st December. In addition to this, we must advert to the wear and tear, and expense, and fatigue, and risks of such an undertaking, in which, if mishaps should take place, there will be no resource. The roads in this rainy season bad ! the want of provisions and forage extreme ! The means of conveyance in small carts and on the backs of mules very difficult ! the transport of artillery still more difficult. If it be really true that there were transports to the extent of 20,000 tons in the Tagus (which though asserted may be doubted) this decision appears to me strangely extravagant. In the mean time Baird's army continued on the 17th instant at anchor in the port of Corunna. I understand that Finland is considered as lost."

SIR JOHN NEWPORT to THE SAME.

1808, October 20. New Park.—" I have been some time intending to write on the subject of the unhappy and infatuated line of conduct which Roman Catholic prelates have pursued by publishing resolutions which have already, and must continue still more essentially to impede the progress which had been made by the exertions of your lordship and other true friends of the country in disposing the public mind to view that great question in its true light. I confess I think on this act as one either of gratuitous folly, or of bad and

mischievous design, with so much pain from the manifest truth of evils which attend upon it that, except to a very near friend with whom I can think aloud, I do not love to write at all upon the subject. Much of what has led to such a decision is and must be only known to themselves; what I know besides conjecture you will learn from the letters of which I enclose copies in two covers. I thought it a necessary part of that open and candid course of political conduct which I trust I have ever pursued, not to leave Dr. Troy in doubt for a moment upon my sentiments, as he had thought proper to introduce the subject to me, nor, from an ill-advised apprehension of giving offence, to allow him to suppose that I viewed the measure but as one fraught with the most ruinous consequences. I do not think I should have properly valued the tranquillity of my country had I acted otherwise. I shall be much gratified to find that you think I acted right. Ponsonby is highly and justly irritated at their conduct, and especially at a letter of Milner, published in the papers here a short time before he wrote to Ponsonby, but which the latter had not seen till after he answered Milner's letter. It certainly does, as Ponsonby remarks in his letter to me, pass comprehension how any man could have effrontery sufficient to write to him as Milner did, after publishing such a letter. He adds, 'it becomes impossible for me to preserve any measures with him, for I cannot allow him to represent me as uttering deliberate falsehoods in the House of Commons. Unfortunately Grattan has been gone some time to England. I suppose he never saw Milner's letter in which he so roundly asserts Lord Grenville himself and me to be in effect shameless liars.' He has sent me a copy of a letter from Lord Grey lamenting the resolutions most seriously, and anxiously enquiring the causes which could have led to such a mischievous change of opinion. Whilst I am writing I have received another letter from Mr. Ponsonby, by which I learn that he was on the point of writing to you, so that you may probably have the trouble of reading twice over several of the same papers. He will transmit to you, I doubt not, Lord Fingal's *renewed confirmation* of the accuracy of his (Ponsonby's) statement and that of your lordship, respecting the proposed negative of the Crown. This whole transaction *too* strikingly resembles an unhappy and mischievous interference of the Roman catholic prelates in 1643 or 4, when matters were approaching to accommodation in this divided country. I would not hazard this comment but to a friendly eye like yours. Enough, you will say, and more than enough of this hateful subject, but '*Proximus ardet . . . .*' "

"What think you of the not very gentle rebuke which the city of London have received? Our discreet and courtly citizens of Dublin, who seldom venture to sea, have also for once got beyond their depth and followed the example; with the additional offence of having negatived Mr. Giffard's

motion of introducing a compliment to Sir A. Wellesley on the battle of Vimeira into the *address*."

(1) Rev. Doctor Milner to George Ponsonby.

1808, September 21. Dublin.—"Understanding that you are at a distance from Dublin, I take up my pen before I leave this country to express my great concern at the decision of our Catholic bishops as to the *inexpediency of altering the usual form of appointing their colleagues*. This resolution, however, they have repeatedly declared only applies to the *existing circumstances*; and that should *a truly friendly and virtuous ministry* ever call upon them to *reconsider their resolution*, they will do so. They have added, in justice to me, that I had sufficient reasons to believe they would *concede the qualified veto*; accordingly they have unanimously voted me their thanks, and have requested me to continue in their agency, which I had resolved to quit. Their motives for the decision in question are; *first*, their apprehension of being overreached and deceived by Ministers, as they acknowledge was the case when they voted this very measure in 1799. *Secondly*, the alarm of their pious but not very wise flocks who, chiefly from the newspaper reports of your eloquent speech, supposed that their church was in danger, and that the royal supremacy was upon the point of being admitted. *Thirdly*, the inflammatory publications of an anti-Anglican faction, which dreads nothing so much as the drawing closer together the bonds which unite the two islands. This faction represents me in the newspapers as being the *hired emissary of Mr. Percival*, and threatens to burn me in effigy. On the other hand, some few of our leading gentry are so indignant at the resolution of the prelates that they threaten to make a schism in the body. I think that you will wish to keep them altogether, as Mr. Grattan does, whom I had the honour to see yesterday; and am to have the honour of meeting again at Tinnehinch on Friday."

Enclosing (2).

Archbishop Troy to Sir John Newport.

1808, September 27. Dublin.—"The various constructions put on the resolutions of the prelates lately assembled here on the subject of the King's negative in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops, and the charge of inconsistency preferred against those prelates who had agreed to a qualified *veto* in January, 1799, induces me to inform you of the motives which determined the prelates at both periods.

"At the former, when the Union question was pending, the subject was proposed immediately after a rebellion, and by an administration then considered friendly to Catholics, and seemingly anxious to emancipate them, in order to unite all his Majesty's subjects in defence of the empire. Ten

Catholic prelates then here on business concerning Maynooth College, resolved that a qualified *veto*, to be sanctioned by the Pope, might be granted to his Majesty in the expected case of Catholic emancipation; for it was distinctly stated by me to Lord Castlereagh, then Chief Secretary, that the proposed provision for the Catholic clergy, if accepted, was to be the consequence and not any condition of actual emancipation. During the discussion of Catholic claims in the last session, some of our Parliamentary best advocates mentioned the *veto* as likely to be agreed to by the Irish Catholic prelates; but unfortunately their speeches were falsely reported in the newspapers. Mr. Ponsonby, in particular, was stated to have said that, by the exercise of the *veto*, his Majesty would become virtually the head of the Catholic church in Ireland. This fatal mis-representation was believed, and excited general alarm amongst the Catholics, who concluded that nothing less than the subversion of their hierarchy was intended. In these circumstances the trustees of Maynooth College assembled there in June last, according to annual custom. The prelates of the Board were requested by two of their respectable lay colleagues, a noble lord and a baronet, to deliberate and determine on the subject, which, being of a very important and delicate nature. they declined to do, not having instructions from their absent brethren nor any authority to act for them. Wherefore they proposed a general meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates to be held here on the 14th instant, which has accordingly taken place; and at which they resolved that it is *inexpedient* to alter the mode hitherto observed in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in this kingdom, and pledged themselves to recommend such personally to his Holiness as shall be of unimpeachable loyalty, and peaceable conduct.

"As expediency or inexpediency is regulated by variable circumstances and is not the result of any fixed principle, the resolution cannot be fairly construed to condemn a qualified *veto* as inadmissible, or to preclude the reconsideration of it hereafter under other more favourable circumstances.

"The present administration not having made any proposal concerning the *veto*, and being avowedly hostile to Catholic claims, the prelates conceived it unbecoming in them to propose any change in so vital a part of their ecclesiastical discipline as the appointment of bishops without even the hope of obtaining emancipation, or any valuable political consideration by it for the Catholic body. Besides, such a proposal to such an administration under the present circumstances from the prelates, would be considered as a petition for the *veto*, which they do not solicit or desire. If a proposal of this kind had been made to the prelates by Government, as it was in 1799, with the view of attaching the Catholics still more to the Constitution by communicating to them all the benefits of it, they might have adopted a resolution

similar in principle to that subscribed to by ten of them in that year. These prelates have not been inconsistent, nor contradicted themselves in resolving that the *veto* is at present inexpedient; as the circumstances of one period and the other are widely different. It would in the opinion of many have been better if the prelates had not met on the subject; but having assembled, they found it absolutely necessary to resolve something to satisfy the public Catholic mind, and to permit the publication of their resolution in order to prevent misrepresentation. As Mr. Grattan pledged himself in some degree on this question, Doctors Milner, Moylan, and I availed ourselves of the occasion of dining with him at Tinnehinch last Friday to explain the nature and grounds of the late resolution. I regret the necessity of having made it public, as it will be misunderstood by some, and misinterpreted by many, in England and Ireland.

"Doctor Power has probably conferred with you since his return to Waterford; whether or not, I thought it my duty to acquaint you likewise with the particulars I have mentioned, knowing how much you are interested in every measure tending to the prosperity and peace of our country.

"Lord Fingal has received a requisition signed, as I hear, by some noblemen and gentlemen to call a meeting of Catholics to consider the resolution of the prelates. Whatever resolutions shall be adopted at this meeting, should it take place, will create division amongst Catholics; an evil deprecated by all their friends."

(2) Sir John Newport to Archbishop Troy.

1808, October 5.—"You will I hope excuse the unavoidable delay which has taken place in my returning acknowledgments and thanks for your letter containing a very full statement of what has passed on the subject of the resolution of the Roman Catholic prelates.

"Unused to disguise my feelings, I cannot do otherwise than express my sincere regret at the circumstances which have taken place, and at the terms in which that resolution has been conveyed to the public. I am seriously apprehensive that the consequences will be most injurious in retarding the progress which we had made so rapidly and decidedly during the last session of Parliament in disposing the public mind to admit the completion of the most signal benefit which the united kingdom can experience.

"That the term expedient will fairly admit the interpretation which you have affixed to it as conveying the sense of the prelates, there is no doubt; but you have also admitted that it is susceptible of misconstruction by some, and of misrepresentation by many. When we know then that our enemies (and under that term I now class not only those powerful men who oppose the measure as clashing with their petty and personal interests, but also those who in real sincerity

of heart are disinclined to it upon honest though, as I conceive, mistaken principles) will so misconstrue and misinterpret whatever had proceeded from that respectable meeting, would it not have been far better that the resolution adopted (if any) had been so worded as to leave no room for doubt or uncertainty as to its meaning! Would it not still be desirable that it should be specifically and accurately restricted to present circumstances, and the refusal of Parliament to enter on the consideration of the Catholic claims at the present period; leaving it open expressly to future consideration at a fitter and more favourable opportunity. If something to this effect cannot be done, how much better would it have been that no meeting had taken place, or that the meeting had separated without coming to any resolution. I write to one who is well informed on the subject, and who knows that in the case of the bishopric of Breslaw in Silesia under the Prussian monarchy, and that of Mohilow under the Russian (both non-Catholic princes) a much greater cession of power was made with consent of the Pope to both those sovereigns, than was here either looked for or desired, namely, the power of nomination absolutely, and without any control other than the ceremony of confirmation.

"I will not further encroach on your time, which is, I am well assured, actively and usefully employed; but must repeat my sincere and heartfelt concern at what has passed, and my most anxious wish that some measure could be adopted which may diminish those evils which I fear must result from it.

"You do me, be assured, only justice in giving me credit for steady attachment to the interests of Ireland; and it will always give me pleasure to be so considered by you."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1808, October 26. Trentham.—"Tucker has just enclosed to me a letter which Lord St. Vincent desired me to forward to you, if I thought it worth while to do so; of course I have undertaken to send it to you, and I acquit myself of that promise, although there is not much in the letter. Lord Stafford has just signed a requisition for a county meeting for an address praying the King to assemble his Parliament; neither you nor I are, I believe, *very* solicitous for an early meeting, but upon public grounds I own I think this prayer is the most constitutional ground of address; and I approve it the more from the persuasion that no fair enquiry can be had without implicating in it the conduct of Ministers, and the conduct of Ministers can only be enquired into by the authority and intervention of Parliament. I think, therefore, this ground solid and constitutional; and in addition to that, all that is daily said of the prevailing impression of the weakness and distraction of the present Ministers, must lead the country to wish for the intervention of Parliament, and to

feel with impatience that the great interests of the present moment are left absolutely to the negligences and ignorances of the present Ministers. The state, however, of the Treasury account makes it clear that unless a strong effect is produced by the expression of the public impatience for Parliament, the Ministers will desire nothing more than to go blundering on till February or March, in hopes that the discussion of their misconduct may be superseded by more recent events, prosperous or unprosperous.

"My last letters from town suppose that the Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, and Canning are the opposing party of the present Cabinet; I hear too that H. Wellesley is to quit the Treasury for something better, and that Sir A. Wellesley is likely to be entirely bound up in the case of the convention, which is to be supported by Government. All this is uncertain; what is most certain is that none of them have spirit enough to resign, though there is more division among them than ever prevailed in any Cabinet."

Lord Grenville to George Ponsonby.

1808, November 3. Boconnoc.—"I had seen with very great concern the resolution of the Irish Catholic bishops, and am sorry to observe that the impression it has produced here is even greater than might perhaps have been expected. With respect to the accuracy of the statements made by the friends of the Catholics in Parliament I never felt any uneasiness, knowing that I had a written authority for the very words which I myself had used, and that the suggestion laid before Parliament was exactly conformable to the spirit of that which had been agreed to in 1801. I have now the satisfaction of seeing from the papers which you enclosed to me, and which I now return, that the communication on which you acted was also in writing, and in terms so distinct and precise as to admit but of one interpretation. But the evil consequences of this event to the public interests are indeed extensive, and greatly to be lamented. The contrast between the real and supposed situation of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland is, to be sure, striking enough, but I fear the difference is not in favour of the interests of the empire. Instead of a set of arrogant and assuming prelates leading their flocks in blind submission, and grasping at the whole power of government both spiritual and temporal in Ireland, we see a body of men afraid to avow what they have done; driven by mere newspaper clamour from measures which they, or at least a considerable part of them, have deliberately sanctioned; disclaiming their friends and stooping to their assailants; and at last wording their resolves in such terms as may convey to one party the impression that change would be inexpedient at any time, and to the other, that it is so only under the present circumstances. This last point I imagine they must in some shape or other more distinctly

explain, and on the explanation of it much of the future conduct, both of the Catholic laity, and of the well-wishers to measures of conciliation and union in Ireland must probably depend. The purpose of conciliating the affections of the mass of the Irish population to the laws and government of the United Kingdom is one which, I feel confident, we never shall abandon. The means to be pursued for this end must vary with the course of such events as those. This is now the second instance in the course of two years in which the endeavours of the friends of the Catholic cause have been materially, if not fatally, impeded by the conduct of the Catholics themselves. My anxiety for the success of that cause is not in the least abated by these events, although my hopes are.

"I hardly venture, at this distance from many whose opinions are entitled to so much weight on the subject, to hazard any judgment of my own, as to the precise moment at which the Catholic laity should require from the bishops the explanation above mentioned. The opportunity taken for the whole discussion by assembling the prelates this autumn to deliberate on the subject was certainly most unfavourable. The whole power of Government is on the watch to be employed against them, to take advantage of their difficulties, to inflame their divisions, and to misrepresent their motives and their actions. Those among themselves who are hostile to conciliatory propositions have the advantage of discussng every concession made to Government, not as it would be used by Governments in general, but as being to be placed in the hands of bigots and persecutors; those who would recommend moderation cannot flatter themselves or their hearers that, while the present system prevails, moderation will be of any effect to disarm intolerance.

"If therefore the whole question could for the present be laid to rest, the Catholics, I think, would be exposed to less inconvenience, than by the further agitation at this moment. But if their petition to Parliament is to be received, Parliament certainly will, those who present the petitions probably may, and even the petitioners themselves ought to require that they should distinctly understand on what footing this matter rests; whether it be a tenet of the Irish Catholic church that less power is to be conceded to the sovereign of the United Kingdom than the Pope has formally allowed to the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia in their respective empires; or whether we are only to understand that the Irish bishops think (as perhaps I do) that to alter this single point, while the Government continues hostile to their cause, and Parliament refuses to consider their petition, would be inexpedient for them and of no benefit to the empire.

"These ideas I throw out to you merely for consideration. I have already said that I distrust my own judgment on a question of such moment, and shall be anxious for the

opportunity of learning the sentiment of those who can best advise upon it.

"If Parliament does not assemble before Christmas, I shall probably not be in the neighbourhood of London till about the middle of December, at which time I should be happy if it suited you to allow me the pleasure of seeing you at Dropmore." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, November 7. Eden Farm.—"From the wintry symptoms now prevalent I infer that your return to Dropmore is approaching. You will probably find on your arrival that our countrymen are beginning to feel the anxieties and apprehensions which they ought to have felt long ago. They derive their confidence from the ministerial newspapers which by a short-sighted system are employed to give the grossest misrepresentations of what is passing, and the most fallacious hopes of what may be expected.

"We have lived in times when events have often been contrary to all reasonable calculations; and we can only hope that the armies under Baird and Sir John Moore may have succours and successes beyond every probability. They are at this moment wandering by different routes, in separated detachments, through 600 miles of bad roads; through countries utterly destitute of quarters and provision; and (in the ordinary course of the seasons) through frequent and most heavy rains. After all the energies so much talked of during five months, we are not yet within 200 miles of the scene of action; but are advancing subject at least to 'a possibility' that the reinforced armies of the French may have beaten the Spanish armies, or at least may be found too strong and too strongly posted to be attacked by us. It is a bad omen that the Spanish armies, of which we have heard so much, did not venture to risk the attack whilst the French were weak and subject to many difficulties and discouragements.

"Ever since I learned Sir John Moore's march from Lisbon, and General Baird's landing at Corunna, I have looked tremblingly to the chance, that before the 10th of next January we may lose both our armies. I do not say this however, except to you, because it would be called a language of discontent and opposition.

"Lord Moira has what is vulgarly called 'a good thing of it' in being appointed a member of the Court of Enquiry.

"The duties received on the Orders in Council Bill, which was called a Bill of Revenue, have amounted to 5,000*l.*, and the national debt converted into annuities to the end of October quarter, amounted to about 200,000*l.*"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1808, November 8. Stowe.—"I cannot better answer your enquiries about Sir A. Wellesley then by enclosing to you a

copy which I have made of his letter to Lord Castlereagh, and of his letter to Lord Temple. The caution that Lord Buckingham desired me to insert at the top of *not taking a copy,* is only to prevent it's getting into the newspaper. My brother agrees with me in thinking these very flimsy performances, and very strong evidences of a secret convention at Whitehall for the better defence of that of Cintra; and it will not escape your notice that great part of Sir Arthur's letter to Castlereagh, in reference to season and supplies, is evidently arranged for the vindication of Castlereagh as well as of Wellesley. The underscored words of imprudence and temerity refer to Lord Paget, who came over not only to justify the convention, but to charge Wellesley with having produced it by his petulance and temerity.

"Burrard's staying on ship-board and yet exercising some command by ordering Wellesley not to march on the 21st, is as inexcusable as his stopping the pursuit in the moment of victory. The disposition of Sir J. Moore's corps, originally destined to Santarem, was to cut in after the battle and to separate the French from Lisbon; and the change of this disposition Wellesley appears justified in considering as fatal to the campaign.

"I am told by good authority that Burrard was himself inclined to the pursuit after the battle, but was influenced by Clinton's opinion the other way. D—— is here, and has just received from his confidential Indian correspondent the news that Sir Arthur is expected in town to-day to resign the Irish Secretaryship, *in order to follow the military profession entirely.* I do not know how to believe it, in spite of this good authority for it, and I doubt it the more because from the same source I heard that H. Wellesley was quitting the Treasury for something else, and I do not see that report verified.

"Lord T[emple] is passing through the town, and writes his father word that he still finds great indignation awake about the convention, and a strong impression that it will be fatal to the Government; but this is a prediction to which I give no credit, and, as far as my observation goes, I incline to think that people are tired of the discussion, and are more ready than they were to suppose that the convention may be vindicated. Lord Buckingham believes that Cotton has signed a *subsequent* convention which stipulates that we are to *repair* and to keep in an active state the Russian ships of war; and Lord Mulgrave and Ministers are said to have disclaimed this convention, and to have recalled Cotton; if so they have done right.

"When I left Trentham Lord Stafford was stout about the success of an address for the meeting of Parliament which I thought quite unobjectionable; since that I find he has bothered the whole thing by leaving it too much in C. Wolseley's hands who is a very unpopular man; as soon

as I saw what was passing I wrote to advise him not to pursue the subject by a new meeting unless he was more confident than I am of the success of the enterprise ; after this wrangle among themselves I think it cannot do, and I hope he will not try it.

"My brother and I approve entirely of your suggestion to Henry ; I have forwarded to him your draft and Bathurst's letter, and have desired him to return them to you at Boconnoc. It is like the rest of Canning to try to get out of his difficulties by misstatement, and I am pleased to see that you feel as you ought the flippancy and impertinence of his conduct upon the whole of this subject.

"I believe that I think still more deeply than either you or Lord Buckingham of the extensive mischief which must arise from the new Jacobin spirit infused into the Irish Catholics. This spirit, once awakened, prevents the possibility of union ; because the prejudices of the country will be confirmed against the concessions to the Catholics, and the Catholics will be taught to believe that nothing is conceded till the King shall be subjected to the Papal authority of the Irish church.

"That rogue Milner is writing canting letters to my brother, and talks of coming here ; I think his letter in the *Morning Chronicle* so abominable, after his original approbation of Troy's paper, that if the house was mine I would not let him come into it. I hear hourly and daily of the bad effects among our friends from this wicked and foolish measure of Keogh's."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1808, November 8.] Eden Farm.—"A gentleman officially employed at Madrid writes as follows :—

"'28th October. The confidence of the people in the Junta is already on the decline ; there is much disorder in the town ; and massacres are to be apprehended in the event of any great misfortune to the armies. Moore's cavalry and artillery are to march by Aranjuez, and his infantry by Almeida ; and Baird by Astorga. All are to assemble at Vallodolid.'

"Nothing short of a special interposition of Providence can preserve those armies from distress and disgrace.

"In the smaller concerns of society I am sorry to hear this morning that Lady Essex is dangerously ill ; and that Lord Ilchester has broken his thigh by a fall from his horse in hunting. Mr. Norman (who married a sister of the Duke of Rutland) in this neighbourhood has contrived to break several of his front teeth on the edge of a marble chimney piece."

The Same to The Same.

1808, November 10. Eden Farm.—"I yesterday saw Lord Liverpool who told me that Parliament is to meet on the 15th or 16th January.

"I have seen to-day a curious *private* letter from an official person to Lord Buckinghamshire, who happens to be here for two or three days. The tone and tendency of the letter is that 'though the convention was faulty in itself, and most blundering in all its details, yet, on the whole, that it was no bad thing for the general views of the war. That Spain did not positively object to it; that the objections of Sweden were of no consequence, that the Portuguese were glad of any pretext to show their ingratitude; and that the convention was only to be regretted because it was made a means of sowing internal divisions and discontents. That the Court of Enquiry could not lead to any result. At the worst Sir H. Dalrymple had acted with a good intention from an error in judgment, and that if there were blame anywhere, it was in Sir H. Burrard who had not permitted Sir A. Wellesley to march forwards.' He adds (and this is very curious), 'that Portugal was likely to become a great and important field, more especially if the Spaniards should not be able to resist the French armies, as, in that case, our armies would fall back into Portugal.'

"God help our armies, if that case should arrive. Every thing that I hear confirms me in the opinion that our plans have been inconceivably infatuated in the whole of this business; and nothing can prevent that opinion from becoming general, but successes beyond what we have any reason to expect."

[1808,] November 10.—The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville. *See* pp. 366–8.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Grenville.

1808, November 13. Stow-Easton House.—"I will beg the favour of your Lordship to return the enclosures I forwarded from Stonehouse, including Lord Fingall's last letter. I should have been very happy to have heard from you before I saw Lord Clifford who felt great anxiety on the subject, and wished particularly to see Lord Fingall's correspondence. I have had many letters since those I transmitted to you, which speak of the principle influencing Milner to have been the violence of the people, worked up by what is called the Peerless Parliament under the influence of Keogh; and not a little to Mr. Clinch, whose brief *for the Bishops* was published a few days before the discussion took place."

The Earl of Fingall to The Same.

1808, November 14. Killeen Castle.—"By the desire of the Roman Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the enclosed address.

"I can with much truth assure your Lordship that the gratitude expressed by these gentlemen is equally felt by every Roman Catholic in Ireland. It affords me in particular the highest gratification to have this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to your Lordship."

Enclosing a printed address to Lord Grenville, signed by the leading Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny.

Private. Lord Auckland to The Same.

1808, November 18. Eden Farm.—"I have had the advantage of seeing a letter written yesterday by one of the Ministers to a friend and relation upon the subject of the last advices from St. Andero and Corunna.

"The letter professes good hopes; it gives credit to 'the good conduct of the Spaniards in the affair of Bilbao,' and says that 'they only gave way to repeated attacks made by superior numbers.' It then adds, 'on a subsequent day they succeeded in repulsing the advanced guard of the French' (this alludes to the pretended victory of the 4th on the part of the Spaniards, who in fact retreated to Reynosa). The letter then adds 'the Spanish generals appear to be prudently desirous not to commit themselves too deeply till the British army can take the field, and till they can combine their operations with those of our forces. Sir David Baird's army was arriving at Astorga' (*this cannot be accurate*). 'Sir John Moore's was marching upon Saragossa, but we do not know how far he was advanced; we think it probable that the whole of the British forces will form their junction at Valladolid.'

"The impression made on my mind by this information (if such it can be called) is, that our affairs in Spain are growing perilous, and hurrying to their catastrophe with a rapidity even beyond the fears that I have so long and so often expressed to you.

"If, previously to the projected junction at Valladolid, the French should have driven the Spanish armies to the southward of Valladolid, the Lord have mercy upon our armies, at such a season, in such roads, and with such a want of provisions."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1808, November 24. Stowe.—"The dangerous illness of Lady Essex having stopped my visit to Cashiobury, I have remained here and have seen your letter to Lord Buckingham which he has just showed to me. As I have not read the paper of Dr. Milner's to which you allude, I cannot offer any advice to you in reference to its contents; but I confess that I strongly concur with Lord Buckingham in thinking that the less you have to do in correspondence with or in reference to Dr. Milner, the better. Lord Buckingham's recollection is that the paper in question of Milner's writing, was as Jesuitical and indistinct as all his subsequent writings have been, and, if so, I cannot but agree with Lord Buckingham that you had better only print Dr. Troy's paper from the bishops, which is of sufficient authority by itself, and which does not want the suspicious and equivocal collateral evidence of Milner's paper. You see I am, as much as I was, quite out

of charity with him; and the letter which he has printed in yesterday's *Oracle* has not better reconciled me to him either in point of integrity or prudence; I therefore should certainly agree with Lord Buckingham in opinion that the less you have to do with him the better; even *our ladies* here have abandoned him, and have no other excuse for his conduct but to allege, which they seriously do, that they know he has been twice out of his mind, and literally confined in a straight waistcoat.

"Wellesley and Sir Hew are, as you see, at open war, and the *Courier* of to-day has a long paragraph of attack upon Wellesley's duplicity in his defence. I think they all, Ministers and generals and admirals, make a most disgraceful figure, and I suppose General Ferguson's evidence will not let Sir H. Burrard slip by, as government appear to wish. You cannot be more distrustful than I am of the result of the Spanish campaign; and it is dreadful to observe that our troops appear to have been sent into the middle of Spain with as little concern for their retreat in case of disaster as the Duke of Brunswick had made for the armies of the great Frederick.

"My brother is better, his foot is healing, and his spirits mending, but the loss of his front teeth appears to have confirmed him in the use of a liquid diet, which I cannot but think very little suited to his health. I still believe that wholesome diet and regular exercise would make him a Hercules; but he lives upon slops and stirs very little."

The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville.

1808, November 25. Stowe.—"The printed copy in question shall be ready for you at Dropmore at the time you name; the addition of that paper which was delivered at the time of the Union will have been made; but on considering with my brother Tom the idea of adding the copy of Milner's paper delivered to you the morning of the debate, we are very averse from it; considering that he has shown himself so little to be depended upon, either as an honourable or indeed as a safe man to act with. I cannot tell you how entirely I am scandalised at his refusal to bear that testimony to truth which, in every character, he was bound so very decidedly to declare. The less then we appear to depend upon or to appeal to the testimony of a man who has shown himself so very unfit for such a negotiation the better; particularly as in point of fact, you did in the House of Lords distinctly refer to the Union proposition, as one which was not new to you, and which being a grave, well-considered, authorised and official document, must be the corner-stone from which no sophistry of friend or foe can beat you.

"Milner's declarations of gratitude and attachment to you were unbounded, but I could never induce him to come up to the touchstone of justifying himself and those who pledged themselves for the Catholic vote in Parliament, by this

deliberate and authorised act of 1799: I feel it therefore due to you to urge you to think of such conduct as I do.

"As to the Board of Enquiry I cannot conceive what can have suggested to Government or induced them to accede to such an act of folly, that must certainly end in exposing not the faults of generals, but the errors of Ministers in their arrangements of the force; and it is difficult even now to conceive how they are to shake off the 500 charges, which the mutual recriminations of Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley have fixed upon government. I am satisfied that Burrard has been purposely kept abroad; for Craddock wrote me word last Saturday *was three weeks* of his appointment to Portugal, and of his orders to set off on the next Monday; instead of which Craddock has been attending the Board as a spectator till Wednesday last, when he went to Portsmouth and is not yet sailed. I think it seems clear that a court-martial must sit on both Dalrymple and Wellesley. The latter has completely marred his case by the different language he has held; and above all by his ill-judged letter to Lord Castlereagh. The language of the Duke of Cumberland is very loud on the misconduct of Government, and on the necessity of getting rid of Lords Mulgrave and Castlereagh, but this language is not worth a farthing, save that it shows that the King takes no *personal interest* in them. Nevertheless he will support them; and the whole will stand its ground.

"The news of this morning dashes all our Spanish hopes and increases the alarm for the safety of our troops, now dispersed in every village between Bajados and Salamanca; and between Corunna and Astorga: Lord Castlereagh has been loud against Moore's march; but he has assigned no one reason for the delay of Sir D. Baird's army, particularly of the cavalry, who might clearly have been sent to that same spot three months ago.

"It is idle to speculate where we have so little of certain information, but my hopes are indeed very low."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1808, November 29. Eden Farm.—"I have not written during the last fortnight, because I had nothing to communicate of more certainty than the contradictory statements in the newspapers. The predicament of the Spanish patriots, and eventually of the British armies, looks most ———— ! and I am only surprised that the glaring folly and danger of the two marches from Lisbon and Corunna is not yet visible to the optics of our shortsighted countrymen. I have reason to believe that the king originally stated strong and sensible objections to those measures, over which he now groans loudly.

"Our friend Lord Holland seems from the first to have had a sort of Spanish fever, which still holds possession of him. The result must, I fear, be calamitous to the Spaniards,

and disgraceful to our political and military character; though there still may be occasional variations and long-winded anxieties.

"The Court of Enquiry is subjected by its constitution to much colloquial impertinence. It is however a painful duty for a Judge-Advocate, if he must permit such questions as the following to be put and answered; Pray, general, do you think that an English army, put into the situation of the French army, would have thought it right to surrender at discretion? and Pray, general, what is your opinion as to what would have been the opinion of the French, if in similar circumstances, they have been asked to make a similar convention?

"Yesterday the 28th, I received yours of the 25th. I trust that this will travel faster, otherwise it will not find you at Boconnoc.

"I fear that we are not likely to meet before I settle in London. We go to-morrow to Shottesbrook till Saturday next. From Saturday till Wednesday, 7th, we shall be at Blenheim. On the 7th again at Shottesbrook. On the 8th at Roehampton till the 10th; on the 10th at the Pleasantary, Bushey Park. And on the 12th, we must settle here for the sake of our two youngest sons during their holidays, which will last till the third week in January."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1808, December 3. Cleveland Square.—"As you have given me no intelligence of your direction, I scarce guess how to write to acknowledge your letters of the 27th and 30th November; but as you had said you should go from Castle Hill to Lord Bath's, I take the chance of catching you with one line at Longleat in your road to Dropmore. I have this moment left a person who has read a letter from an officer in Baird's army, which letter arrived yesterday evening from Corunna; the letter is dated on 24th November from Villafranca, a few leagues west of Astorga on the road to Lugo. It is written in the most desponding language; the writer says that the whole French column now in motion consists of 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, that Baird has had no communication with Moore, and he, the writer, says that the French are now manœuvring from Benevente to turn the left of Baird, who is just beginning his retreat to Lugo. The writer's opinion is that the French will succeed in turning the left of Baird's by the way of Oviedo, and thus cut off Baird from Corunna. He says Astorga is indefensible, but that the country will afford Baird great means of resistance if he can find provisions; he concludes with saying that he fears they shall be cut off, but that *Baird will not surrender without a struggle*. You will guess how desperate this sounds when I tell you that the writer of this letter is connected with the staff of Baird's army. I hear a rumour of Ministers being

violent against Baird, from their finding that Baird stopped at Astorga from the 17th to the 24th; and this delay does seem unaccountable unless he stopped to try to support Moore, and stopped in vain.

"Tierney has a letter to-day from Lord Holland of 24th November from Corunna, merely saying that the French *voltigeurs* had made his return to Corunna necessary, but that he still hoped to find it practicable to get to Madrid by way of Lisbon.

"Lord H. Petty and Tierney both talk of taking an early moment to see you at Dropmore; I shall not delay to come as soon as I hear from you that you are arrived."

Private. Lord Auckland to The Same.

1808, December 10. Roehampton.—"This letter will probably find Lady Grenville and you resettled at Dropmore, after a journey and visits of six or eight days, during which the weather has been fine and favourable beyond all reasonable calculation. We also have had a long vagrancy, which is drawing to its close. On Monday morning we go back to Eden Farm.

"I have long said to you, and you appeared to have the same opinion, that the inconceivable plan of a Portuguese and Spanish campaign which his Majesty's Ministers had adopted, must, after a mad waste of men, horses, artillery and money, end in disaster and disgrace, and in an eventual increase of the dangers and the difficulties of the war. That prophesy is now most unhappily accomplished. I will not plague you with details. The *Morning Chronicle* of this day states them accurately enough, and makes good remarks on them. I have had in the last two days repeated communications from an old acquaintance who has the confidence of a principal department, and who has hitherto been an optimist in Spanish business to a degree of presumptuous madness. His tone at last is fallen and changed.

"With respect to the retreat of our three sacrificed armies, it is by no means certain that the utmost energy of running will save them. Baird will be hard pressed, and Moore's rear will probably be harassed. The losses and sufferings from the want of provisions and forage must be extreme. The unwillingness of the Spaniards and Portuguese to run further risks in a lost cause will also begin to operate. Much of our artillery must necessarily be abandoned. General Hope, unless given up (which is possible) by the Spaniards, may 'run' to the southward.

"In short the whole history is to us calamitous and lowering in every point of view; and it has from the first been glaringly evident that it must be so. To our enemy it is every thing that can favour his future views, and elevate his character and power. He will indemnify his whole expenses of the year from the church property of Spain; he will have the

uncontrolled possession of the Spanish ports of Spain (so dangerous to Ireland); and (which is the worst of all things), he will have sunk us in our self-estimation.

"I do not think that the Ministers can survive the first fortnight of the session; and I have reason to believe that some of them are of that opinion. In the meantime it is well known that they are now quarrelling among themselves, and that Mr. Canning disavows his share in the military and naval plans. What will be the next Government is beyond all speculation.

"The notion of assembling 'in force' at Lisbon is a new absurdity, which the country will not hear of long, except for the purposes of retreat.

"The King must, I think, feel that it was an ill-fated moment when he put himself into the hands of a Ministry which was founded in falsehood, which has been conducted with folly and with redoubled falsehood, and which has brought the empire to a situation of peril beyond anything that we have yet seen. When I wrote a letter to his Majesty, which you saw, and which frankly told him that he was preparing for himself a bitter repentance, I did not think that it would be so rapidly verified.

"I yesterday received a note from a friend much connected with Government, who writes, 'what will you say if, notwithstanding all this, we can now open a negotiation for peace? I answered 'I will say that you are adding ridicule to our national distress and disgrace.'

"It has been said to me that there is a sort of 'velleity' towards a communication between the Marquis Wellesley and the Sidmouths. I do not think that such a coalition is either practicable, or of any possible effect if it were practicable.

"But all these speculations sink amidst the perils of the general situation; and the danger is that the Government may be thrown into the hands of wild democrats.

"This scrawl has got itself into more length than I meant.

"Have you had any communication with Lord Grey? It grows very desirable that you should confer fully with him and some others."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1808, December 12. Cleveland Square.—"I have forwarded Holland's letter to Lord Grey as you desired, and most entirely do I agree with him in opinion that the disgrace which we have incurred by the military measures of our own troops will more than ever discredit and ruin the character of our army upon the Continent. The success of the French in this campaign is not a jot more than I had expected it to be; but the degradation of our arms, and the resentment which our conduct will produce on the part of those whom we have assisted at such a heavy cost, all this additional

defeat of our national honour and character is now much more than I was prepared for, even at the hands of our present rulers. This state of ruin and dismay has produced among the Ministers the natural consequence of such a state in divisions and mutual complaints and reeriminations. Of course political speculations are every day afloat, and many of our sanguine friends seem to think that the Government cannot stand. I am as inredulous now as I was at Stowe when I heard all the princely expectations on this subject; it is possible that Mulgrave or Castlereagh may give way to Lord Wellesley or Lord Melville or somebody else; but as to a change of Government, I have not the smallest faith in any such event being in the contemplation of the King, or being likely to be produced by any change of opinion in the majority of the House. They will grumble and complain and support, whatever be the events that may have happened, or the disasters that we may have incurred. Our Ministers certainly now mean the defence of Portugal, and Sir A. Wellesley is quoted as having recommended this measure. I was surprised yesterday by a note from Lady Bathurst desiring me to dine there to-day; I am going there accordingly, but I cannot help thinking it a little odd, as I have had no sort of communication with them for these two or three years.

"Tierney and Lord H. Petty and Wickham dine with me to-morrow, and I meet them at Lord Henry's on Thursday, so that I cannot get to you before Friday next. Kidd has been very ill and has written to me in great distress; if you and Lord Buckingham approve, I would propose to send him 50*l.* by Coutts, of which each of us would pay a third. Let me know by return of post if you approve."

The Same to The Same.

1808, December 14. Cleveland Square.—"Tierney, who dined with me yesterday, expressed so much solicitude to see you as early as next Friday, that I undertook at his request to announce him to you as well as myself for Friday; but I shall not know till to-morrow whether Lord H. Petty comes or not. Tierney's great object seems to be to have as immediate a view as he can of your intentions, and he will have a great deal to say that is very curious upon this subject; though I think you will probably agree with me in opinion that, although what you will hear proves undeniably the rotten state of the present fabric, it does not furnish any sufficient motive for changing the view which you have all along taken. I am no believer in the advantage public or private of great party exertion in the present circumstances; Lord G[rey's] health as well as his inclination will keep him in the country, and Lord L[auderdale] professes his intention of remaining in Scotland to finish a book which he is writing on the East Indies; there is reason to think the Prince more engaged

than is generally known, and certainly enough so to prevent his taking part; but when I mention these circumstances as confirming my opinion, you must not understand Tierney as being insensible to them. I think he feels them as much as any body, and that what he is now chiefly intent upon is to consider of the best course that you can take under these circumstances, and that he is anxious not to let the meeting approach without some line, either active or inactive, being taken by you, different from the loose practice of the last session of which, and especially in the House of Commons, he has a great horror; but his desire is to act and to be seen as acting with you. We shall talk these matters over, but if he comes with me on Friday I think it right you should previously have this short intimation of his present views.

"There are, as I hear, French papers which describe the loss of Castanos to have been 3,000 killed, and 5,000 prisoners; and the runners of Government are already abusing Moore for having retreated so soon. The idea still prevails that Castlereagh must go out; but I hear nobody named as supplying his place. The more I think the subject over the more I am convinced that no effort should now be made for power, and that the possession of it could not easily lead to any great public good in the present circumstances."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, December 17. Eden Farm.—"I am sorry to see that you think even more despondingly than I do of our predicament and prospects. I certainly am not eager to enter into the small and fruitless war of words in Parliament, and am sometimes tempted to abandon my attendance there, on a system merely personal, and not ill suited to the latter autumn of life.

"My Spanish views are not exhilirated by a note written to me last night by a correspondent in the confidence and responsibility of Government. After enclosing a bulletin which lays a silly stress on the determination of the Madrid populace to defend their capital (which is as open as Salisbury Plain), he adds 'in these urgent times men catch at straws, and you will say that I send you a straw, but Madrid is determined to be a second Saragossa; if so, Moore will have time on his hands. I do not despair at all, all may be well yet—protraction is every thing.'

"I am perverse enough to despair more than ever, and think that the protraction of the retreat of our armies is a decision big with extreme peril. Nor would that opinion be changed, even if I were to hear that the armies had effected their junction, and gained some advantage."

The Same to The Same.

1808, December 28. Eden Farm.—"Yours of the 23rd is certainly not cheering. It confirms my fears that our

Spanish adventure must end disastrously and disgracefully, not in the confined sense of those adverbs, but with growing distresses and lasting discredit, affecting the safety and character of the whole British empire.

"I do not however allow that the circumstances are yet sufficiently ascertained to enable or authorise you to form and fix any plan for your conduct in the approaching session. Nor can I yet believe that the existing Government will be 'as triumphant in Parliament as it is dishonoured every where else.' It is not in the nature of men, much less of Englishmen, to preserve confidence in those who, in the whole faulty system and blundering details of a series of most important measures, have disappointed the fair pride, prejudices, hopes, expectations, and essential interests of the country.

"But the immediate object (and permit me to say duty) on your part is to consider well, again and again, the steps to be taken at the opening of the session. And first with respect to the Commons. Some of our friends certainly exhibited both in the last and preceding session very mischievous and wild notions; and indeed the whole machine, both in its leadings and followings, was ill-combined. But the reins are not to be thrown in despair upon the necks of wild horses. I always regretted that your brother and others who could have had a salutary influence, remained so much at their own firesides. And I do not think that it would be in any sense good for you entirely to withdraw from all connection with the measures of the other House, either apparently or in fact. Much possible benefit may be attained, and much evil may be averted by the weight of your opinions and influence.

"As to the Lords, it appears to me that we should take an early occasion to enter upon the journals of Parliament a temperate statement of opinions on all the late counsels and measures connected with Denmark, Russia, Sweden, Spain, America, the King's declaration, and the manufacturing and commercial interests. This might be done, either by an amendment to the address, or by separate motions and debates, or by a motion for an address a fortnight or three weeks after the opening of the session. A formal notice of such a motion might be given on the first day, after we shall have heard what the Ministers may have to say for themselves; and when we shall have seen somewhat more than we can yet conjecture respecting the extent of the public calamity, and the sense of Parliament, and of the country.

"As at present advised, I should prefer the last mode; but, at any rate, if you incline to any one of the three suggestions, it would be now desirable to reduce the proposed address to writing, provisionally, and subject of course to the corrections and additions which every day's intelligence may supply. It will be material to avoid any early division. We ought

not to give to individuals an opportunity of pledging themselves in support of measures, the folly and misehief of which will become from day to day more generally perceptible. Calamities, I fear, will not be wanting to awaken our countrymen out of doors, and many shabby individuals will then be eager to sail with the gale and tide of the public opinion.

"I have postponed this letter for the arrival of news, to which I look forward with fear, though it can hardly be worse than I expect."

Postscript.—"Since writing the above Lord Hood has called on me, and expresses himself loudly, and without reserve, in strong condemnation of the late measures. I have also rceeived the order suspending all the *financial* part of the act relative to the Orders in Council."

Enclosing:

A letter from Thomas Martin, of Liverpool, in regard to the great distress produeed throughout Lancashire by the Orders in Council.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1808, December 31. Eden Farm.—"Many thanks for yours which I have this moment rceeived; and with a full assent to all its forebodings, remarks, and inferences. I still repeat, however, that before the meeting of Parliament the whole surrounding scenery may change most materially; and I much fear still for the worse.

"Sir John Moore's movements would be destitute of common sense, if it were not his deeided (and I think desperate) intention to place himself in the alternative between eomplete success and the total destruction of his army. He clearly means to fight under every disadvantage of precarious subsistence, comparative force, eventual resources, and no possible retreat. '*Aut cito mors venit, aut victoria lœta.*' God send us a good deliverance; and, by the bye, that deliverance would not be effected even by one, two, or three victories.

"Sir John Moore's meaning is confirmed to me by a private demi-official letter. In the meantime nobody seems to recolleet that from the 7th to the 17th Buonaparte's attention and energies must have been employed with all his immense means to prepare for us. I do not recollect to have seen a more tremendous moment."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1808, December. 31. Cleveland Square.—"You will have seen by my letter of yestcrday that my anxiety was not less than yours upon what was then known of Moore's position, and I confess that the subsequent account which arrived of Moore's having joined Baird at Beneveuto has very much increased my apprehension for the result. Bonaparte's first object must bc to intercept the English from Lisbon and

Vigo, in order then to bear them down by the irresistible superiority of his numbers. Moore's last move increases his difficulty of retiring to Lisbon, and how long Vigo will be open to him remains to be seen.

"I return you Grey's letter which is very much what I expected in respect to your proposed speech, which he seems to me generally not to disapprove, because, he is only anxious for a declaration of *mitigated attendance* instead of mitigated *secession;* and I should certainly agree with him in preferring the former shade rather than the latter, and have always understood you to be as solicitous as he can be to avoid any thing that can be construed into a declaration of secession. I do moreover think that the frightful hourly increase of public danger is such as does make it quite a duty to abstain as much as possible from all harrassing opposition, and most particularly so under circumstances which do not afford any probability of doing any public good. What I did not expect to find in Grey's letter is that he should be so giddy with all this wild Spanish dream as to shut his eyes upon the childish nonsense of Canning's declaration; undoubtedly if we had encouraged Spain to rise against France by our promises of an English army, it would have been base, after entering into that engagement, not in some measure to abide the risk and danger which attended it; but in this case we volunteer both the risk and the obligation or engagement, under circumstances of so disastrous a complexion as would almost have absolved you from any previous engagement which you had contracted.

"Petty has just been with me, and has seemed to me to admit the necessity of something being done to prevent the recurrence of the inconveniences of last session, but to doubt whether your proposed declaration would not invite all the disadvantage of a measure of *secession.* I repeated to him my conviction that there was nothing that you felt more jealous of than of giving rise by any words of yours to any idea of *secession;* and he seemed ultimately to agree entirely with me in the statement which I made to him, which was this; that some step must be taken in the very first beginning of the session to rescue us from the renewal of the disgraceful and unsatisfactory state of the last session; that no step for this purpose could be taken without some inconvenience, and that your proposed speech appeared to me likely to accomplish this with the least inconvenience; but, that if any mode could be suggested that was equally effectual, and liable to still less inconvenience, that would certainly be preferable, but that I did not know how to find it. He remarked how much he assented to that view of the subject, and how widely *Tierney exceeded* this line when he talked of breaking up the party in order to give it the best chance of acting afterwards together. I could not but accede to Petty's remark on Tierney, because I had twice lately had

occasion to observe to Tierney himself, that I thought he provoked objections to our proposed measure by describing it as breaking up the party; and I reminded him that much of our consideration had always been given to the adoption of some measure which should secure our own public conduct with as little violence as possible to the feelings of every man of the party with whom we had been acting. The truth is that Tierney is so desirous of seeing this division of the party, that he almost openly professes it; while to me it appears that we should be found doing what we think right, but with every desire and attention to show that we wish to keep the whole party together as much as possible.

"Ponsonby called upon me and seemed embarrassed in his conversation, and not desirous of dwelling upon the discussion of this part of the subject; but, however, he distinctly said that he found everybody whom he had seen agreeing that there was no use in Opposition making at present any active exertions.

"I heard from my brother yesterday with a just expression of despondency about Spain; he comes up for a few days to the meeting; he believes in great impression being made at Windsor upon these disastrous events, and doubts whether the King will not be more disinclined to his present Ministers than even to his last; he is confident this Government will not be patched by Lord Melville, who is loud in abuse of the Spanish war, or by Wellesley, who, according to him, is to attack Government on the first day of the session, though he is to profess no inclination to the Opposition. My own belief is that there will be no change whatever till we have lost our army in Spain, and, in that case, there will not be many eager competitors for government."

William Wickham to Lord Grenville.

[1809,] January 2. Wycombe.—"Flint has received a letter from General Anstruther, which he was desired to communicate to me. It is a valuable (though a melancholy) document as containing the sentiments of a man of acknowledged talents, and the person whom, of all others at present with the army, I know that Moore would be most desirous to consult.

"The letter is dated the 4th, at a time, that is, when (probably, according to the opinion of our Ministers at Madrid) Moore had suspended his own retreat, and directed that of Baird to be suspended also. It gives a short account of the defeat of the different Spanish armies, and then adds, 'but when will our turn come? This at least I can say that, come when it may, though our numbers are small, we shall make a respectable resistance. I hope and trust however that our General will not think it advisable to risk this last hope of our armies in efforts that, I am persuaded, will be entirely useless.'

"With this opinion so clearly expressed, knowing as I do the confidence reposed in the writer, I cannot help persuading

myself that some foolish letter of Frere's has piqued Moore to the quick, and compelled him, against his better judgment, to commit the safety of his whole army on the cast of a single die."

Lord Grenville to The Earl of Fingall.

1809, January 4. Dropmore.—"I have many thanks to return to your Lordship for the obliging terms in which you have conveyed to me the resolution of the Roman Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny; and I beg leave to assure you that this testimony of good opinion from so respectable a body of my fellow-subjects has, in my estimation, derived additional value by passing through the hands of a person so peculiarly entitled to the esteem and respect of every friend to the best interests of the United Kingdom.

"I trust there will be no impropriety in my requesting your Lordship to have the goodness to convey in return my best and warmest acknowledgments to the gentlemen who have done me the honour to express so flattering a sense of my conduct and language in Parliament respecting the situation and requests of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. I have acted in this respect from the thorough conviction that every public man is bound, especially in those awful times in which our lot has been cast, to labour to the utmost of his power for the union and harmony of a people having the same interests to defend, and the same dangers to fear. Every measure conducive to this object, every manifestation of mutual kindness and confidence, every sacrifice of reciprocal jealousies, is in my judgment to be numbered among the most important services that can be rendered to the British Empire." *Copy.*

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, January 5. Cleveland Square.—"I return you your poor consul's lamentation, which is another deplorable instance of the inexplicable arrangements of the Foreign Department; with Frere, John Villiers, and Lord Amherst sent, how can anybody wonder at who is not sent?

"Undoubtedly it is evident that Moore must be overpowered, for after the present reinforcement, we have no more to send, and even a partial defeat of Soult's corps must ultimately end in our being trampled over by superior numbers; yet having once committed the gross error of sending an English army into Spain, our Ministers see nothing left for them but desperately to persist in the folly that they have once committed, and to nurse in the public mind the inconsiderate and womanish enthusiasm to which they have abandoned themselves, as a proof that the public have partaken with them of all the blame and errors which will be to fall so heavily upon us.

"Ponsonby passed two hours with me yesterday in talking over the subjects of his speech on the first day. His own view of all the principal topics, namely the Baltic campaign, the American negotiation, the plan of the Spanish war, and the inadequate execution even of their own plan, upon all these topics what he describes to be his opinion seems very much to accord with ours, although he is not prepared to go to the whole length of our objections to the employment of an English army in Spain. He always repeats to me, that everybody with whom he converses agrees with him in thinking this is not the time for very active opposition. I hear no news to-day, but I do really now begin to feel quite afraid to ask for the news of the day."

SIR J. C. HIPPISLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 5. Mells Park.—"Having yesterday stopped my letters at the Post Office in Bath, I found the enclosed from Mr. Butler. The letter to which he refers I have not yet received, having been absent some days from Stow Easton. I wrote to Mr. Butler last night from Bath, and am tempted to address your lordship again on this important subject, which has not only produced great embarrassment to the political friends of the Catholics, but has also produced a very mischievous effect on the minds of a people easily influenced, which the public enemy will not fail to endeavour to turn to his advantage.

"With respect to the immediate object of Mr. Butler's inquiry, I have told him that I have no *precise* information of the mode of appointing Roman Catholic Bishops in *Russia* and *Prussia*, but I consider the fact unquestionable that those appointments were made in concurrence with the respective Sovereigns; and I also understood that the Article of Religion, in the Constitution of Corsica, was framed on the basis of this known practice, in which Article it is expressly stipulated that the appointment of Bishops shall be made '*Concertando colla Santa Sede.*' You will find a reference to this Article in a *brochure* which I sent to you soon after the first agitation of this question in Parliament, and it is somewhat remarkable that one of the most forward advocates for its extended circulation in *Ireland*, was *Mr. Clinch*, whose publication in Dublin, at the eve of the meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates last September, is considered as having operated more forcibly against *their recognition* of the Veto, than any other means. You will recollect having some letters of this Mr. Clinch, who is an Irish barrister and particularly connected with Mr. Keogh. Yet in 1805 he brought over a copy of my *brochure* from Dr. Troy, in which he had corrected some parts of Dr. Troy's letters in the appendix, at the Doctor's desire, and urged me, as I had before been strongly urged by many of the Irish Catholic prelates (to each of whom a copy had been sent) to permit the republication

in Ireland, although the proposal of the *Veto* is distinctly stated therein.

"You will recollect the letters of Dr. Troy to me in the interval after the last question in Parliament and the meeting of the prelates in September, in which the Doctor repeatedly assures me that Dr. Milner may be *at his ease, as there was no doubt but the prelates*, at their meeting, would confirm the proposal of Dr. Milner. I am persuaded that many of those prelates went to the meeting with that intention; but I understand that some of the younger bishops were very violent, and influenced by the faction called the *Pimlico Parliament;* and Mr. Clinch's pamphlet was brought forward as unanswerable.

"Since the last letters I forwarded to you at Boconnoc, I have received many communications from Dr. Troy on the same subject, and I regret to see that both Dr. Troy and *Dr. Moylan* are now less disposed to the measure than their former letters had intimated. I have not, for some time, troubled you with their communications, as I apprehended you had considered my former communications on this subject too voluminous; but as I was conscious there was no *Protestant* in correspondence with those prelates to whom they were disposed to speak with so *much frankness* as to myself, I considered it of importance that you should receive the fullest information.

"In the years 1794–5 I had repeated conversations with the Cardinal Secretary of State (Zelada) and the Cardinals Antonelli, Gerdil, and Borgia, successively in the prefecture of the department which is the organ of the Roman Catholic discipline in *Foreign* States, (the College of *Propaganda fidei*), in which conversations, I found them readily disposed to favour any arrangement in *Great Britain* or *Ireland* which should be agreeable to Government. The late Pope had given one striking proof in superseding the appointment of Italian superiors in the national colleges in favour of British subjects who *had taken the Oath of Allegiance.* I was assured by these Ministers of the Pope, that Rome would willingly withdraw the *vicars apostolic*, if our Government wished the prelates resident in England and Scotland to be less dependent on the See of Rome, as Bishops Ordinary certainly are (which is fully stated in my *brochure*); and in those conversations also I often referred to the modes of appointment of bishops in Ireland, and remember distinctly being informed by Cardinal Borgia that the appointments of Dr. Troy and Dr. Hussey took place in *deference* to the wishes of *our Government.* Cardinal Antonelli, I recollect, also objected much to the appointment of the *regular* clergy to bishops' sees, and the annals of *Propaganda* have fully proved the dissension that has obtained between the *regular* and *secular clergy in Ireland*, which is particularly stated in a *memorial* of the Secretary *of Propaganda* addressed to the Pope, and which I will take

an opportunity hereafter of putting into your hand. And I will suppose that the King's Ministers were of opinion with Cardinal Antonelli that *monks and friars* were not proper subjects for the episcopacy, and the name of a monk should be *presented* to the Castle ; here a sound occasion immediately offers for exercising the Veto.

" Dr. Troy is himself a Dominican friar. I do not recollect whether I ever stated to you a conversation in point, which occurred during Lord Castlereagh's Secretaryship in Ireland. The fact was that I had heard from Dr. Troy's agent in London that a *friar* was proposed to fill up a vacant Catholic see in Ireland ; I wrote immediately to Lord Castlereagh stating to him what I have now stated to you (the opinion of Cardinal Antonelli), and soon after Lord Castlereagh wrote me that he had spoken to *Dr. Troy on the subject,* and it was settled to his satisfaction. Here is a practical example of the exercise of the *Veto,* though not directly conceded as an act of the clergy in the aggregate.

" At the desire of the Duke of Portland, I drew up a summary of my correspondence on this subject, which was communicated to Lord Castlereagh in 1799, and the proposed Veto was distinctly comprehended. You will find this stated in that part of my *brochure* which refers to the proposal of Mr. Lee, at that time Member for Waterford.

" I recollect Cardinal Gerdel, when Prefect of Propaganda, mentioned the objections of the See of Rome to the proposed alterations of the bishops' sees in Corsica, but not to the *concert* in appointments. He mentioned, at the same time, the readiness the Pope had shown to comply with the wishes of the Empress Catherine in substituting a *new oath* which was taken by the Archbishop of Mohilow, in place of the ordinary *pontifical* oath ; and also the fact of the same oath being allowed to be taken in future by the *Irish* Roman Catholic Prelates, which was settled, to the best of my recollection, in the year preceding the Irish Bill of 1793.

" You will recollect a statement I handed to you of the objections of the Court of Rome, as referring to the ancient claims of *sovereigns* in Corsica, in favour of which they were desirous of having a saving clause, as had been granted by the Court of Versailles ; but in the correspondence at that time not a word was urged by the Cardinal Secretary of the proposed concert of appointments to bishops' sees in Corsica.

" The Courts of Russia and Prussia had each agents who conducted at Rome everything connected with ecclesiastical arrangements ; this fact is denied by a recent Irish writer on the authority of Dr. Bodkin, the Warden of Galway ; but I can speak with certainty of the fact.

" Although I have no document expressly recognizing this concert of appointments in Russia and Prussia, I have an original letter in my possession recognizing the *principle* as applying to the *United Provinces,* wherein Cardinal

Zondadari informs me that the practice was that the Arch Priest presented each priest or *curé* (nominated to a parish) to the civil magistrate for his approbation '*pour être avoué*,' and if disapproved, another was presented.

"Conceiving this authority might be usefully introduced at the meeting in September, I transmitted the *original letter* to Dr. Troy for that purpose, which has since returned, and and on my return to Stow Easton I will forward it to you, as it may be referred to should any conversation arise in Parliament on this painful subject. If you think it desirable I shall very readily transmit any further information I may receive from Ireland. I do not apprehend that I shall be able to attend the meeting of Parliament, as I am detained by an afflicting circumstance in my family; but it is probable I may receive, from time to time, the most authentic intelligence from the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, which may be proper for your Lordship to be acquainted with.

"I have omitted to mention—what indeed is of some moment—the opinion of Monsignor Caleppi, the Nuncio to the Court of Portugal, who was in London soon after the discussion in Parliament. I stated to him particularly the *proposed Veto*, which met with his *entire concurrence*; and he *spontaneously* mentioned the practice of the Catholic provinces of Poland now under Protestant or schismatic Sovereigns, and, in the presence of Lady Hippisley, wrote down the names of various Archbishoprics and Bishoprics in which the appointment was made with the *concurrence* of the respective sovereigns. Some also in *Silesia*.*

"I repeatedly pressed this part of Monsignor Caleppi's statement, in my correspondence with the Irish Roman Catholic prelates; and Dr. Milner, I think, was present at one conversation with Monsignor Caleppi on this subject. Monsignor Caleppi was himself accredited to the principal Courts on the Continent, and more employed in foreign missions since the year 1767, than any other prelate. He has resided at Vienna, Warsaw, and was sent to Petersburg to make the necessary arrangements on the occasion of the Russian division of Poland, so that no prelate could be more competent to speak to the fact. I much regret that I had not desired him to state it *distinctly* in writing.

"You are at liberty to state this fact in the *most decided manner*.

"You will excuse this unconnected letter, as I have been frequently disturbed in writing it; but, as I expressed myself very shortly to Mr. Butler, who puts the question to me for your Lordship's information, I was desirous to add those circumstances which have since occurred to me; though my mind is very ill at ease, and little suited to state the facts connected with this subject in the manner I could wish.

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* If I can put my hand on this note I will forward it to your Lordship.

"If you can conveniently put your hand on the last letters of Lord *Fingal* and Dr. Troy, I shall be much obliged to you for them, as I have not written to Lord Fingal since I received it, and I sent it to your Lordship at the moment, without a distinct recollection of the contents.

"I saw Lord Liverpool yesterday at Bath, who told me he should remain some days longer there to drink the water. Windham is also there drinking the waters."

Postscript.—"I do not recollect whether I mentioned to your Lordship that Mr. Ponsonby called on me after the newspapers had stated the *Veto* as construed by Mr. Ponsonby to amount to an *absolute nomination.* I expressed to him my anxious hope that he would correct that part of the statement, as it differed from Grattan's, and was likely to produce discontent. Mr. Ponsonby told me he had never corrected any speech for publication; but added that I might correct it. This, on a point of so much delicacy, I declined to do; but I anticipate the ill consequences of this over statement. I would not wish Mr. Ponsonby to know that I had mentioned this circumstance."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, January 6. Palace Yard.—"I have not learnt the news of the day, if there be any; but a friend on whom I can rely saw a private letter a few days ago from Sir J. Moore, who says that he can depend on the bravery, discipline, and zeal of his troops of every description to do anything that such an army can do; but he fears that 'his force is by no means adequate to the service expected from it.' I further understand from a person connected with Government that 'Moore is acting under general instructions purporting that he is to demonstrate to the Spaniards our good will to assist; and to go forwards or fall back as circumstances may direct, in the confidence that, if obliged to fall back, he may safely re-embark at Vigo.' The short-sighted and most perilous levity of these projects and arrangements really passes all understanding!

"Some chance beyond all reasonable calculations may give us partial and momentary advantages which we shall call victories; but even if I were to learn, not in the impudent and idiot paragraphs of the *Morning Post*, but in despatches from Sir John Moore that he had gained one, two, or three victories, I should only consider every such action as a new entanglement, tending to produce and ascertain the destruction of our armies. I shall therefore cherish the hope to hear that we are rapidly and disgracefully running to the sea-side, before it shall be too late.

"The new embarkations now going forwards are destined for Cadiz; and there also we are engaging in an enterprise of ultimate disgrace. The total want of water is alone an objection to it, if there were not other obvious objections,

But there is a hope of bringing off the ships, and of raising some popular triumph for a moment.

"I have reason to believe that Lord Wellesley is holding a language of hot disapprobation of every thing that has been done in respect to Spain, and the report of the Committee of Enquiry will not lower his fever.

"The royal dukes are talking to those who have the benefit of hearing them, without reserve on the subject of what they call a Council of Regency, the idea of which (as supposed to have been brought forwards by the Prince of Wales) is, a sort of interior council grounded on the King's misfortune in the loss of his eye-sight. The King is supposed to have received the proposition without unkindness; but to have said that he will have no council which he cannot change and remove so long as he retains faculties to enable him to discharge his duties.

"It appears, by an account which I received yesterday from Liverpool, that the total import of cotton wool into Great Britain for

1807, was 282.448
1808, ,, 168.138

of which, from the United States, in

1807, ,, 171.023
1808, ,, 37.672."

SIR R. ADAIR to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1809, January 6. *Sea-horse*, Port Barbieri.—"From the moment of my arrival here until yesterday, when I signed the peace, it has been so extremely doubtful whether I should succeed or fail in the object of my mission that I thought it useless to write to you. As all my difficulties are now over; I remain here only until the arrival of the ratification of the treaty, when I shall resign my trust either to the ambassador the government may send out, or to the secretary of the mission. I have written to Mr. Canning to this effect, and have most earnestly pressed him to send me out, *with the ratification of the treaty*, his Majesty's permission to return to England.

"The answer to these despatches will reach me, according to my calculation, about the first of May. By that time I shall have been enabled to ascertain how far another (and with me the chief) object of my coming out is likely to succeed; I mean the re-establishment of some degree of relation between Great Britain and those Powers of the Continent which have not been absolutely subdued by France.

"And here I have to communicate a matter to you so extremely confidential that, except Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, I must beg of you to impart it to no one. As it relates however to my last mission, and to that feature of it in which our friends are chiefly concerned (I mean the re-establishment of our relations with Austria which the preceding

Administration had destroyed) I think it proper that the persons I have named should know all the steps I have taken in it from first to last.

"You may remember that I told you on my return that, after the departure of Lord Pembroke from Vienna, not one syllable of instruetion reached me from England; and that my mission elosed without my reeeiving the slightest intimation from the present Government whether they were pleased or dissatisfied with my eonduct. I was thus left totally to myself, to witness the final extinetion of our eontinental eonneetions. I did not chose, however, to give up the matter so easily. Before quitting Vienna, therefore, I left in the possession of a person the most likely to make a proper use of it, a eonfidential memoir, calculated to open the way to a renewal of our intereourse with the House of Austria whenever the state of Europe should present an opportunity.

"A eopy of this memoir (the only one whieh exists) I left in the possession of Lord Grenville before quitting England. I did not think it neeessary to eommunieate it to the Ministers, with whom I had nothing to do exeept on the immediate business of the Turkish peaee. But as, a few days previous to my departure, the affairs of Spain began to look well, and the importanee of re-establishing some conneetion with Austria beeame evident, I thought it my duty to put the Government in a way of renewing an intereourse with that Power, and, with Mr. Canning's eonsent, I wrote to the person to whom the memoir I have mentioned was addressed.

"Sinee my arrival in these seas I have received an answer to that letter. It was exactly what could be wished. Whether the Government will make a proper use of the advantages which have thus been put into their hands, is more than I ean say; but there they are for them to use; and I think we have a right, after what I have just explained to you, to say that they are the fruits of the last Administration.

"Of the memoir I have just mentioned, and whieh Lord Grenville will of course show you, I will just say that if you should think the sentiments in it rather too warlike, you must eonsider on what oeeasion, and *for* whom, it was written. It's objeet, as you will see when you read it, was far from warlike; and points only to the neeessity of Austria's laying aside her jealousy of Russia in order to secure some assistanee against the day when Franee shall attaek her.

"This I have thought it neeessary to mention to you, not only for the reasons I have already stated, but because it may prolong for some weeks my stay at Constantinople. But it will not in the least alter my eourse, as I have expressly declined being ambassador, and have asked only for powers to eonelude a treaty of alliance, and then to eome away.

"I expeet therefore most positively to be at Palermo on my way home about the month of June. Do not however delay

writing to me so long, but let me know something of the line you are pursuing in England, so that I may receive your letter with the ratification of the peace.

"Much of this, I suppose, will depend upon what is transacting in Spain, of which I know nothing since Buonaparte has passed the Pyrenees. Not a creature writes to me from England, therefore all I know is from the newspapers. By them I perceive that much must be said and done by our friends in respect to our internal politics. If the King is advised to continue giving the same answers to the addresses for enquiry into the causes of our disgraceful conduct in Portugal, which he has been advised to give to the address of the Common Council, I know not to what lengths it may not be necessary to go in order to shew the public indignation and resentment. I conclude the city will yield on this occasion, but that would be only an additional reason for others to come forward. But of what am I talking? Long before this can reach you, perhaps at this very moment, all is over in Spain; and the convention, the city of London, and everything else forgotten in the general terror of Bonaparte, and in preparations against the immediate danger from his dreadfully increased power.

"As I have no news to send you from this place which can interest you in the least, I will only now beg of you to request the Duchess to do me the honour of accepting what I have sent to her by Captain Prevost of the *Saracen* sloop of war."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 7. Cleveland Square.—"I hear no Spanish news, there is as yet nothing later from the army than the 18th. Lord Melville is said to be come to Wimbledon, and is described to be loud in abuse of the conduct of the Anglo-Spanish war.

"Elliot is come and talks of going down to you about Wednesday, on which day Sir J. Anstruther has just told me that he means to go to Dropmore. Elliot hopes that you will not delay to write to Lord Fitzwilliam at Milton, a few lines of your general notion of the course to follow. Elliot met Lord Fitzwilliam, who spoke of having heard something of your notions from Lord Dundas, in a way as if he much wished to know them from yourself. Long discussions cannot be had in writing; but it would be useful to write him a short notion upon the subject; and I hope you will invite him up at the meeting to have more discussion and conversation with him.

"I dine at Lord Milton's to-morrow, and shall tell him that I knew you had meant to write to his father in this sense."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809 [January 8]. Cleveland Square.—"I have another letter this morning from Henry, Lisbon, 16th December,

in which he speaks with great gratitude of Craddock's civility to him. He says they have just learnt at Lisbon from Sir J. Moore that Bonaparte had taken Madrid by treachery; that everybody supposes our troops will retreat and re-embark at Lisbon; and that, Craddock earnestly recommending to Henry not to stir at present from Lisbon, he means to continue there; I am not sorry he does, but surely Craddock must know that Moore, instead of re-embarking, has joined Baird and Romana, on the road to Valladolid.

"General Grenville saw a letter to-day, Lord Paget to Duke of York dated 16th, Toro, in which he says the 15th and 10th [regiments] have had some parties skirmishing with the French, and that they took thirty the first day, and sixteen the second, of the French. There is a letter to Thornton from Baird, dated Benavente, 16th, in which Baird says that Romana has now assembled with him 20,000 Spanish troops in good case and spirits. All these little prosperities have highly elated our Ministers and commanders, and it is only for such Jacobins as you and me to express our distrust of the result. The idea is that Spencer and Ferguson, with this last corps of 14,000 men, will go to Cadiz; I suppose they think Moore's 35,000 is a match for all the corps and marshals that Bonaparte can send against them.

"I saw Anstruther who sat an hour with me to-day, and is upon every possible point—including the original disapprobation of sending British troops to Spain—exactly and entirely of our opinion; he means to go to Dropmore next week."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, January 8, 4 p.m. Cleveland Square.—"The secret intelligence, the source of which you know, appears to me to be so irretrievably disastrous, that I think it important you should know it without loss of time. I therefore send a packet to Botham with the account which has just been furnished to me. The writer of it has just been with me, and tells me that nothing can exceed the dismay which prevails amongst the Ministers, to whom a statement has been made including the opinion which is described, and which opinion is thought likely to produce the necessity of a change. The writer seemed to think, under this impression, that you had better come up to see the Prince; but I reminded the writer that his information being entirely confidential, you cannot avow the knowledge of it till it be made public; now in the first place I imagine they will not communicate the real danger to the public, and secondly, perhaps I am still disinclined to believe in change, although the *writer's informant* distinctly said that it must be the immediate consequence. My advice would be however that you should come two or three days sooner than you had intended, if you can easily do so.

"How dreadfully fast our apprehensions have been verified."

Postscript.—"I meant to have sent my groom, but both my horses are in physic; so I send this by the stage to Botham at Salt Hill, and bid him forward it to you.

"Moore's letter, received last night, is dated the 28th from Benevente. He had intended to make an attempt on Soult, but learning that Bonaparte was in motion, it was thought most prudent to retreat to Astorga without loss of time. There had been several skirmishes of cavalry, in which Lord Paget and his brigade highly distinguished themselves, and established the decisive superiority of the British over the French horse. They took about three hundred men and thirteen officers.

"This morning Wyndham, a son of Lord Egremont's, arrived with accounts up to the 31st. On the 29th the French crossed a river, the bridge of which we had broken down, and an action was brought on chiefly, I believe, if not entirely with cavalry; the French were repulsed, and Le Fevre—not the marshal but the general who had been at Saragossa—was taken and came here with Wyndham.

"Bonaparte had joined Soult with a great force, and was within twelve miles of Moore, who on the 31st was at Astorga. The French were in full march on our army retreating as rapidly as possible for Corunna. *My informant's opinion is that most if not all our troops will be taken.*

"Moore's last letter is from Astorga, 31 December."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, January 9. Cleveland Square.—"The post brought me your letter of yesterday, and the coach has just brought me that of this morning. I take for granted that my hurry to save the Liverpool stage made me express myself incorrectly, inasmuch as you seem to think I was earnest for your immediately seeing the Prince. What I meant to describe to you was that the writer of that paper had urged this in reference to his informant having, in a marked and distinct manner, told him that he was positively sure a change must take place. I am still an infidel as to change, and therefore do not yield even to this strong evidence, but I perfectly satisfied the writer that you could not yet see the Prince, because you must not be supposed to know what was so confidentially communicated to the writer; and if I suggested an earlier day than the 16th for your arrival, it was chiefly from the desire of seeing you in a moment of so much importance, but not from any notion of my accelerating what cannot now come to you without my feeling in it much more of anxiety than of gratification. I do hope and trust that no consideration, public or private, will induce you to hear of returning to the oar, without a perfectly free and unrestrained use of your own judgment upon all political subjects, and most especially upon Ireland, the danger of which will have been augmented ten thousand fold by the

events of the last twelve months. I have no certain knowledge respecting the question of Regency having been agitated, but no man can have named it to the King unless he had named it himself, which I *did* not think probable till yesterday; but this overwhelming calamity may not impossibly operate that change in the King's mind. My late secretary knows the news, and called to tell it me, so that I suppose it will soon be generally known; but such papers as I have seen talk of our glorious victories over 300 cavalry, and say little of the apprehensions to be entertained for our whole army. My secretary believes that Moore had no other intelligence of the approach of the French, than the account given by General Le Fevre when he was taken; but if any doubt of the truth of this existed, the informant could not but have known it. Our eleven sail of line of battle with the transports would do, *if our troops can ever reach them.*"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 10. Cleveland Square.—"I am just returned from a dinner at Tierney's, where Lord H. Petty, Anstruther, Elliot, and I have had a long talk upon the subject of the fit course to be pursued at the opening of the session. I have—as usual upon this topic—heard a good deal all round the table of the disadvantage and inconvenience which would arise from any declaration on your part, or from any similar measure which might break up the party, being declared or adopted in the House of Commons. I should however except Tierney, who pretty constantly declares that *the sooner it is broken up the better.* My constant answer to the others has been that the evil produced by the course of last session is so notorious, that it would be insanity to plunge into it again at the beginning of this session; that some mode or other must be adopted to cure this evil; and that, although any such measure must be attended with inconvenience, a preliminary declaration made by you in the House of Lords appeared to me likely to produce the best remedy, at the cost of the least possible inconvenience. I have always added that I wished only to hear any other suggestion made which could remedy the evil of the last session in a less objectionable mode; and that if any such suggestion could be made, and could appear to be equally effectual, and less inconvenient, I should be ready to admit it as preferable. No attempt at any such suggestion has been made. Lord Henry however and Elliot seem to have adopted a notion that, as no declaration could be made in the House of Commons upon this point without debate and hostility, it would be absolutely necessary to have a previous meeting on Wednesday at Ponsonby's; and they support this opinion, with the concurrence rather than the earnestness of Tierney and Anstruther, upon the notion that Ponsonby might declare the urgency of a question

upon the conduct of government as respecting Spain, the transcendent importance of confining the questions of Opposition to this point, and the objection that many persons of consideration had to the great latitude which had been given to motions from the Opposition bench without previous concert and agreement. It is supposed that something of this sort said by Ponsonby at a meeting at his house, and supported by Lord Henry Petty and by myself, would answer the proposed end. I have no faith in this remedy if it could be administered; and I have moreover an irresistible objection to the taking the part which is allotted to me in it. I think it quite a glaring impropriety that I, who did not attend last session, and who do not mean to give attendance this session, that I who did not attend any meeting last year, and who do not intend to do so this year, should put myself forward to criticise the meetings and the session of last year, and to prescribe to the meetings and to the course of business proposed for the session of this year. This seems to me to be such an inconsistency as ought absolutely to furnish a negative to the proposition, as far as I am concerned in it. I feel it so, and have strongly stated it so, and nothing that is said to me of the importance attached to my doing this thing can reconcile my judgment to it, or make me, from my own notions, think it fit to be done. At the same time I deem it so little important to think of *self* in moments like the present, that if you think it useful or essential to the general objects which we are all pursuing, and if I understand it to be your wish that I should incur this obvious inconsistency, and it is your opinion that any good will arise from it, I will not hesitate to put myself in the pillory at Mr. Ponsonby's or at Charing Cross; at the same time observing that I cannot conceive any good from this except I meant to attend Parliament, which I consider as a mortal disorder to me; your answer will decide me."

Private. FRANCIS MAGAN to THE SAME.

1809, January 11. Ushers Island, Dublin.—"Under the conviction that it is of the utmost importance that your Lordship should be, as early as possible, made acquainted with the circumstances which have just occurred in this country, I beg leave to state them to you. I should otherwise have requested Mr. Wickham to have done so.

"The Catholics of the county assembled at the town of Tipperary on Saturday last to the number of four hundred, meetings having been previously held at Clonmel and at Cashel to ascertain the public sentiment. A petition was proposed and unanimously approved of, to be presented by General Mathew the first opportunity after the meeting of Parliament. It was immediately engrossed, and in the course of the day, five hundred signatures had been put to it, and several thousands have been since obtained. This,

as former petitions, prays to be admitted to the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the constitution, but is remarkable for one paragraph containing an alternative, novel in its nature. That should Parliament at this juncture deem it wise to remove in part only the restrictions affecting Catholics, the petitioners, in that event, pray that they may be in future exempt from such proportion of the taxes and other burdens as to the justice and wisdom of Parliament may seem reasonable according to the disabilities which may be permitted to remain; upon the principle that, in justice and reason, a greater part of the contributions to the exigencies of the State, should be borne by them who enjoy all the emoluments derived from the collection of those contributions, and who are exclusively the objects of the favour of Government and of its rewards. The Vicar-General of the diocese has already signed it, the Archbishop of Cashell (Dr. Bray) will sign it, and the clergy generally approve of the petition. Perhaps it may not be immaterial to mention that they have determined not to solicit the support of gentlemen, but that their own representatives (General Mathew and Mr. Prittie) should lay the petition upon the table, to be afterwards taken up by those who may think it their duty to do so, as members of the House, from the great importance of the question.

"I have thus detailed the proceedings at Tipperary, the result of which cannot fail to produce in this city immediate meetings, and very probably in the other counties. The Catholics are not inattentive to passing events, nor to the reports of the day. With respect to the latter, I would beg to make one observation, that they are resolved to persevere in their applications under *every Administration.*"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 11. Cleveland Square.—"I hear no news, but the friends of government affect to feel no apprehension for Moore's safety, and Lord Boringdon's language to me just now was in that tone, though full of question and criticism upon the inexplicable tardiness of Moore in stopping so long before he marched to attack Soult, whose original force he insists was only 16,000 men. This attack of their generals upon any failure is quite in the ordinary course of the liberal proceedings of the present Government.

"Lord Wellesley joined me this morning, and was quite eager to express his extreme apprehension for Moore's safety, and his entire disapprobation of the conduct of the war. His ideas are exactly like those which we entertained of the impolicy of sending a regular English army to act permanently in Spain, and he dwelt with great vehemence on the advantage which might have resulted by a proper use of our regular army in the way of diversion only. He accuses government of showing themselves to have been found unjustifiably destitute

of all plan and preparation upon the first explosion of the Spanish war; and he stopped me for at least ten minutes to hear from him an entire disclaimer of having had any communication or concert with the Ministers on this business; and so far as I could judge, an entire concurrence with the opinions which you and I so long have held. Moore's danger will make us many converts; the more I think of the project of my attending Ponsonby's meeting, the more disinclined do I grow to it."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, January 14. Cleveland Square.—"Elliot is to dine with me to-day to tell me the result of your talk at Dropmore, but I am quite satisfied with your decision, and am inclined to think that, upon the whole, the mode now proposed is the least inconvenient. As for what relates to myself I attach no importance to the obvious objection, and if any advantage can result from it, I am not very curious about the rest. The enemy is active in circulating the report that you only come for one day and return to Dropmore. I mention this merely as a fact, without attaching any consequence to it, or suggesting to you to do so. The times are too serious to admit of one's conduct being influenced by the *qu'en dira-t-on.*

"Whitbread does not arrive in town till the 17th; but Fitzpatrick, who has just left him in the country, reports favourably of his present disposition to be quiet; upon which Tierney not inaptly remarked that there were many horses quiet enough in the stable, who kicked and plunged and played the devil when they got out with the hounds. There is no news, but the Duke of York met Tierney with a budget full of confidence about Moore and the army. This sounded pleasant till one heard how ill this confidence is founded, for the Duke of York admits that he believes the French to be above 60,000, and that their cavalry is up with us and is 8,000 to 12,000; but he rests entirely upon the persuasion that he has adopted, of the rear of our army being two days march before the van of the French infantry. It does not appear how he knows this; nor, if it be true, is it in my eyes certain that the 8,000 cavalry will not impede and harrass Moore enough to give time for great part of the French force to arrive, before we embark."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, January 15. Eden Farm.—"In the fearful expectation of news from our army before to-morrow's post, I had intended to have directed a few lines to you at Dropmore on the ascertained state of things. But the papers say that you are to settle in town to-morrow, and in this instance they possibly may have deviated into truth. After all, I expect nothing but what will be, in a greater or less degree, calamitous and disgraceful.

"I have had a letter from Lord Grey, who speaks with good hopes of his own health, but adds that 'he cannot for some weeks move from Howic.' He expresses strong indignation at the whole course and conduct of the campaign, and also (which is a smaller consideration) at Canning's letter to Pinkney. He intimates a shade of difference in opinion from us, on the expediency in the first instance of sending armies to Portugal and Spain. But he observes (and the observation is a chief inducement to this note) that it will be most material not to get into any avoidable debate on that point, as the Ministers would try to bury their own criminality in a popular discussion. I have long and uniformly thought (as you may recollect in the Russia question) that our season is past for continental campaigns—at the same time I do not know that it would have been possible for any Government to have stemmed the current of general opinion.

"We move to Palace Yard next Wednesday night, and mean to take root there till the beginning of May.

"*Les grands poissons mangent les petits.* The Spanish anxieties have swallowed up all attention to the mad mismanagements respecting Sweden and America; and under this impression I do not plague you with some long letters from America and from Ireland, which have been transmitted to me from Liverpool respecting the sufferings of the linen, cotton, and other trades."

William Wickham to Lord Grenville.

[1809, January.] Cookham Elms.—"I intended to have gone to Dropmore yesterday, but the appearance of the waters was so threatening that the people at Maidenhead did not think proper to send me their horses. To-day the east wind (for the first time a welcome guest) has relieved us from present apprehensions. I cannot however conveniently leave home to-day, but will come to-morrow and ask for both dinner and a bed, should your house be empty. In the meantime I send you the result of my endeavours to *recast* the first sheets of F's pamphlet. I have tried the thing in half a dozen ways, but always in vain till this last attempt, which certainly forms not an unnatural introduction to the subject; and, at the same time, brings it before the public in a light in which it is very material that it should now be considered.

"It seems desirable also, as I am sure it is fair and just, that a part at least of the total failure of the objects intended to be gained by the institution of the Court of Inquiry, should be imputed to Ministers; though it would be too much to make them responsible for the whole of the *precious* papers that the Court has given to the world in the shape of *a judgment.*

"I will bring the rest of my performance, which has been all plain sailing, with me to-morrow; at present it is scarcely legible. If it can be sent to Freemantle on Sunday with your

Lordship's final corrections, it may surely be out by the Monday in the following week, which will be quite time enough for effect.

"What I send you to-day will require correction; my only hope is that it may save you the trouble of writing an entire new beginning to the work.

"I send you a letter from Villa Franca of the 16th, which I will thank you to send back by the bearer, as I wish to return it by the post of to-day.

"I reckon that Bonaparte will have marched from Madrid upon Sir John Moore's flank about the 12th, so that by Christmas day or thereabouts, the main business must have been over. He had with him at that place three entire corps, the reserve of cavalry, and the Imperial Guards; so that, supposing him to leave behind him in and about Madrid one entire corps and half the reserve of cavalry, he would have taken with him full 50,000 men at the very lowest possible computation. It is quite clear that his march upon Lisbon had been suspended very early, because there are letters of the 16th from Truxillo (on the road from Talavera to Lisbon) where his cavalry, had his original plan been followed up, might have been with ease on the 13th or 14th, that take no notice whatever of any French troops in their neighbourhood.

"I am sorry to find that in Moore's army it was believed that they had nothing to encounter in the north-west but Soult's corps; and that they were entirely ignorant of the great reinforcements that were actually marching into Spain, towards that very point at that very moment.

"I am sure that my conjectures respecting Moore's advancing on Valladolid were correct, and that it is to Mr. Frere that we are to attribute this terrible calamity."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, January 25. Palace Yard.—"You will see that Lord Liverpool means to move thanks to-day to the officers and army engaged in the defeat of the enemy off Corunna. It is perhaps a new species of defeat, in which we never quitted our ground till the action was over, and then quitted it only for the purpose of a precipate retreat. Still we all must feel that all possible thanks are due for a steady and unshaken bravery, which, under the circumstances, was almost beyond example, and which alone could save that part of the army. How they were brought into such circumstances is another consideration; perhaps in justice the thanks ought to be extended to the whole course of the retreat.

"I beg the favour of you to let me know whether you will attend; if you should not, I incline to absent myself also, though my doing so, when I am within forty yards of the House, may be somewhat observable."

CHARLES BUTLER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 26. Lincoln's Inn.—"Some days ago I received a letter from Mr. Dardiss, dated from Stowe, in which he applied to me to procure information, for your Lordship, respecting the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in the dominions of Russia and Prussia. Having heard that Mr. Dardiss has quitted Stowe, and being wholly ignorant of his direction, I take the liberty to forward to your Lordship the result of my inquiries on the subject.

"With respect to Russia I find that on the 9th of August, 1778, the Pope, with the permission of the Empress Catherine the Second, gave full powers to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mohelow [Mohelmo?] to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his diocese, under the regular control and order of the Empress. I have this information from the Count D'Entraigues, who resided for a length of time in Russia. He cites *Stat Imp: Russ, p.* 111 *and p.* 33, a Decree of 17 January, 1802, and an Ukase of 28th January, 1804; but he has not these books, and, after much inquiry, I cannot find them in London.

"Mr. Tooke, who resided for some time in Russia, and has published an account of the empire, says that no specific arrangement was entered into between the Pope and the Empress Catherine, respecting the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in that empire.

"With respect to Prussia:—in the Treaty of Breslaw, Art. 6, it was stipulated that the King of Prussia should preserve the Roman Catholic religion, without derogating from the full liberty of conscience of the Protestants in Silesia, and the general rights of the sovereign; provided always that he should not exercise those rights to the prejudice of the Catholic religion. The treaty is in Rousset's *Receuil*, *Vol.* 18. I have unquestionable evidence that, in point of fact, the King of Prussia nominates, when he thinks proper, to the highest ecclesiastical Roman Catholic dignities in Silesia. The late King appointed a brother of the Prince of Broglio to one of the greatest Roman Catholic bishoprics in the country, though he was not in ecclesiastical orders, and, till that moment, had served in the army.

"In the United Provinces, some ceremony takes place for obtaining the assent of the magistracy to the bishops and curates exercising their functions.

"At different times I have made enquiries on these points. It seems to me probable, that, in the United Provinces, a formal assent is given by the magistracy of the place, to the appointment of bishops and of curates; and that in Russia and Prussia the sovereigns often nominate, and the Pope and clergy always acquiesce; but that there never has been a formal assent given by the Pope or the Roman Catholics of any country to a right of formal nomination by a non-Catholic sovereign.

"I beg leave to add, that I have always understood that Dr. Milner admitted the accuracy of your Lordship's representation in the House of Lords of the proposal supposed to be made through him of the Irish Bishops. I beg leave to request your lordship will always command my services."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1809, January 20–25.] Palace Yard.—"Mr. Eden called on you at two o'clock and wished to communicate to you some particulars respecting the news received to-day, which had been demi-officially confided to me, and which will not appear in the Government bulletins, but finding that Mr. Ponsonby was with you he was too modest to intrude himself.

"Sir John Moore states that the enemy were *in force* on the height which commands the town and parts of the port; that however 'no cannon was up, but a few field pieces.' I have not time to copy all the details, but on the whole I would compound at this hour for the loss of a great part of the artillery, all the horses, most of the baggage, and a considerable rear-guard. Romana's corps is missing, and supposed to be gone to Vigo with a British detachment. Moore adds we have 'many stragglers' from our march; some French prisoners taken at Lugo say that three more divisions were come up. The Spaniards had been defeated in Catalonia; and in the midst of this I can positively inform you that many regiments of this exhausted army are ordered to Cadiz."

The Marquis of Buckingham to The Same.

[1809, January 25–31. Stowe.]—"Many thanks to you for your most unwelcome note of this morning. The whole history of this most extraordinary advance to Sahugen, and a retreat so precipitate and without a settled point of embarkation, is a mystery which I cannot account for save in the extreme indecision of Moore's character; and his death will of course make Lord Castlereagh, who was quite at the dagger's point with him, to throw upon him much of the responsibility for the disasters that have attended the whole flight from Benavente. I have no doubt but that this total defeat of the most unreasonable expectations that ever were formed will sink deep into the public mind; but I have no idea that it will produce on the King's mind any one impression save that of increased obstinacy which he will call firmness, and to his Ministers it will only suggest the increased necessity of standing by each other. And this course will succeed to them so long as the present Parliament lasts, who will most certainly support the King's footman if he should be put at the head of Government. I conclude that Portugal must be evacuated, for it should seem impossible to defend it; at the same time I hope that the public attention will be drawn to the question of occupying the forts on the river, which may

possibly diminish the value of that station as a naval and military *rendezvous* of France against Ireland. I conclude that we have left all the Spanish ships in Ferrol entire, and it is, I fear, equally certain that we shall not be able to bring away or destroy any part of the naval force, French or Spanish, in Cadiz. With this picture before me, and with a mind very languid, you will not wonder that my views are very gloomy. In truth I do not see my way in anything that can now turn up for the country, and am fully persuaded that the unfortunate situation of the K[ing] and his very criminal obstinacy will weigh down any possible turn of the scale. My son sent to me in *confidence* Lord Castlereagh's note to him announcing this event, and the tone of it as unfeeling as if it had merely announced the result of a *houssardaille* or of a foraging party.

"I was very glad to see that you had taken in the House of Lords the same opinions and language that I had always entertained respecting military operations in the *interior of Spain*, a measure which from General Richard's papers (Adjutant-General to the army of Lord Galway in Spain) I knew to be full of disappointment in every matter to which an officer has a right to look either in a friend's or an enemy's country; but it is now of little consequence to us whether in this matter we were right or wrong, for the next French battle will be fought in Ireland, or perhaps in Kent."

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, January 26. Howick.—"I return Lord Holland's letter to you, which I received from FitzPatrick some days ago. I sent it to Lauderdale thinking Holland would wish the communication to be extended to him. Not that it throws much light on what we knew at the time, and it is put quite out of date by the accounts we have received since. If accurate information with respect to Spain was his object, it must be confessed that Lord Holland's journey has not been very successful.

"I have just got the account of Moore's death, and of all the disasters which preceded it. It deprives me of all power of expression, and almost of thought. I must confess that, as things have been managed, it is much to be regretted that your opinions, against sending troops to Spain at all, did not prevail.

"I am sure you will be glad to hear that I have benefited beyond my most sanguine expectations by the course I have been pursuing. I really now believe I shall get quite well, which I once nearly despaired of. If the weather relents, I hope to be allowed to go out next week, and soon after that to be fit for anything.

"Pray let me hear how things are going on in Parliament and what course they are likely to take. Do you think of moving any enquiry in the House of Lords."

The Same to The Same.

1809, January 29. Howick.—"I received your letter last night, and have this morning had my doctor with me. He says that I could not with any safety set out in less than a fortnight from this time, and even then it must depend on the state of the weather. As this would put off my arrival in London for a full fortnight after the day you have fixed for your motion, and as it must after all be subject to so much uncertainty, I conclude you will think it best to adhere to the notice you have given. Had it been possible I should have wished very much to attend this question.

"I cannot get over the impression which the termination of this melancholy business in Spain has made on me. My brother writes me word from Portsmouth that our loss in the whole does not exceed 5,000 men; but in this, I fear, he must be greatly mistaken. I am afraid too that we are not at the end of our losses, as it seems to me extremely probable that a part at least of the troops left in Portugal will be taken.

"The account of the proceedings in Ireland with respect to the Catholic petition, however much I may lament it, does not surprise me. It appeared to me clear from the beginning, if some measure was not taken to separate the moderate party from those who, I am persuaded, actually dread conciliation as destructive of their views, that the whole would be drawn into such measures as, I fear, will ultimately prove fatal to both countries. Whether any thing can now be done to counteract this evil appears very doubtful, but it is deserving your most anxious consideration. When Buonaparte's power is completely established in Spain, an event now, I fear, not far distant, all our fleet cannot secure us against an invasion of Ireland; and there certainly is not a moment to be lost in providing for the defence of that country."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, January 31. Palace Yard.—"Yesterday evening Lord Buckinghamshire informed me of his intention to move on Thursday next an address to the King to take such measures as may still be practicable to preserve Portugal from falling again into the hands of the enemy. He wished to know whether you were likely to be at the House. On my telling him that you do not mean to return to town till Friday, he requested me to say to you that he would give his notice for that day in the hope that you might be present; which he thinks highly desirable even if you should happen to differ from him in your views of the subject. I shall attend, as it seems to be expected; but if I am driven to express an opinion, it will be that we have lost the means and occasion of protecting Portugal, if it ever were practicable. And indeed I think it much within calculation, that at this hour we have abandoned

the possession. After all, these discussions contribute to withdraw our dreaming countrymen from the delusion which has been practised; and also to expose the presumptuous and fatal folly to which our late disasters and disgraces ought to be ascribed.

"Lord Erskine will move to-day for accounts of the losses of every description sustained by us in Spain and Portugal.

"I do not believe that the Duke of York is open to any charge of corruption, but the enquiry leads to an exhibition of gallantries offensive to the public eye. It is said (but probably without truth), that Mrs. Clarke is the accuser:—*Dux fœmina facti.*

"I will to-day put off your American motion till Monday, the 15th February, and will assign the reason which you mention.

"It is not quite impossible that Lord Hopetoun's peerage may have palsied Lord Melville's objections to the Spanish campaign."

Earl Grey to the Earl of Rosslyn.

1809, February 1. Howick.—"I received your letter last night and return the proxy. If Lord Grenville is not full, I think he had better hold it himself, to contradict any reports that may arise from my absence. If not, I cannot wish to be in better hands than yours.

"I am very anxious to have the important papers that are published in both Houses, and wrote some time ago both to Lord Auckland and Tierney for that purpose; but I am particularly desirous of getting all the returns and every thing that has a reference to our military operations; and I shall be obliged to you, if they have not already been sent, to order them to be sent to me as soon as possible.

"All that you say of the examination respecting the Duke of York, the manner of conducting it, its effect upon the character of all parties and on that of the House of Commons, and the melancholy proof it affords of a state of public feeling wholly unsuited to the present situation of the country, is quite incontrovertible."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, February 9. Palace Yard.—"Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst being at the House (and Mr. Canning) I took the occasion to mention in my place that the commercial accounts were in a very defective shape, and also that it would be desirable both on this and on all similar occasions to have the accounts of the commerce of Ireland. And also that it was your wish to have upon the table the proceedings in the American congress relative to the intercourse with the belligerent powers. To the first point Lord Bathurst answered that the defect was occasioned by the want of returns from Scotland and the East Indian Company, but that he would

try before to-morrow to settle with the Inspector-General some mode of bringing immediately a better return.

"As to the next point it was understood that I would move to-morrow for the Irish account. And as to the last point Lord Liverpool said that he would come down to-morrow prepared either to adopt the motion as you had worded it, or to suggest any amendments that might make it more complete. I then observed that these new but necessary papers of information would probably compel you, though reluctantly, to postpone your motion till Friday, and it seemed to be felt that this would be right.

"By the bye, Lord Moira told me that he was very earnestly with us on this business, and would be glad to know before the day the general course meant to be pursued.

"I shall see you about 12 to-morrow, and will previously call on Pinkney, if I should be well enough."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1809, February 12. Bath.—"I enclose to you my proxy on your American question, hoping sincerely that you will grapple to the fullest extent with Mr. Canning's epigrammatic letter to Pinckney, which states distinctly the present course of proceeding towards America, as *necessary for the purpose* of showing that England *can do* without that branch of commerce! an assertion very questionable in point of fact, and highly indecorous even if true. Her embargo has proved a very important and ruinous measure, and I verily believe her non-intercourse bill will be equally insufficient as a measure of offence to us, or of security to her; but this does not change the question as to the folly of our Orders in Council, or as to the insanity of Canning's refusal to negotiate, which ultimately must bring us to a state of actual war, in which our commercial interests all over the world have everything to lose, and in which we can gain nothing. Most certainly do I agree with you on the gloomy and desperate state of our political concerns, which I now begin to fear are drawing fast to that point from which no abilities or exertions will be able to extricate them. The misconduct of our military enterprises might have opened the eyes of every thinking man long since to the utter incapacity of those who planned them, or who sent the troops to service without any plan or arrangement whatsoever. The failure of the Martinico expedition is of the same school. But the King's obstinacy will urge him to risk all rather than depart from that system to which you owe your dismission.

"But above all do I agree with you in your view of the horrible and incalculable mischief which must arise out of all that is now going on in the H[ouse] of C[ommons]. The whole procedure in all its course, its objects, and its bearings is so entirely like that of the Queen of France's necklace (which every Frenchman will tell you was the first scene of

the Revolution tragedy) that I cannot look to it without the most gloomy fears for the result. I have not the smallest doubt of the profligate venality in the underhand bargains for rank and situation ; I really do not believe that the D[uke] of York was a party to it, direct or indirect, but I am persuaded that enough is now proved and admitted to convince the whole of the lower ranks in this kingdom, that the Duke paid his whore by allowing this nasty and wicked traffic. But the treacherous insanity of Ministers in hallooing on this cry, instead of stopping it (as I well remember, with respect to Lord Sandwich, when Temple Luttrell tried to fasten upon him the traffic of the same sort of Miss Ray) is quite inexplicable, except as a measure (wicked as it may be) for turning the public attention from their misconduct to the Duke of York whom they hate. And I am rather confirmed in this suspicion by seeing Percival employing himself to keep up this cry, by a bill which must be waste paper if it does no more than prevent the *advertisement* of places under government, and under the E[ast] I[ndia] Company, who, like the City of London or any other corporation, may sell their offices without breach of any law, common or statute ; and this too in a government where the sale of commissions and of livings is recognised and ordered even by our courts of Law, in the cases that come under their directions.

"Do you remember Lord Mansfield's manly letter to Mr. Pelham when he was charged with drinking the Pretender's health, on the testimony of a low informer, who had so charged him ; and Lord Mansfield, then Mr. Murray, declared that if the charge was even *entertained* for consideration, he would resign his situation, and would never again serve the Crown in any office whatsoever. I know how difficult a course it would have been to have stopped this charge, but I should have felt it a duty to have joined in refusing to entertain it on the testimony of a common whore, and of the equally infamous agents connected with her in these bargains, and should have left the whole to due course of law. These strong impressions are founded on no desire of excusing the Duke of York, who ought individually to suffer for the infamy of such a connection, and who ought, particularly after the newspapers have for years been full of these stories, to have watched with incessant jealousy, every possible promotion in which money could have been given ; but they are founded on the strong conviction that with the degradation of our Princes, the ruin of the monarchy is necessarily connected ; and that the steps are very rapid."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, February 15. Palace Yard.—"I am very sorry to see that the Cintra business stands fixed for Friday ; it quite distracts the public attention to have two great and complicated discussions on the same day. If Lord Henry Petty

cannot postpone it, I incline to think that we should raise a preliminary debate for which there are good materials on the American business, and reserve the address till Monday.

"In our yesterday's note respecting the diminution of American trade, we inadvertently minuted the total diminution at six millions. It should have been diminution

of exports	6,000,000
imports	1,551,000
Total diminution	£7,551,000

This being the diminution in *the American trade only.*

"From what Mr. Baring tells me this morning of the immense extent, by individuals and by government, of the exports to Spain, I am quite sorry you postponed your motion.

"Sir John Newport is arrived. Will you send to him for the Irish part of the question, and particularly as to flax seed?

"Query, is it not very material to have expressly in your address some mention of the injury done to our manufacturers. It is very urgent both at present, and eventually, by the new manufactures rising in Spain, France and America."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1809, February 16.]—"The enclosed arrived from New York this evening, and was forwarded to me half an hour ago by Mr. Baring. I send it to you, as it is most material to be perused by you, and you will be so good as either to forward it with compliments and thanks to Mr. Baring, or to send a single line to him (which might be best) to say that you desire to retain it till Saturday morning.

"On what grounds this separate letter of Mr. Canning's was retained when the correspondence of 1808 was given I do not well see; except that Lord Liverpool, I believe, said that it was intended to give only such papers as had been printed in America. You see that it is meant, contrary to the known truth as stated in the President's message, to argue still that our Orders in Council of November did not tend to produce the embargo. You also see in this paper that the non-Intercourse Act (the new embargo) has passed the House of Representatives.

"The House of Commons to-night is occupied in an enquiry tending to show that the Duke of York tried to procure a colonial office for a person who offered to send him a large sum of money upon annuity. How strange, and how infinitely mischievous that such an enquiry should be admitted!!!"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, February 18. Palace Yard.—"Our debate and division last night were highly creditable, although it is like whistling to the winds to talk about great public businesses,

whilst the whole attention of the country is occupied in discussion with prostitutes and with swindlers.

"It would be very material, beyond the mere interests of the moment, if your other occupations would allow you to dictate and to publish the heads of your speech.

"I conceive that we must not suffer this business to sleep.

"The Spanish question loses nothing by the delay."

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, March 3. Howick.—"I received your letter by the last post, and have in consequence of it determined to set out for London on Monday next, not being able to go sooner on account of some private business. I hope to be in town to dinner on Thursday.

"I should be sorry that any further delays took place on my account, but if, in arranging the business that is to come on, you could put off any question for a day or two after my arrival it would be desirable, in order to afford a short interval for previous consultation.

"As I hope to see you so soon, I will not trouble you with any of my speculations on the present most unpleasant state of public affairs, further than to say that I quite agree in the view you seem to take of the Duke of York's business; and that I think one general motion for enquiry respecting the military operations both in Spain and Portugal would be better than separate motions on each.

"I had a letter from Lauderdale last night, telling me that he had been confined to his bed three days on account of a bad cold. He said he was getting better, but did not hint at any intention of going to town.

"The Brest fleet may, I think, afford Ministers a little relief in their present difficulties; though there are three points where, if they escape our pursuit, they may strike a severe blow; Sicily, Jamaica, and Ireland."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, March [12]. London.—"General Grenville has been with me and seems to think that the difficulty of the Duke's resignation is overcome, and that he will not object; but the Duke of Cumberland said that the difficulty was how to give Perceval's resolutions the precedence of Bankes. This convinces me that they are ready to announce the Duke as having resigned as soon as Perceval's resolution of acquittal is passed; and I think if they let this be known, there would not and ought not to be any difficulty about the resolutions being passed. Of course you will not name General Grenville."

The Marquis of Buckingham to The Same.

1809, March 14. Bath.—"Fremantle's letter to me *asked* my opinions and *my* wishes; and confines his difficulties

to the obligation he felt for his nephew's commission; on the latter point I could not but give a very decided opinion, because in *that* case the commission to the son of an officer, who had bought his rank, and had died in service, was a thing quite of course.

"My sentiments on the necessity of removing the D[uke] of Y[ork] are most distinct; and knowing that Lord T[emple] feels them as I do, and understanding from him that you had, at a meeting of your friends, acceded to the same line, I naturally felt anxious that no doubt should exist upon my line, particularly as the illness of my brother and of Sir G. Nugent diminished our numbers, and thereby gave room to suspicions, which above all I wish to avoid. These considerations, added to my detestation of the unprincipled course pursued by the King, and by his Ministers in this matter, made me anxious for all the demonstration possible of whatever might be the real opinion founded on the evidence respecting the D[uke] of Y[ork]. Of course with these feelings respecting the King personally, and his Ministers, I should have laughed to scorn all the comments of all the King's friends; and I will fairly own, though I have not hitherto written to my son on the subject, I shall be very sorry if you should have influenced him to give a silent vote on a question, where a public man ought to do his duty. But after all that you have stated of Fremantle's personal feelings, and after your recommendation to him to stay away, I felt it impossible to persevere in imposing upon him, as a duty of affection to me, that upon which he had *asked* my *opinion* for his guidance. I have therefore written to him to state, that my opinions remain unaltered, that I am sorry to see him as a public man binding himself up in the same book with Fitz-Patrick, who votes in return for the foulest army job to him that the D[uke] has ever permitted in the army; but that 'I leave him master of his own conduct.'"

"I am not blind to the almost incalculable mischief of all this proceeding; and I would have cut my hand off to have saved it from the H[ouse] of C[ommons]; but that moment is now gone by, and the House must do its duty or risk that most formidable of all revolutions, that which arises out of the forfeiture of the confidence of the governed. The King, from various causes, is no longer that which the constitution supposes him to be, a King efficient to all the functions of monarchy. The House of Lords is supposed to be, and in truth is in the hands of Government; and from the moment that the House of Commons is found by the people to screen the crimes, as well as the political misconduct of public servants, the chapter of allegiance must necessarily close. I state all this because I think it very questionable whether the line of moderation which you profess in your letter to me does not carry you too much into the ranks of those who have betrayed their public duty so criminally in the whole conduct

of this matter; and too much under the standard of that party of King's friends, who have flattered the King's prejudices and misconduct to measures ruinous to our interior safety, and to our own political existance.

"The prospects are closing fast round us; and the moments for managements are gone by. It is therefore of less comparative moment whether the K[ing] governs his army, and through that army the public, under the name of the D[uke] of Y[ork] or of Lord Harrington; but it is essential that the hand of power, stretched forth to save by force a public delinquent from the universal and general cry for justice, should be checked and disappointed. I have no confidence in the idea of the D[uke's] resignation, unless he is forced to it, for I have no faith that Ministers have opened to the King's blind eyes, and more blind mind, the extent of his difficulties; I have no faith in their courage being equal to that sort of explanation; I have no faith that his mulish and systematic obstinacy would yield to such a suggestion; and I have no faith that the mind of the Duke can be brought to it."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809 [March].—"Temple has heard from my brother this morning that he arrives to dinner to-morrow, and therefore I conclude that he makes no visits on his road. I have written to Lord Spencer and spoken to Lord Stafford and to Morpeth, but have not yet been able to see Carlisle, nor do I yet learn the result of Lord H. Petty's conference with Whitbread.

"Lord Grey came and passed an hour and a half with me in talking over this subject on which he seems to think exactly as you and I do. What I chiefly pressed him upon was the finding some facilities for suggesting to Ponsonby the idea of his taking this opportunity of declining to continue the lead and of putting it into the hands of Lord Henry. I showed him that this might naturally be stated by Ponsonby as being an event which changed the face of the party, and which naturally led to reconsider the state and condition of it; his own original acceptance could be described as an experiment which he had been pressed to try in the hope of continuing to unite what had been acting together in the two preceding sessions, and this schism would afford as obvious occasion for his expressing a wish that the lead of the party might now be tried in other hands. I am the more solicitous for this arrangement being found practicable at the present moment, because if it took place, I am convinced it would give Lord Henry both the means and the desire of opposing himself steadily to the new standard which is raising; while on the other hand, if Lord Henry continues second, he will not perhaps feel enough in heart to be as active and energetic as the circumstances of the times and of the party require

him to be. Lord Grey agrees most heartily in this view, and has promised to seek out as well as he can the means of assisting it; he thinks some impression may be made on Ponsonby by Lord Ponsonby his nephew, and by Grattan, and he has half a mind to talk to Ponsonby himself, but naturally feels reluctant to undertake so difficult and ungracious a task. I have told him that I am ready to take any ungracious office of that sort on my shoulders; but as the object is to produce a voluntary offer from Ponsonby, that disposition can only be produced and assisted by those who are in habits of intimate intercourse and individual confidence with Ponsonby. I am sure that the more you think of this the more you will be impressed with the importance of it in the present moment. I hope you have written to the Duke of Bedford, and that you have urged him to see Elliot. I find from Lord Grey that Whitbread had extracted from the Duke a letter of unbounded praise for his speech on the Erfurt papers, which, considering what an attack it was on our government, was very unguarded on the part of the Duke, and so it appears to Lord Grey. Tierney and Albemarle have a list of 102 sure votes for your division."

Earl Grey to The Same.

[1809, March–April. London.]—"I enclose the proposed address with some verbal alterations made in it by Lord Sidmouth. He seems to think that some of his friends, particularly Lord de Dunstanville, will be more ready to vote be it with these alterations. They appear to me to be of so little consequence that if anybody has any fancy about them, they ought to be acceded to.

"As I have nobody here to copy any thing for me, may I trouble you to get a fair copy made for me for the House of Lords."

Postscript.—"Lord Wellesley is not well enough to attend on Friday, and Lord Liverpool applied to me to-day on that account to put off the motion till the beginning of the week, to which I was very sorry that it was not in my power to consent."

The Same to The Same.

[1809, March–April. London.]—"I send you the narrative of Castanos which I will thank you to return together with Graham's letter when you have read them. In the address I think it might perhaps be better to omit the clause respecting the accession of power to France, for I think it would be rather too difficult, even for me, sanguine as I was, to maintain that we could have prevented the French from making themselves masters of Spain.

"*Ill-combined* and misdirected; would I think be better than *ill-timed.*"

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, March 28. London.—"Lord Henry had a long conversation with Whitbread on Sunday; it passed amicably, but ended, as was to be expected, in an understanding that all party connection between him and us is, for the present at least, at an end. They agreed, and I think you will also be of opinion, that it is better to avoid, as far as it can be done, all public explanation and discussion on this subject; the more especially as it does not appear likely that there will immediately occur any question which will occasion a public difference. By this I do not mean that any attempt, which would be vain, should be made to conceal or to disguise the separation that has taken place. But I cannot help retaining a wish, which you will not think unnatural, both to avoid throwing any difficulties in the way of our agreement on such questions as we can still agree upon, at present, and of a renewal of the connection hereafter. It is obviously necessary that you should announce this distressing event to such of our friends as from their personal consequence, and the support we have received from them, have a right to expect such a communication. There are particular circumstances which must make me desirous of a personal explanation with the Duke of Bedford, and the opportunity will be afforded me by his passing through London on Friday. To everybody else I hope you will write, and indeed to him also.

"If in reading over the Spanish papers anything should occur to you either as to the mode of forming resolutions upon them, or the line to be taken in opening the debate, I shall be obliged to you to suggest it.

"From something that passed yesterday, privately, between Lord Liverpool and Lord Auckland in the House of Lords, I think it nearly certain that Ministers will take advantage of the late proceedings in America to get rid of the Orders in Council."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, March 29. Cleveland Square.—"I find both by your letter, and by Lord Buckingham's account of your conversation, that you are disposed to rely more than I fear you ought upon the accomplishment of our wishes respecting Ponsonby's voluntary resignation; I heartily wish this may be brought about, and I am doing all I can to forward it, but I should be very sorry that this expectation, or any expressions of reluctance on the part of Lord Grey, should induce you to lose any or a single moment in writing to the Duke of Bedford and Lord FitzWilliam. The separation is irrevocably made, and Lord Grey's good sense and judgment make him see that it is, and that it ought to be so; although the pain which he feels in it makes him reluctant to admit it, and tardy in acting upon any such admission. I yesterday

had Lord Henry's account of his conversation with Whitbread, who to him likewise disclaims any intention of hoisting a separate standard, but repeats that he considers the party as having no leader, and that he means to govern his own conduct solely by the opinions of Samuel Whitbread: I did not keep back from Lord Henry my wishes and desire that an opening might be made for him to recover the lost ground of the party, nor my anxiety to see that accomplished if possible by the voluntary offer of George Ponsonby; in all that Lord Henry said upon this I am the more confirmed in my belief that the true way of making him useful is by interesting him in the character of a leader, and making him thus responsible for a successful resistance to Whitbread and Company. Undoubtedly I agree with you that the course of his political opinions and connections, as well as those of Lord Grey will create to them some embarrassment in an entire agreement with us who have uniformly been found opposed to the questions of reform which they have more or less supported; but with the sentiments which Lord Grey expresses on this subject, I believe him disposed to do every thing short of what would be a disgrace and inconsistence in him to do; and though I should have some apprehension of a stronger impression in favour of reform in Lord Henry, yet I think he was well pitted against Whitbread; and if he had lead enough given him to make him responsible for beating Whitbread, we should have as little inconvenience from his former opinions as, in the nature of this subject, it is possible to have. Indeed in the present inflamed state of the public mind upon these popular topics, I do not wish to see these discussions met by a blind and obstinate opposition, and I can easily conceive that such a course would be exactly what our adversaries would wish, and would serve their cause much better than ours. In the resistance which is to be made upon these popular topics, we want more discretion than zeal; and I think there is a good deal of that first valuable quality in the character of Lord Henry's mind, and that the best direction to give to his zeal is by committing it in unrestrained hostility against Whitbread. If I do not deceive myself, under the present circumstances this object is of greater importance than any other whatever. There is a great danger round us, most especially from the ardour of many of the young members, of which I hear more every day than I like to hear. Coke, of Norfolk, has been holding very inflammatory language on these topics at Brooks's, and has been talking about honest youth as contrasted with empty politicians; and has been dealing out his invectives against sinecures with the same abundance of nonsense which he generally reserves for the companions of his Norfolk dumplings at Holkham. Lord Milton and Lord Althorp have both dipped more into this than one could wish, and I see by my letters from Althorp that there is more ground of uneasiness in our

young friend there than I had expected : Lyttelton is another who is described as a very eager reformer, and Ward a little so, though in a much more moderated degrcc than the others. All this makes it in my mind important that no time should be lost in your communications, most especially with Duke of Bedford and Lord FitzWilliam who had fled into Yorkshire from the scarlet fever at Milton.

"Lord Spencer has written to Lord B[uckingham] to tell him that the Spanish Admiral at Cadiz has allowed two of our men of war to rig out the seven Spanish and four French men of war, and to place them in the outward harbour out of reach of the French, if they should suddenly invest Cadiz."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, March 30.—"Lord Grey, doubting whether he has time to write to you to-day, desires me to tell you that the result of the communications made to George Ponsonby is, that he considers himself as entirely relieved from embarrassment by this measure of Whitbread, that he attributes all his uneasiness and former failure to the constraint put upon him by his reluctance to break with Whitbread, and that he describes an entire confidence in himself for all his future exertions, and does not in the least admit of the possibility of any such suggestion as I had wished and hoped for. Under these circumstances I suppose you will think with Lord Grey and me, that this cannot be done forcibly; and therefore that all which remains is to stimulate Lord H. Petty to the most active exertions, and to let him see that, in the formation of a new government, he would be to lead in thc House of Commons.

"Lord Grey has read with more surprise than I have, but not with more indignation, the Westminster Hall debate. If this does not open the eyes of our young friends as to Whitbread and the democrats, they are indeed irrecoverably lost. Elliot and Lord Grey are to see the Duke of Bedford to-day and to-morrow; he is in town on his road to Woburn.

"Lord Grey has just sent me Lord Holland's letter which I will return to you to-morrow, as I have not time to read it before the post goes out."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, March 31. London.—"Not having time to write to you yesterday, I desired your brother to explain what appeared to me a mistake in your apprehension of what had passed between him and me respecting George Ponsonby. This I have no doubt he has done quite satisfactorily; but I cannot help just saying that, in addition to all the reasons which must weigh with you, there are others arising out of my personal connection with Ponsonby that must make me, if possible, morc anxious even than yourself in the discussion of any new arrangement that might become necessary, to

avoid even the use of a phrase, much more the suggestion of any measure, that could be personally unpleasant to him. In truth, the conversation between your brother and me turned rather on what might be desirable, than on the actual adoption of any measures for altering the lead in the House of Commons. It was this that caused my omitting to mention it to you in my former letter; and what has since passed with George Ponsonby proving that he feels himself rather stimulated to increased exertion, than disposed to withdraw himself, there is of course an end of this matter. Besides, on throwing out the possibility of the arrangement that had been talked of to Petty, I found him, and no wonder, very much indisposed to take upon himself the ostensible character of leader in the House of Commons under the present circumstances.

"I have seen the Duke of Bedford this morning, and explained to him all that has passed with Whitbread. You know he does not say much, but I hope I do not assume too much from the assent he appeared to give to the different points I pressed upon him, in saying that I have no doubt his conduct will be such as we must necessarily desire. I think he has been a good deal struck, as all persons in his situation must naturally be, with what passed at the Westminster meeting on Wednesday.

"I enclose a letter which I received yesterday from Holland. I am sorry to find that he is not likely to be at home so soon as his former letter had led me to hope. The information it contains, I think, will not induce you to alter your opinion as to the hopelessness of the contest in Spain. But the state of things as it now appears, certainly adds to the weight of the censure which ought to fall on the adviser, whoever he was, of Moore's advance from Salamanca.

"Sir A. Wellesley, you will have heard, is certainly going to Portugal. The force now there, I understand, is about 18,000 men, and there exist at home the means of augmenting it only to a very limited extent indeed; and any addition that can be made to it must consist chiefly in cavalry."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, March 31. Palace Yard.—"So long as this *vent de bise* shall predominate, it will be an uncomfortable consolation to me for passing the holidays in town, which we mean to do, with the exception perhaps of a forty-eight hours visit to Gogmagog."

Private.—"Lord Grey has mentioned to me, as a matter to be guardedly and reservedly talked about, that he has felt himself obliged to have an explanation with Mr. Whitbread, purporting in its results that they must be considered as pursuing very different lines and principles in Parliament; and he added that a conference to an effect somewhat similar has taken place between Mr. Whitbread and Lord H. Petty. It has long been evident to me that what is called Opposition

in the House of Commons ought to be better marshalled, and on some other system. The opinion both of the public and of Parliament is tending towards us ; but there is a want both of system and of right activity.

" Our division in the Lords may perhaps be carried on the 18th as high as 85 or 86. I hear that we have Lord Nelson ; and that Lord Wodehouse is disposed. It may not be easy, but Lord Carlisle, who cannot possibly stay the division, should be prevailed on to give his proxy. Lord Sidmouth is eager on the Spanish question. I quite agree with Lord Grey that, after certain resolutions of facts, there should be resolutions of inculpation (not omitting the Ferrol scrape). It would be very material if you would turn your mind to assist Lord Grey in this.

" The Cadiz ships with our cordage and sail-cloth are said to be in the outward harbour ; but it is much doubted whether they will come further.

" Louis XVIII is said to be in an awkward scrape. M. de Puisaye accuses him of employing some Frenchmen to assassinate him, and to steal some paper.

" The Swedes in London say that their King will be re-enthroned by a part of the army ; but neither the facts nor the probabilities are in favour of such a notion."

Postscript. Private.—" I have *the strongest* reason to believe that it is decided not to renew the Orders in Council Acts ; and I had an intimation to that effect when I gave notice that I should make a full mention of that subject after the holidays. I wish you would think how it can be done to the best effect."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, April 1. Cleveland Square.—" Elliot has seen the Duke of B[edford] whose general sentiments appear to be very much in unison with ours, and who confidentially to E[lliot] expresses great surprise and disapprobation of W[hitbread] having produced himself in the shape of an humble follower of Burdett. At the same time the Duke's general reserve and silence will give us no advantage from his sentiments, if they are not a little more produced into action. He has left his family at Brighton, and is going for a fortnight or more to Ely on business. There is no chance therefore of Elliot's visit, because there is no Woburn party ; but Elliot is very anxious that you should press both the Duke and Lord F[itzWilliam] to come up to town to meet you as soon as you arrive, and to talk these subjects well over.

" I have again written to Lord Spencer to press him as much as I can upon the subject of Althorp, of whose sentiments I have lately heard more than I can hear without having some anxiety and uneasiness. I have said all that I could, and of course you will be so good as to keep this to yourself.

"Burdett and Company are furious at Madox having prematurely given his reforming notice, and having thus fired his piece without proper orders from his commanding officer. What a farce it makes of all these public orations! Here is Sir F. Burdett and Whitbread addressing the people in Palace Yard on the pressing necessity of Parliamentary reform, and then inveterately angry with one of their own proselytes for pledging himself to move for that very Parliamentary reform, which, in Westminster Hall and Palace Yard, they had declared to be indispensable to the safety of the people. Yet, I am glad of this meeting in one respect, because I think the near approach to treason in Burdett's speech, and the wild nonsense of Whitbread's forcing Ferguson into command by the terror of the people, must open the eyes of some of our young friends to the principles and objects of these democratic leaders.

"I am sorry to hear that Wardle professes to be possessed of the actual letter written by Lord Hardwicke, with the offer of 2,500*l.*, and of a place of 800*l.* *per annum*, as a consideration for some burgage tenures; and he adds that he can prove the payment of the money and the appointment to the place solicited and obtained by Charles Yorke. There seems to be a melancholy concurrence at one and the same moment of all that can render the existence of government precarious, and set the character of public men in the most degrading light.

"Elliot is going to Beaconsfield with Grattan. I tell him he should take Grattan over to Dropmore; if you think so, of course you will say so."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, April 4. Palace Yard.—"This quarter of the metropolis is as empty as in the first weeks of the shooting season, but I never was less disposed to envy the enjoyment of fields and shrubberies. It is a savage season; wheezy, breezy, and freezy.

"I am further annoyed by the political temperature and prospects. Unless it shall soon please Providence to remove Buonaparte from the face of the earth, he will in three months more complete the subjugation of the Continent, in despite of Sir A. Wellesley's army, and of the 'patriotic Portuguese.' (I understand that Sir Arthur's appointment raises great dissatisfaction in the long list of senior officers who are virtually superannuated; a proposal is sent to Cradock to proceed to Gibraltar, but his friends here have recommended to him to decline and to come home.)

"The vessel of the state is certainly in the perilous way which you well describe, the waves troubled, the wind rising, the captain locked up in his cabin, ignorant and rash pilots at the helm, and a disposition to mutiny in the lower decks. Quitting the metaphor, I really think it necessary for you

and for Lord Grey to hold a closer communication with individuals of the House of Commons, and to try what can be done. If you remain passive spectators, the respectable conduct of the House of Lords will not alone be sufficient to preserve the country from confusion.

"I dined yesterday at Roehampton, and Lord Buckinghamshire readily undertook to manage about the Bishop of Gloucester's proxy. It is desirable that our new proxies should not be entered till the morning of the debate; and it is also to be wished that the resolutions should not be communicated to the opposite bench beforehand. It would be useful in every point of view if such men as Lord Villiers and Lord Cooper could be induced to come forwards. I forgot to enquire about Lord de Dunsterville, whether he will vote with Lord Sidmouth. Lord Ellenborough is in bad health at present, but eager on the subject. Those who are not likely to be able to wait for the division should be induced to give their proxies. Lord Carrington does not seem to think that Lord Gardiner will vote with us; nor am I sanguine as to Lord Ilchester.

"On what day do you come to town? Mr. Canning's treaty with Spain *richly deserves* a preliminary conversation; and more should be said about the Ferrol fleet, and every hour may bring material news from America. I fear that the Martinique business will be a great waste of human life.

"One of the best counteractions to the shoals of mischievous nonsense which will otherwise be pushed forwards, would be a pressure from day to day of great political questions relative to Spain, Sweden, Portugal, America, East and West Indies."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, April 5. Cleveland Square.—"I have just got your note and will dine with you on Friday and Saturday. Moore has twice seen Lord Grey, who thinks his case for the Spanish question is invincible in point of argument. He tells me that he hears of great quarrels among the Ministers, and most particularly as between Castlereagh and Canning who are said to be at daggers drawn. Many rumours reach Lord Grey of favourable opinions respecting him at Windsor; but he has again repeated to me to-day that, if anything is said to sound him, which he rather expects or deems not unlikely, his answer will be that with the present government he can have no communication, but that he should always be ready to obey his Majesty's commands in receiving his orders, though in such a case his humble advice to the King would be to send for Lord Grenville.

"I have just seen a letter from Portsmouth which says that Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived there yesterday morning, and was going to sail in the evening; but that his departure was suspended by the sudden arrival of orders from London,

in consequence of intelligence of two French corps being fast approaching to Lisbon. The letter adds, the prevailing opinion is that the English army at Lisbon is re-embarking."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, April 7. Cleveland Square.—"I have heard nothing of the question which you tell me is in agitation respecting Lord Hardwicke. It seems bad enough in itself, and is indeed irretrievably bad if it brings again into sight all the dirty buyings and sellings of Lord Castlereagh's union. In his hands and by his assistance that measure has been stripped of all public good and national security, and has fraternized us only with the nastiest garbage of the Irish place-market. His shameless defiance of all principle in reference to the Catholic question makes me think that his approaching disgraces are but a just judgment upon him. You will think that I am infected with the language of the Livery and Common Council, but in truth what is there left for *us* but to rail at those who have made the state of public affairs as helpless as it now is. The greater part of those with whom I talk upon these subjects exhaust their indignation in abuse of Horne Tooke, and Burdett, and Cobbett, and Whitbread; and if I do not likewise, it is not from any partiality towards them; but I do not consider them as making the new feature of our present danger. In a population and under a constitution like ours, there always have been and always will be leaders enough to bring forward into activity the discontents and dissatisfactions of the day as the occasion may offer. Accidental irritations may at times increase the degree of this danger, and it will always be most formidable when, as now, the pressure of taxes bears hard upon the lower ranks of the people; but there is nothing novel in the nature of this evil; and however it may vary in degree, there is too but one channel through which this evil can be resisted, and that is by the conduct of the government. With them must originate the whole system of defence against this evil, and whether by temper, or by vigour, or by a prudent and timely exercise of each, it must be for them to plan, to array, and to conduct whatever is necessary to be done for the public security. The novel part of our present danger is the universally admitted and acknowledged incompetency and inadequacy of the present government, and the universal persuasion of all men that our Ministers are upon the present occasion mere spectators of what is passing, without conceiving either the means or the necessity of taking any measures of security against the approaching tempest. In this state again I say what can we do but rail? The natural answer to my question would doubtless have been, to try the radical cure of the removal of the government; I am not disposed to think that a very impossible task; but I say nothing of it because you and I have so often and so recently agreed that

a renewal of the victory which we gained over this government two years ago would be, for public purposes, much more to be deplored than to be desired; and every day's reflection serves but to confirm me in that opinion. If this be so, the utmost that we can do will be perhaps but of a very negative description. We may do something by guarding as much as possible against the inconvenient excess to which some of our best friends may push their notions of resisting measures of reform. I am certainly disposed to think great caution necessary upon this point, not only in reference to the avoiding all imprudent irritation of the public mind upon popular and plausible topics, but more especially in reference to the political state and condition to which several of those are in some degree pledged, whose real sentiments are now very little different from ours. Lord Grey is the person to whom I most particularly allude, and the same remark applies in different degrees to Lord Henry and to Tierney. It would, I think, be very ill-understood on our parts if our language and views upon this subject should be pushed to such an extreme rejection of all that bears the word of reform, as to leave to these of our friends no hope or expectation that their sentiments can be brought into any sort of accord or harmony with ours; this would be on our part to force them against their will into the ranks of Whitbread and of Burdett, when, in truth, our business is—as far as can be made consistent with principle—to show that while we separate from Whitbread and from Burdett, we are not so intolerant as to put down every man for a Jacobin who entertains the question of the possibility of any reform. The best practical mode of determining this part of the question would certainly be by frank and confidential communication; and in this view I would strongly recommend to you to press Lord Grey, Lord Henry, and perhaps Tierney, to go down and pass a day with you at Dropmore. Lord Henry comes to town to-morrow, and offered to go down with me to you; my answer was to press him to go, but to doubt about my own cold; at the same time I am so much better that if you think there is any good in my going, I should not hesitate to do so, and am confident it would do me no harm; but I am persuaded nothing is so pressing as a frank and unreserved communication between you and Lord Grey without any farther delay.

"Reports have prevailed of the ministers taking fright, and of their taking Melville and Wellesley and Sidmouth; but the latter is eager in his talk with Lord Grey, and pursues him with invitations to dinner. Lord G. Leveson and C. Ellis are added to Wallace as candidates for Ireland, and Long is said to succeed Sir J. Pulteney, who resigns.

"Kleist, the son of the Magdeburg general, is come here as a private agent to Canning from several leading men in Prussia and in Saxony to ask for arms to assist a general

insurrection in the North of Germany; but I do not believe that the King of Prussia is any party to this mission."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 10. Cleveland Square.—"I had learnt from Crawfurd that Moore the surgeon had considered himself as compelled to vindicate the character of his brother against the insidious detractions of the Ministers, that Lord Liverpool had endeavoured to persuade him that *Canning alone* was responsible for his own censures on Sir J. Moore, and that the other Ministers had not joined him in his criticisms; it further appears that a pension of 600*l.*—nominally—which would not have cleared much above 400*l.*, was offered to the surgeon as the representative of Sir John, the other brothers agreeing to leave the whole of what might be given to the surgeon for his benefit, and that of their sick brother. Upon this part of the subject I understand the surgeon to have remarked the sum to have been unworthy of his brother's memory, and that the grace of confirming it by Parliament should not be wanting in a case where Parliament had voted a monument. The discussion however terminated in a refusal from the surgeon, and in his anouncing to Lord Liverpool that he thought himself bound in honour to his brother's memory to publish his military journal, together with all the official correspondence. Crawfurd told me that this work was far advanced, but would not be printed with the maps and plans before the middle of June. My advice to Crawfurd was, first to persuade his friend to ask from Lord Liverpool his own testimony and that of the other Ministers in the House of Lords in favour of General Moore; and, secondly, my advice to him was not to quarrel with the government, but to obtain for his family such assistance as it was thought the case would justify; but I added that, if the surgeon was irrevocably determined on the publication of his brother's case in hostility to the Ministers, I should then advise him to lose no time in communicating the material facts of General Moore's case to Lord Grey, whose motion in the House of Lords on the 18th would afford the most advantageous mode of beginning the justification of the general's character and conduct in Spain. In consequence of what I had said, Crawfurd yesterday told me that the surgeon was absolutely determined on pursuing the unqualified vindication of his brother, and had desired that I would convey to you his wish of being allowed to communicate to you all the facts, original papers, and letters, previous to the debate in the House of Lords. I told Crawfurd that I would give his message, and you see that I am now acquitting myself of that commission; but I added that I believed you did not come to town till the 17th, which would scarce leave time for such a communication, and that I still thought the surgeon would do well to see Lord Grey who is in town. What the surgeon will decide on this

I know not, but I understand that Crawfurd believes these papers to be of great importance, and to furnish a powerful attack against the Ministers. You will tell me what answer to give to the surgeon's message to you. He told Crawfurd he particularly wished to communicate with you, as you had behaved very handsomely already on the subject; by which I suppose he alludes to the answer you had given when these papers were first named to you. If you come a day sooner you might have time to go over the whole, but how far that may suit with your Dropmore projects I know not.

"With respect to the very large and extensive subject on which you have answered me, I feel that it is a matter which comprehends too much for any correspondence to reach, even between those who understand one another's opinions as much and as easily as we do. I can however venture to assure you that I have expressed myself very inadequately if I can have left you the possibility of supposing that you or Elliot or anybody else can have a stronger or more urgent sense than I have of the public danger of the present moment. There cannot be upon the nature and violence of the disease the slightest difference of opinion between us, and I feel pretty confident that there would be almost as little difference between us in respect to the remedy, if we had time and opportunity to pursue the details of this subject as completely as their extent and importance would require. On this account I much wish that I had found myself stout enough to have joined you at Dropmore, more especially as I find by your letter of this day's post that you expect Lord H. Petty and Elliot at dinner to-day; but although I am not ill, there is a want of bodily strength about me which disables my crazy carcase from following where my mind would lead it. My general comment upon your last letter is that you do not seem to me to contemplate sufficiently the practical details which will create the immediate difficulties in the House of Commons; or, that in seeing them, you have better hopes from, and more disposition towards the ministerial benches than I have. Our *own* party, properly so called, is upon this subject pretty much reduced in point of speakers to Elliot, and to the powerful but irregular support which he may derive from Windham; the assistance which our flank of the army gave upon questions of reform, at the period that you allude to, was given to the authority influence and eloquence of Pitt and his government, who were able and willing to fight this battle, and whose efforts were so directed as to invite and justify the assistance which we then gave them. Upon the present occasion the government furnishes no talents, no vigour, and no unity of opinion. I think it myself very questionable whether, in their own original weakness and poverty of means, they will concert anything but an improvident and involuntary course of ineffectual concession. Broken as they are, without unity,

or confidence in themselves or in one another, it is highly probable that Canning or some of these intriguers for place and office, will betray their associates, not by actually joining the enemy, but by looking after their own individual interests in these questions, instead of consulting the real defence of the citadel and the security of the garrison. The last approach made by us when in opposition, for the purpose of supporting government on questions of reform, ended in our joining that government upon it's general views and systems ; and it would be blindness not to see that a similar conduct upon the present occasion would naturally point to a similar conclusion ; in truth I have the opportunity of knowing that some of our best friends havc already taken this alarm, and have filled themselves with the apprehension that an early support given by us to this government is likely to end in a closer connection with them, or with the greater part of them. Perhaps I have myself sufficient confidence in a similarity of your sentiments with mine on this topick, to prevent my entertaining great apprehensions of what I should think such irretrievable ruin and degradation of character to us and to our friends. But I do not speak lightly when I say I know these apprehensions do begin to get hold of the minds of some of our best friends. If however it be true that not only thc character and conduct of the present Ministers forbids the possibility of any ultimate political connection with them, but if it be likewise true that their entire want of ability and of prudence defeats all hope of their providing such measures of defence against the danger as could be rendered effectual by our assistance, and if, at the same time, it must be confessed that Elliot and Windham cannot of themselves do more than make an honourable and eloquent protest, but that they cannot do anything practically that will avert the danger which threatens us, then I think a case is made out in which it becomes absolutely necessary to look for the best array of force which can be found likely to fight *any* battle, if we cannot fight again the same battle which we have fought. I hope I feel no unbecoming timidity on this subject, when I confess that my opinion inclines me to think that with the strongest government and with the energics of a powerful and eloquent leader, I should doubt if the *same* battle which we had formerly gained, could wisely again be fought under the different circumstanccs of the present moment. Unquestionably my opinion is that, in the prescnt inflamed state of thc public mind arising, as I believe it does in great measure, from the pressure of taxes, the answers which your letter suggests upon the three points at issue are such as cannot barely and nakedly be considered as fit to be given to the people in the present moment. Of those three the first, namely, of parliamentary reform, is perhaps that which I am disposcd to think, unless circumstances should vary, there would be the least difficulty in

resisting, because up to the present time I rather believe parliamentary reform has never been very much sought for or desired by the body of the people ; and this I know is Lord Grey's opinion, who had good means of ascertaining that fact ; at the same time it is impossible to say how far and how fast the irritation of the public mind will be led to travel upon this topic by the unresisted influence which is employed to inflame them. The degree of resistance upon this topic therefore seems to me to vary with the varying mind of the country, but I own I should imagine that *this* question is not in this moment the most material. The second question and the third however are questions to which your observations on the practical details of government cannot afford such answers as it will be possible to afford in any public discussion, and least of all in Parliament. You cannot tell the people, when they complain of facts which establish corruption in the military department, in that of the war Secretary of State, and in that of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, you cannot tell them that the influence of what they call corruption is, for practical purposes, too small rather than too great ; and even your observations of the diminished influence of the Crown since the Reformation [Revolution], may perhaps be very much questioned when you recollect the immense increase of military, naval, and fiscal patronage. Neither can you upon the third question either adopt or promulgate the principle of resisting enquiry into abuses, because the details of all governments are inseparably and necessarily blended with some. The true and only defence upon these subjects, as it seems to me, is in the prudence and discretion of an able government, which, under such circumstances as the present, ought to take into it's own hands the whole of this delicate subject, ought to consider how much could safely be given to the inflamed and irritated state of the public mind, and what mode could most prudently be pursued for defending that which it might be thought must not be conceded. It was in this view that I had urged you to see Lord Grey, Lord H. Petty and Tierney ; and I confess that I still retain the persuasion that it is peculiarly necessary for you to consult with the very same persons, whoever they may be, whom, if the King sent for you to-morrow, you would probably propose for his service. With those persons I wish you to consider all these important points, and to settle the conduct to be taken upon them, which I believe would not be found in any great degree difficult or impossible. No man, I think, can expect Lord Grey situated as he is, to do all that that Pitt did in the height of his power, and being Minister of the country ; but all that I have heard of Lord Grey's and Lord Henry's dispositions on this subject incline me to believe that a frank and unreserved communication with them will still retain the same honourable connection which has prevailed, and which, I think, affords the only chance hereafter of any real good to be done in the country."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 11. Palace Yard.—"I returned yesterday from Gogmagog too late to be able to send the enclosed list to you, and now forward it as transcribed this morning by Mr. Eden, and as of this date in the proxy book. It is open to many remarks on both sides too numerous and complicated for a letter; and indeed on that point as well as on several others, all your friends much lament that you are not on the spot, and that you talk of not arriving before the 17th. The whole view of everything connected with the debate is varying (and consequently the resolutions must vary) from hour to hour, by the new papers which come from the Parliament offices, and by new circumstances which come to light. I am every hour more convinced of the folly of Sir A. Wellesley's new expedition, and of the blind infatuation and obstinacy of those who direct it; and though it may be true that our countrymen in general are both blind, and deaf, and unfeeling as to all the gigantic interests now afloat, I nevertheless think that, whatever we do, we should do with the best exertion to do good, though we are likely to fail in that wish. But the charms of Dropmore and of the opening spring will prevail.

"Lord Fortescue called on me this morning, and was so good at my request as to go to the Parliament Office, to forward to you from thence by this post some most curious additional papers respecting Moore, Frere, Ferrol, and the late campaign. Frere's correspondence is offensively and absurdly arrogant beyond all example and imagination; and in the very act of running from Madrid with all the fears of a hare before the hounds, he insists on Moore's exposing himself and his army to evident destruction; and all this in a tone of epigram, and sarcasm, and self-importance, as if the letters had been brought, cut and dry, from Downing Street. De Courcy's letters about Ferroll are very curious.

"Lord Albemarle was here at the same time with Lord Fortescue, and desired me to mention to you that he has only a few of the printed letters pressing for attendance. As I have within these five minutes received one of those letters, I presume that the circulation is made.

"And thereby hangs another scrape. We have most unfortunately taken for the debate the great Newmarket day, which may detain from us Lord Grosvenor (who never gives a proxy) and Lord Jersey who holds a proxy. And Lord Derby is ill, who holds two proxies; and we have other friends who attend Newmarket.

"Lord Albemarle wishes that you would send to him such proxies as you may have, with such instructions as may occur; it is a detail of some difficulty. A few lines from you to Lord Grosvenor and Lord Jersey would bring them to the debate. By the bye, I cannot believe that the debate can finish in *one* day, and possibly not in two. I do not feel quite stout enough at present to be sure that I can sit up very late.

"That story about the purchase of the letters from Mrs. Clarke at an enormous price was confirmed to me to-day by a person who *knows* all the particulars; and even now there are strong fears that copies may have been kept."

SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 11. Tilney Street.—"Having already taken the liberty of speaking to your Lordship on the affairs of the English Catholics, I trust you will excuse my troubling you again on the same subject, as I cannot but feel it a duty to inform our best and firmest friend of our proceedings, and the more, as I find that erroneous reports have got abroad relative to the meeting of last Monday. That meeting was a very private one, held at the home of Lord Shrewsbury, and no more than 14 gentlemen were present. We have had no public meeting whatever, and I sincerely hope we shall not have any this year. The meeting of Monday was merely to take into consideration the very numerous and respectable communications which had been made to us of the wishes of a great number of our body, particularly of those gentlemen resident in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, that we should come before Parliament this year with a request to be placed on the same footing with the Catholics of Ireland. These wishes were, however, in every instance expressed both with the greatest politeness to those of their brethren resident in London to whom the letters were addressed, and the most decided wish that no step should be taken but with the advice and approbation of those distinguished friends whose support has been their pride, and on whom they must ever place the greatest reliance. Of these I can safely say that every individual I have ever known, considers your Lordship as the chief.

"The greatest number (indeed almost all) of these letters were written before the late occurrences in Parliament had raised so great a ferment in the public mind.

"After perusing these letters, the gentlemen present determined to write to the gentlemen in the country through whom they had been transmitted to us, simply stating that, on account of the great importance of the subject, they had adjourned the further consideration of it for a fortnight. It was then resolved that each person present should apply to their friends in Parliament, and most especially to your Lordship, for your advice on the subject of the propriety of an application to Parliament this session; at the same time I must add that the unanimous sense of the gentlemen present appeared to me to be against any application to Parliament, though no vote or motion was made on that head.

"If then your Lordship will honour me with your sentiments on the subject, I shall feel, in common with every gentleman of my acquaintance, the highest obligation to you; and I will

most exactly follow your directions as to the mode of communicating those sentiments to the gentlemen at our next meeting; and I am very certain that there is scarcely an individual in the body who would not wish to be guided by them.

"Should your Lordship prefer speaking to me to a communication in writing, I shall be happy at any time to obey your summons.

"I ought to say that among the gentlemen present on Monday were Lords Kenmare, Dormer, and Arundell, Mr. Clifford, and Sir J. Throckmorton. Lord Shrewsbury was too ill to attend the meeting, and the other Catholic peers are not in town."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, April 11. London.—"I am afraid you will think I have been very idle, and I cannot altogether acquit myself of that charge, though I have some excuse in the languor remaining after long illness, and in the difficulty of sitting down seriously to any work in the confines of a London hotel. I have not however been altogether inattentive to the necessary preparation for the question I am to bring forward next Tuesday. That after hammering at the papers for some time, I have not been able to beat out any resolutions that satisfy me, and there is so much obviously wanting in the information laid before us, that I am much inclined to prefer a general motion for enquiry. Lord Moira is also of opinion that this would be the better course; so that, if you agree with us, I will try to reconcile Lord Sidmouth to this alteration in our intended mode of proceeding.

"Petty will have communicated to you the additional papers which are now delivered, and I have no doubt you will think as I do that Frere's conduct has been most unwarrantable. I have seen Moore's brother, who has shown me the original letters. There are some omitted which certainly ought to have been produced, and in some of those produced a few not unimportant alterations. One a requisition from the Junta of Madrid signed by Castel-Franco and Morla, and dated the *2nd of December*, which you will see is referred to in Moore's letter to Frere of the sixth, and two from Moore to Baird which are extremely material in showing the influence Frere's letters had on his conduct, he intends to send copies of in a letter to Lord Liverpool, stating that he has done the same to me, as they appear necessary to bring his brother's case fairly before the public. I recommended this mode of proceeding, rather than moving for them when the House meets on Friday, to save time; not having then received the enclosed letter from Lord Grosvenor which, I am afraid, leaves us no choice about putting off the motion. It is extremely inconvenient to me to do so, but there are several other frequenters of Newmarket amongst our friends, and

as the races last the whole week, it probably would be better to fix it at once for Monday, as Lord Grosvenor desires. I certainly like Friday better, but I wish the decision to rest with you ; and hope you will let me hear from you by the return of the post.

"I have seen Lord Albemarle this morning, and find it will be necessary to make a good many new arrangements respecting our proxies. We should therefore be obliged to you to send the list he left with you. Directions should also be given for sending out notes to apprize our friends of the day of the debate.

"I hope your return to town will not be delayed, as there are several matters which I think it would be material to talk over. There is one on which I should have something to say, and which I cannot very well state in a letter. You will not be surprised to hear that the general weakness of the government, their own divisions, and the known separation between Whitbread and me have occasioned a good deal of conversation amongst persons of very great authority in your neighbourhood. I shall be anxious when we meet to tell you all I know on this subject ; but, in the meantime, I trust that you know me well enough to be assured that I know the value of communications of this nature, and that I have had no concern in them further than hearing what has been conveyed to me. What has been so conveyed I am so far entitled to consider only as mere gossip ; if it should assume any more distinct shape my answer would be ; 'that I could have nothing to say while the present Ministry lasts ; but if it was declared to be at an end, I should be ready to receive any communication it might be thought proper to make to me, either directly, or, which I should recommend, through you.' I do not believe however that we shall be exposed to any embarrassments of this sort. It is not the first time that the Ministers have been at variance ; and now, as formerly, when they come to a point at which they must either break, or agree, I have no doubt they will feel the indispensable necessity of agreement.

"Portugal, I apprehend, is gone. Your brother has just been here, and says that the Duke of Queensberry's news is that Sir A. Wellesley is stopped by an order from Government at Portsmouth ; and that the British troops at Lisbon were expected to embark immediately.

"I forgot to say that Moore's brother wishes, when you come to town, to be allowed to communicate all his papers to you."

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

[1809, April. London.]—"I return the address having made no alteration in it, except the addition of a few words to the last sentence, which you may either insert or omit as you think best. Lord Sidmouth and his friends seem to

think there is some virtue in the word *mismanagement*, so I suppose it may stand. I think we may make out upon the ground you state that the loss exceeded 8,000 ; but I always think it better not to have a dispute on a point of this sort, and should therefore prefer adhering to our original statement. I have not been able to substitute anything for *dangerous accession* ; but though it is in some degree exposed to the objection I stated, I don't think it of much consequence."

LORD GRENVILLE to SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD.

1809, April 12. Dropmore.—" I have this morning received your letter, and lose not a moment in expressing to you what occurs to me on the interesting question to which it relates. I flatter myself no professions can be necessary. It is well known to be my most earnest desire that the Roman Catholics both of England and Ireland should be restored to the full enjoyment of every civil right. And if I thought their applying to Parliament at this time was likely to promote, or accelerate that object, I would strenuously recommend it.

" The contrary is decidedly my opinion. I am satisfied that such a discussion forced on by them at this time, and under the circumstances that now exist in this country, as well as those which took place last year in Ireland, would tend to strengthen the prejudices which were so unreasonably excited against them two years ago.

" I return to town to-morrow, and should be very happy to have an opportunity of conversing with you on this subject any day after Sunday, on which it may suit you to do me the honour to call in Oxford Street."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 12. London.—" I enclose a statement of the French and Spanish forces, extracted from the accounts yesterday received by Government through Major Roche. You will judge from them what chance of success there is for Wellesley's army. The news I sent you yesterday of his having been stopped at Portsmouth, I fancy, was not true.

" I had a letter from Holland dated the 12th which really contains nothing ; he does not say a word of leaving Spain.

" I hear the Duke of Argyle, who is returned from Scotland, expects that Lauderdale is coming."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, April 13. Palace Yard.—" I have seen Lord Grey this morning who will state to you the reasons why the debate must be on the 21st instead of the 24th, the former being the more convenient day to several of our friends. Lord Albemarle has just called here, and says that the proxies, exclusively of what you may have, are 44, and this is exclusively also of two which Lord Sidmouth has.

"I have seen to-day an account, which seems to be authentic, of the French army in Spain and Portugal, detailing the several divisions, positions, generals. Total 136,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry. If that account be accurate, our Portuguese pursuit is perilous.

"My mind is so ill at ease respecting the actual health of some of my daughters, that nothing would suit me so well as a retreat from the session. Nor do I feel in other respects so well as usual. I am glad however that you are coming to town. It appears to me that the debate of the 21st would be much aided by some preliminary conversations respecting Frere's letters (which excite general indignation) and the Spanish treaty, and the Ferrol ships, and a great variety of other incidental points, which might be cleared away, and would simplify the debate.

"I hope to go to the House for half an hour to-morrow."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—"Fisher will have sent to you the account of the April surplus. In the result there is a deficiency of about 350,000*l.* on the sum taken for the year; and on the comparison of the year ending 5th instant with the year ending 5th April, 1808, there is a falling off to the amount of about 1,300,000*l.* All this is a great disappointment, and what is worse, a bad symptom for future budgets. I have not a doubt that much of this may be placed to the charge of the famous Orders in Council.

"The difficulty of maintaining that infatuated obstinacy will not be diminished, if it be true (as I am told this morning) that the United States have continued their embargo.

"The city resolutions are a horse-whipping to the House of Commons; and that House, in its present state, must submit to that lashing and to further degradations.

"There is a report (which I hope is unfounded) that Cradock is marching up the banks of the Tagus to meet the French. I have not a doubt that Wellesley's expedition will end ultimately in waste and new mortifications; but it may possibly be of use to Ministers towards helping them to crawl through the session.

"Mr. Burrel has just been with me, and has sent off a blank proxy to his father in the hope that he will be induced to sign and return it to us.

"It is asserted from so many quarters that a very large sum has been paid to Mrs. Clarke for the royal manuscripts that it is difficult to disbelieve it."

Friday night.—"I omitted to mention that Lord Grey is very anxious to have a full conference with you upon the Spanish and Portuguese business *before* the 18th.

"Lord Liverpool undertook to produce such orders as have been given respecting the Spanish fleets and arsenals; and also to be prepared to answer whether it is intended to

continue the acts relative to the Orders in Council. I incline to ask about those points on Friday, and also to ask some questions about the Spanish treaty, which appears to me to be the quintessence of diplomatic absurdity. I wish that you would have the goodness to tell me whether it is not contrary to sense and all parliamentary practice to lay before Parliament a supposed treaty which, upon the face of it, does not appear to be ratified; and which, in point of fact, considering the date of the last additional article, cannot have been ratified. The King's speech said that it should be laid before Parliament *when ratified.*"

The Same to The Same.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—"We stated in the House several questions avowedly embarrassing to the Ministers and must revert to them on Monday. The clause in Mr. Canning's treaty stipulating to acknowledge no King of Spain 'except Ferdinand' or such other *legitimate sovereign* as the Spanish nation may approve, was stated by me as implying either a gratuitous pledge of national faith for the re-establishment of a Bourbon, or a ridiculous and absurd undertaking eventually to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte or any other usurper, and Lord Liverpool candidly gave us to understand that he was not prepared to risk any opinion as to what was meant by the King's government, in framing such an article.

"I also called for a communication of the message with which Mr. Frere's Frenchman was entrusted when he carried the two outrageous letters of the 3rd December, and was answered (what seems hardly credible) that the Ministers have no information."

The Same to The Same.

[1809, April 14. Palace Yard.]—"I moved for the return of recruits conformably to your note, and I took the occasion to observe that with the addition of the dead and disabled since the disembarkation, the whole result will be little short of 9,000; from which it may perhaps be fair to deduct 4 or 500 for prisoners, who has since escaped and rejoined the army in Portugal. Lord Liverpool in answer undertook to give the return to-morrow. Lord Sidmouth, who is highly pleased with our proposed motion, expressed a doubt to me as to specifying the number lost. I think however that it ought to be specified, and that it might safely be stated at 'upward of 8,000,' being nearly one-fifth of all that was sent.

"I also renewed the question as to the meaning of the words 'legitimate sovereign,' and pressed with earnestness for an answer, which I did not obtain, but was declined in a manner that implied embarrassment and uncertainty as to the interpretation.

"Lord Liverpool communicated to me a letter from Lord Wellesley expressing his anxiety to be present at a debate which may implicate his brother, but his inability from illness to attend before the beginning of the next week, and entreating therefore that we would postpone. I answered at once that for many reasons such a postponement could not be made, and Lord Grey, who came afterward, confirmed it."

Private.—"Lord Liverpool gave me to understand that he found it necessary to speak immediately after Lord Grey, and he intimated that Lord Moira would probably wish to speak after him, and I have some reason to believe that Lord Harrowby is reserved to speak after you. I mention this that you may turn in your mind whether to speak after Lord Liverpool, or to wait for the close; and if you could decide, it perhaps would be desirable to settle with Lord Moira, and Lord Sidmouth."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—"I have reason to believe from the best authority that it is settled that Lord Castlereagh shall not resign. It has however been a subject of doubt and consideration; and it seems to be understood that Lord Wellesley was not unlikely to have accepted the office if it had been opened. There is a strong and increasing impression that the Treasury bench is not strong enough to stand long against the internal and external pressures. I am not of that opinion, but I expect to see all the mischiefs that can result from the duration of a very weak Government in very perilous times."

Private. Charles Abbot (Speaker of the House of Commons) to The Same.

1809, April 19. Palace Yard.—"The interest which you were pleased to take in the measures of our Record Commission, and the lasting benefit which you conferred upon the system of registration in Scotland, by authorising the appointment of a resident and professional Deputy-clerk-register, make me trouble you at this time with recommending to your favourable notice, a Bill carried up to the Lords yesterday, for better regulating the public records of Scotland.

"The particular grounds upon which this measure, which was last year brought before Parliament for consideration, though not then proceeded in, has been resumed this year, will be seen in the papers presented to the House of Lords on Monday last from the Commissioners upon public records.

"Some difficulties have occurred in satisfying the parties whose interests may be affected by the provisions of the Bill; but, after much conference out of doors, and with a strong desire on our part to accommodate all the jarring interests, the Bill has passed the Commons without opposition; and

I shall hope that its progress through your House may be equally successful.

"I venture to assure myself that I shall have your lordship's pardon for taking the liberty of requesting your attention to this subject."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, April 24. Palace Yard.—"Mr. Eden gave notice to-day that he would move to-morrow for certain papers of information respecting Morla's letter of the 2nd December and Mr. Frere's two letters of the 3rd. Mr. Canning asked him what his motion would be, and he gave a general answer, as he wished previously to bestow more consideration upon it. He wishes me to show to you what he means to move, and to ask a question or two respecting it. I enclose a copy accordingly, and I will call on you to-morrow at half-past eleven, unless I hear by the bearer or otherwise that any other hour would better suit you.

"*I reserve other subjects.* The debate and division of Friday night have made a considerable impression within the walls of the two Houses: but out of doors our countrymen are utterly indifferent as to the increasing perils of all Europe; even the Basque Road business has not made a momentary impression."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, April 25. Albion Hotel.—"I have been prevented calling on you this morning by a thousand interruptions, and amongst the rest by a long conference at Carlton House.

"I cannot express to you how painful it is to me to resist any request so strongly urged by you, and put on such grounds, as your desire that I should remain in London. Whatever my own opinion may be of the advantage to be derived from my presence, I certainly should not oppose it to your's, if it were possible for me to delay my journey. But after talking the matter over with Lady Grey, I really cannot desire her to remain any longer in London; nor can I with any comfort suffer her in her present situation to take so long a journey without me. The result therefore is that I feel myself obliged to set out to-morrow; but I will come back as soon as I have deposited her safely at Howick, if you still continue to think it necessary. I shall arrive there on Saturday; a letter from hence reaches me the third day; and if, at the end of this week or the beginning of next, you shall find it necessary to express a wish for my return, I will return without delay.

"In the meantime I feel quite confident that whatever is agreed upon by you, Petty, and Tierney, must meet with my entire concurrence. I do not at present know of any question likely to occur in which it would be necessary to have a new consultation; and the House of Commons seems at present so completely occupied by the business that is

now appointed for this and the next week, that for ten days or a fortnight it does not appear likely that any new proposition will be brought forward. The only question that it seems necessary to determine is that to be brought forward by Martin. It seems quite clear that Ministers will do nothing. According to what was agreed upon, therefore, at the meeting at your house, it seems necessary that the resolutions which Martin prepared should be considered without the loss of time, and reduced to such a form as we might all approve of. I understand that he is very tractable, and I have no doubt from what passed at the meeting to which I have referred, that you will find no difficulty in getting them so amended, as to obviate the objections to which they were originally liable, and to make them the ground-work of regulations really advantageous to the public."

William Wickham to Lord Grenville.

1809, May 12. Cookham Elms.—"I send your Lordship enclosed an authentic account of the real force of the Austrian army, such as it existed on the 25th March last. I have added to it a few short observations of my own.

"Whether you will have now the courage to read it is I think doubtful; at all events, I will thank you to use it with caution, as it is the same account that has been given to Government. The numbers wanting to make up 700,000 men consist of militia not yet carried to account, because they were not equipped for actual service, or, to use their own expression, not yet rendered *moveable*.

"As far as I can judge from Bonaparte's bulletins, and from the ground occupied by the enemy at the date of the last of those precious compositions, the whole business must have been most disastrous to the Austrians in the field; and promises to be still more so in its immediate consequences. I say this, making very large allowances for French exaggeration of the Austrian loss, and for equal diminution of their own.

"My great dread now is that Bernadotte with the northern army has marched upon Prague, or at least upon Saatz. There is one of the finest fortresses in Europe (Teresienstadt) on his way to Prague, but nothing to prevent his going to Pilsen, leaving a small corps to keep the garrison of Teresienstadt (if garrison there be) in check; and, if he should arrive there in force before the Archduke, nothing but a miracle could save the Austrian army. I have no doubt whatever that the magnitude of the disaster is chiefly to be attributed to the enormous size to which the Austrians had swelled their army for the field. It is quite impossible that they should have officered much more than half of it, as an army ought to have been officered, particularly when it was about to meet Bonaparte in the field.

"It is not true that Prince John of Lechtenstein was an instigator of the war. He was, on the contrary, to the very

last so decidedly adverse to it, and thought so very ill of its consequences, that I should not be surprised if he had purposely exposed himself in the first affair, that he might not be a witness to the calamities that were about to fall on his country.

"The Archduke Charles was decidedly adverse to the war long after the Ministers had determined upon it; but, from the moment that he saw the thing inevitable, he gave up his mind to it altogether, and I believe advised the beginning hostilities immediately, as the only possible chance of success.

"My accounts are from Prague, the 25th March, and may be entirely depended on.

"I ought to add that the Archduke Charles considered the Archduke Ferdinand and the Empress as the authors of the war."

"Hammond told a friend of mine yesterday that Bonaparte was in a most perilous situation. *This was after Starhemberg's arrival.*"

Enclosure.

An Account in detail of the positions and effective strength of the Austrian Army Corps, on March 25, 1809.

"According to the above account, which I believe to be authentic, the whole Austrian army ready for the field (including 50,000 disciplined militia equipped for service) at the opening of the campaign amounted to about 416,000 men.

"According to the same account, the force under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles at the opening of the campaign, and actually assembled in the field, amounted to 287,000 men; namely 6 corps at 42,000 = 252,000; with 35,000 first reserve = 287,000.

"Bonaparte estimates the Archduke's army at 220,000 men; which, allowing for the usual deductions on account of sick, absentees, depots, and for a large detachment that must have been left on the frontiers of Saxony, will make the two accounts very nearly agree.

"To those who are at all acquainted with the Austrian army it must be quite clear that Austria cannot supply officers for so large a force; and that the plan of adding 50,000 militia to the army was in itself sufficient to make the whole thing full of danger. There are, besides, among the nine commanders of corps two who are quite unequal to so large a command; and one of them (Prince Rosenbergh) who has proved his incapacity on so many occasions as to make it quite unaccountable that he should ever have been employed again. Hohenzollerin was the only good officer of high rank with the Archduke at the battle of the 22nd, as P[rince] John of Lechtenstein appears to have been wounded so early as the nineteenth.

"I have a list of the chiefs of the staff and of the Adjutants-General attached to each corps. They are all unknown to me even by name, except two.

"Grünn was appointed chief of the staff of the army just before the campaign opened, Meyer having been removed *on a suspicion of treachery*. This change has produced a very bad effect in the army where Grünn was not popular. I had myself every reason to think lightly of him from personal observation of his conduct at Hohenlinden.

"The melancholy part of the above statement is that only two corps of the army are in Italy, whilst Bonaparte, by his early march (apparently) towards Saltzburgh, is in a position to cut off their retreat from Vienna, and throw them, as was the case with the Archduke in the last campaign, quite into the southern parts of Hungary. Fortunately both those corps are very ably commanded."

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, May 25. London.—"I enclose a letter which I have received from Holland, and will thank you, after you have read it, to send it to Lauderdale. I wish that I could see any ground for partaking in the hopes which he still entertains. But not even Wellesley's success, which by the way appears to have been nothing more than an affair of a rear-guard, and is ridiculously magnified, can induce me to believe that when Buonaparte has finished his business in Austria, he will find much difficulty in settling that of the Peninsula. FitzPatrick has a letter from Lord Holland of a much later date (the 9th) in which he says he is only waiting till Admiral Purvis can give him a passage to come home.

"You will see in the papers that Ministers disclaim Erskine, yet it is hardly possible to believe that he should not have thought himself authorized to act as he had done by his instructions; and indeed he so states it in his correspondence. Canning's disavowal was however as strong as possible. He said that he not only did not act in conformity to his instructions, but in direct opposition to them. This matter cannot be understood till the instructions themselves are produced; and to this I imagine, in the present stage of the proceedings there would be sound objections.

"The old story of Canning is revived again, and I have been assured from the former authority, and in the most positive way, that yesterday was to bring matters to a crisis. Whether anything happened I do not know, nor do I think it worth while to enquire. The whole business seems to me to be quite foolish and incomprehensible.

"In the House of Commons things go on as usual. A new proof of the weakness of the administration was furnished last night, but I have no expectation that any advantage can be derived from it.

"*Rebus sic stantibus*, I adhere to my intention of leaving town to-morrow, which I feel is become necessary to my health as well as to my comfort. I shall stop a day or two as Woburn on my road."

Enclosing.

LORD HOLLAND to EARL GREY.

1809, April 27. Spain.—"As there is but one piece of agreeable news in your letter of the 3rd, received this day, I will begin by congratulating you most cordially upon it; I mean the re-establishment of your health about which I was not a little uneasy. Your account of home politics is certainly gloomy enough, and I should think perfectly just. With respect to the painful political separation you speak of, I need not tell you how much I lament it, and how sincerely I should regret having indulged myself in a journey to Spain if I thought my presence in England would have had the slightest effect in preventing it. But indeed I have no remorse upon that head, and am only gratified by perceiving that you estimate my good will so justly as you certainly overrate the influence of any exertions I could have made. As to debates, though I should certainly like to say my say on Spanish matters, and might furnish you with facts and observations which would put in a very strong light the original defects of the plan pursued by ministry; yet when I find you and all my friends bent upon blaming the *advance* and not the *delay* at *Salamanca*, and attributing the precarious state of Spain to the only step that, in my poor judgment, has given her a chance of success, I own I cannot lament being absent from a debate where I must either have suppressed my strong and decided opinion, in which the more I have ascertained the *facts*, *dates*, and respective numbers, the more I have been confirmed, or differing openly with those with whom, I hope, I shall never have occasion, and certainly cannot have any desire, to disagree in public. I do not mean to send you my intended speech in a letter, but I think not only that Moore would have had time to beat Soult before Bonaparte came up, and a very very good chance of beating Bonaparte too, when he did; but, even as it happened, I cannot help thinking the advance did the greatest good, inasmuch as the French have, since the embarkation of our troops, that is *three months*, done nothing towards the subjugation of the rest of Spain, but the capture of Zaragoça, though they have gained since that period no less than five pitched battles. If Moore's advance did no good, the existence of more than one-half of Spain, and of four (some might say six) Spanish armies in it, must be admitted as a proof of the strength and perseverance of the Spaniards, or of the weakness either in numbers or councils of the French. If, on the other hand, Moore's advance did do good, it will be difficult to show why Baird's army retreated with such precipitation between the 28th of November and the 10th December; why no stand could be made either in the Vierzo or at Lugo; or why, after the battle of Corunna, the English did not either remain in that place, or come to Vigo or to Lisbon. The existence of Romana's army which took Villa Franca and 800 prisoners

the other day, the taking of Vigo by the peasants, the continued possession of Ciudad Rodrigo for three months by Sir R. Wilson's legion (keeping in constant check 5,000 French at Salamanca) and the slow progress of the French in spite of their victories at Barcelona, Tarragona, Uclés, Ciudad Real, and Medellin, prove either the inadequacy of the French force to the conquest of Spain, or the great things which might be effected against them by anything like a regular and well-disciplined army in the country. As it is, there is no want of men or provisions, but great want of arms. Victor has, I fear, been considerably reinforced at Merida, and by our not hearing more from the north of Portugal, Soult has too probably effected his object whatever it might be. In short to save Spain there must be, first, an Austrian war ; secondly, a British force in Portugal, either determined to act offensively or at least disposed to make demonstrations in favour of Spain. In this case I should not despair. The intercepted letters which I have read from Belliard, Joseph Bonaparte, and others at Madrid and elsewhere, all complain of the incorrigible prejudices of Spaniards ; and offers of negotiation both to the Junta and to individuals in it, have been made from various quarters, and in various ways, and all rejected with disdain and firmness except on the condition of *restoring Ferdinand*, in which case, conjointly, with her allies, Spain will be disposed to treat. Surely, surely we cannot withhold from people in such a predicament not only assistance but engagements which shall secure them against a separation from their colonies by our means or to our advantage.

"I see by the papers Parliamentary reform has come again upon the tapis ; for my part I have been more conversant lately in schemes of restoring *Cortes* than reforming Parliament ; and am to say that the determination of holding them is this week to be announced, though the period of their meeting is so remote that it is question whether Victor and Sebastiani will leave a town for them to meet in or not. The adoption of this measure is chiefly owing to Jovellanos, Garay, and Calvo, in the Junta ; and the person most active in promoting it out of the Junta is *Quintana*, whose name you may possibly recollect, as I dedicated my book about Lope de Vega to him.

"Since I wrote to Lord Grenville a week ago nothing new has occurred in the armies. Badajoz in the west and Valencia in the east of Spain have both been surrounded by the French three weeks ago, but neither attacked. You will see in the papers the firmness of the Barcelonese. Cuesto, from want of forage for his cavalry in the mountains, is obliged to keep three or four thousand of them in his rear between the Sierra and Seville. He has 2,000 or more in his advanced posts, and the whole of his infantry may amount to 25 or 26,000 muskets. In La Carolina, I suspect there is little more than 9 or 10,000 out of the hospitals. The French General Victor

some say has 36,000 men, others state his force as not above 20,000. There are 5,000 Spaniards in Badajoz; 3,000 of Wilson's legion and Spanish raw regiments in Alcantara; and as many more under Vives in Ciudad Rodrigo. Could a force of twenty or thirty thousand men, especially if any part of it were British, be collected in or near Alcantara, it would entirely derange the plans of the French, and cut off Soult from Victor. The latter has strict orders not to act on the offensive till his communication with the other is open; and not one courier in twenty despatched from Madrid to Soult, or from him to Madrid, reaches his destination. We are anxious to hear from the Asturias."

Postscript.—"Since writing the above I have read some of your debates, and Sir J. Moore's last despatch. I must acknowledge that neither have made me lament being precluded from taking a part in public discussions. I cannot conceive what are your objections to the treaty; nor what we, who reprobated the Danish expedition, could wish Ministers to do about the Spanish fleet. As to Moore's letter (which I regret to see published) has not every event since the English army left Spain disproved the charge of 'the Spaniards having neither the power nor the inclination to make any effort for themselves'? and, after all, have not the peasants of Galicia itself shown that even they, the least spirited of any Spanish peasants, were inclined to do something when the opportunity offered. Soult's division has suffered more from them than from the English army of 26,000 men."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, June 24. Cleveland Square.—"Fremantle's letter, which I enclose to you, will tell you all that I know of this tremendous expedition, the object of which is supposed to be Boulogne, or Walcheren, or Flushing. I should certainly have thought Flushing if it had not yesterday been reported to me that the Flushing ships had lightened themselves, and had gone up to Antwerp for security. The miserable certainty however of 35,000 of our best and last troops being put under Lord Chatham destroys all other interest beyond that of the extreme apprehensions which must be entertained for all who go under such orders to such an expedition.

"It is still half a doubt whether Granville Leveson is of the Cabinet. I believe he is, and yet I think I know that *two* days ago the Duke of Portland said he knew nothing of Granville being of the Cabinet; I fancy Canning has bullied them into this measure, and they are fools enough to show their ill-humour by these expressions. The appointment gives great scandal from Granville having sat up thirty-six hours a week ago to lose 20,000*l.* at *piquet*, which does not teach John Bull to form great expectations of his diligence and activity in Office."

WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, June 28. [Cookham Elms.]—"There is certainly a negociation going on at Vienna. I should say that it could not possibly come to anything, but for one part which looks very suspicious. Neither Stuart nor Bathurst have been permitted to go to the Emperor's quarters either at Taraym or Wolhendorf. The refusal as to the latter place was direct and peremptory. And, what seems still more extraordinary, he had not been able to obtain any official account either of the details of the battles of the 21st and 22nd ultimo, or of the Austrian loss. He says that they themselves admit that it amounts to 20,000 men, but, on the other hand, they estimate the loss of the French at 35,000 men, including ten generals.

"If you should be altogether disengaged either to-morrow or Friday, and Lady Grenville could spare the carriage, we would do ourselves the pleasure of dining at Dropmore on either of those days. We must ask leave to take the carriage again in the evening, as I don't wish to interrupt the frictions on my knee even for a single day, after the absence I have lately made of a whole week.

"Lord Chatham certainly commands the expedition. Lord Granville Leveson is in the Cabinet."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, July 28. Cleveland Square.—"The fever of the Portsmouth army having subsided enough to make room at Ride [Ryde?], I am going to-morrow to the Spencers. The expedition is reported to have sailed from Deal yesterday; there are all sorts of stories afoot about our new commander. I saw a letter from Dover from an acquaintance of yours and mine which says that the wind was fair two days ago, and six expresses were sent one after another to *Ramsgate, where Lord Chatham slept*, to conjure him to embark with all haste and not to lose the tide; he would not get up or bestir himself, and he lost that tide, and the wind was no longer favourable in the ensuing tide. Nor is this all. They ordered from the Admiralty that three of the lightest men of war of the expedition should, at all events, go on to join the squadron which was cruising off the Scheld; one of these was the *Venerable*, but Lord Chatham's trunks and servants being aboard, he refused to let the *Venerable* stir, and only two ships went instead of three. These are two happy specimens of the new command.

"I find that we are to take both the Bevelands as well as Walcheren before we can march on to Antwerp, but I know not what security we can have for keeping Flushing when we have got it, as I am told the passage is occasionally frozen up. Dyson is quoted to me for having said that Parliament must meet for money late in October, or early in November.

"Pray let me have a line to tell me on what day you arrive at Boconnoc; my stay at Ride [Ryde] is very uncertain, and I shall probably come to you from thence by slow marches."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, August 15. Paultons.—"I have met the Morpeths at Sloane's, and am proceeding from thence to-morrow, so that I hope to be with you about Saturday, or perhaps Sunday next. We have just heard of Wellesley's victory, which the public papers are endeavouring to cry up; but Lord G. Leveson's letter upon it to Morpeth is very flat, and does not seem to me written in any tone of exultation. In truth it seems to me that though our army has fought with distinguished valour, their situation is perilous in the extreme. They have advanced at great risk indeed into the centre of Spain for the mere purpose of joining Cuesta, who, when joined by them stands by, and sees them fight the French without taking any part in the battle. I do not see what we can do except to endeavour to retreat, and that retreat will be the second act of the tragedy of Corunna.

"Fremantle tells me he has written to you upon the same subject as that on which he writes to me, and therefore I can add nothing for your information, except that Lady G. Morpeth's letter from town this morning says the Duke is enough recovered to transact business. I suppose however he must quit, and then Lord B[athurst] will succeed. Fremantle's letter to me mentions the '*failure of the expedition*' as having produced great effect; I suppose therefore he has heard more than I have; I certainly expect it to fail, because, after having given Bonaparte two months notice of our intention to attack Antwerp, I have felt persuaded that we should find there an army strong enough to defend it. I feel so sure of this that I heartily wish Lord Chatham and his army back again; but I had not heard that it was already considered as having failed."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, August 22. Russel Farm.—"I have not seen your handwriting since the beginning of May. I now wish to put you in requisition for a few lines upon a subject which naturally interests me. Mrs. Vansittart is still at Malvern, and has apparently recovered her health, and strength, and is free from every alarming symptom. It is nevertheless thought right that she should pass the winter on the coast of Devonshire, or of Cornwall. Dr. Baillie and others have recommended Flushing near Falmouth as one of the mildest and most sheltered spots, and also as having the benefit of good lodging-houses and good medical advice. Can you give us any information relative to those particulars; and also how far the air is sufficiently dry as well as mild; and whether the roads are such as to make it desirable that they should have their

carriage horses. Catherine inclines to Sidmouth, that Mr. Vansittart may be more within reach of Parliamentary attendance, if it should become necessary; but I am strongly assured that Flushing is far preferable. And indeed if the expense of posting so far were not a consideration, Lady Auckland and I would be of the Flushing party from the 1st November to the 12th December, when the arrival of our Etonians will oblige us to re-settle at Eden Farm.

"These speculations (for they will end in mere speculations) imply that we have no idea of going to town before the end of January at the soonest. I have reason however to believe that the unbounded expense of the present campaign will bring Parliament together some weeks before Christmas. I watch the course and consequenees of that campaign with the anxiety which attends a decided opinion, that we are incurring a wild waste of human life and public resources in addition to many incalculable risks; and all this with an extreme probability of being, in the result, totally (and soon) driven off the Continent. In the meantime the newspapers combine to mislead the public opinion, and to create a foolish and lying vanity, which has ehanged and vitiated our national character.

"The only benefit obtained will be a certain degree of experience in warfare; but it will be dearly bought.

"The neighbourhood of this place (Lord Henley's) is well known to you. We are passing two days here and mean to re-settle to-morrow at Eden Farm."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, August 30. Eden Farm.—"Mr. and Mrs. Vansittart must feel very grateful for your detailed information relative to Penzance and Flushing. If they should eventually go to the Cornish coast, it is really within speculation that Lady Auckland and I, with our three girls, may pass the month of November and a part of December with them. I personally feel (though my health is once more good) that the sea air at that season would be of service to me; and the pleasure of seeing you and Lady Grenville for three days at Boconnoc (if you should still be there) would weigh much towards our decision.

"I know nothing new, and I dread all arrivals of intelligence; *Private*, and, the two enclosed notes of yesterday evening (which you will have the goodness to destroy) seem to imply that there is nothing to be known. I fear that the peerages grounded on our victorious achievements and generalship at the Douro and at Talavera, against Soult and Victor, will be ridiculed by the present age as soon as our vain-glorious delirium shall have subsided; and that they will not be respected by posterity."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 5. Eden Farm.—"Public affairs are going so rapidly from bad to worse under councils so infatuated and at the same time so incorrigible, that one would wish not to think about them. But that is impossible.

"We were obliged yesterday to dine with the Princess of Wales, to talk a great deal of French with the Duke of Brunswick, to sit nearly three hours at a dinner of seventeen, and to return home towards midnight in dead darkness. I had occasion to talk much with one of the company who is much connected with Government. In referring to the Dutch expedition he said, 'Ministers have nothing of self-reproach in the failure, and you will see in the public papers that the saddle is put on the right horse, and that it is meant to bring the failure to a public enquiry.' I see accordingly in the *Courier* of the last night, and in the papers of this morning, that the ministerial war is begun against Lord Chatham, and that the country is to be amused as in the affair of the convention of Vimiera. I doubt however whether this dishonourable system can be revived with effect; if there be any sense remaining among our countrymen they will naturally and reasonably discover that Ministers are and ought to be responsible for employing incompetent instruments. But, in truth, if Lord Chatham had possessed all the military qualities which he wants, I doubt whether he could have done more: *unless* the whole expedition could have passed on the 3rd August before the batteries of Flushing, and have proceeded direct to a landing at Santvliet, and to an attack by land and water on Lillo and Liefkenshoek. I am told that some of the sea authorites will say that this course might have been adopted. Even in that case our loss would probably have been far beyond the value of the Antwerp ships and docks.

"I look with anxiety for the next news from the banks of the Tagus. It seems probable that what the Madrid order of the 10th August calls the destruction of the *English* rear-guard, may have been some advantage gained over the rear of the Spanish army; but even the Ministers avow uneasiness on this point. The best that can be now expected is that our army, after great further losses, and with dishonour, may make a rapid escape by the inverted line of Sir John Hope's march to Lisbon by Elvas."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 11. Eden Farm.—"I yesterday received the following particulars from an old friend who had seen the despatches alluded to.

"'*Extracts* only were given in last night's *Gazette*; but the returns transmitted from Truxillo show that the army, including the Germans, were at that place on the 22nd about

20,000 men, of whom about 10,000 were ill with dysentery; and many of them very ill. We had lost 1,700 horses out of 4,000; provisions and provender were bad in quality, scanty, and procured with difficulty and fatigue. Not more than from 8 to 9,000 men, in the actual state of sickness, were left fit for the field. It was hoped that at Elvas matters may mend. Our returns from the Scheldt are not much better in respect to health; 23,000 men are arriving from thence, and in part arrived, including 4,000 sick; and there are 5,000 sick in Walcheren out of 16,000 men whom Lord Chatham leaves there; and *at present* it seems to be the intention to maintain that possession.'

"I understand also, from good authority, that the Duke of Portland has desired most earnestly to have a successor named; that the other Ministers are much divided among themselves and under great embarrassments respecting the Scheldt miscarriage, the withdrawing from Spain, the expenses. It seems to be thought that some new concoction of councils must take place."

Private. Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, September 12. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Eden has copied for you a *very private* letter of a very recent date from a judicious and respectable officer on the staff with our army now retreating from Portugal. It is guardedly expressed, but you will give easily a due construction to what is meant to be said. The most obvious remark is that we could think of sending 30,000 men to cope with a French army of 125,000; more especially too after the last year's experience of the difficulties of the country, the scarcity of provisions, and the nature of the people and their disjointed and jarring Governments; and this too, to be followed, or accompanied by sending 40,000 effective land forces to attack the Dutch and French Flanders, and all the strongest country in Europe; thus risking the whole disposable force of the empire. We shall probably get off from this infatuated extravagance of plan at the expense only of about 10 millions sterling (extraordinary), and of about 20,000 men, and also of some character.

"I am not surprised therefore to learn (which I do from good authority) that the fever of recrimination runs high among the Ministers, and that at this hour they are threatening each other with dismissions and resignations."

Enclosing.

1809, August 25. Merida.—"We are still on our retreat towards Elvas. The Junta of Seville of course, frightened out of their wits, will make every effort to try to detain us within the Spanish frontiers; but I do *not* think when Lord Wellesley knows his brother's opinions, that he will support

the line pursued by Mr. Frere of humouring their fears, and adopting, in appearance at least, their sanguine pretensions.

"We are now separated from the Spanish army, and I think we should be careful how we fetter ourselves with fresh engagements. We ought to have had experience enough of the Spaniards; and nothing but a different state of affairs on the Continent could justify our risking another army for them.

"From *Spain alone* I have no hopes of anything more than a lingering fever. The question will soon be whether Portugal is worth defending, and to what point resistance is to be carried, and the British army risked; though I think Bonaparte may still have enough on his hands to delay the necessity of a speedy decision on this subject, although the French have still about 125,000 *men in Spain.*

"As for the Portuguese army it is getting worse instead of better.

"The principle upon which English officers have been appointed to that service, as well as in some cases the selection of them, has disgusted almost all; and those who did volunteer from this army have requested to return, as they are not to get rank.

"Another question may arise respecting Cadiz. The fleet after the junction of the Ferrol squadron will be a most important object; and yet, if not managed with judgment and skill, we shall in the end, lose it.

"As for the Central Junta, I should not be surprised if our retreat to Portugal was the handle made use of for their overthrow; however, as long as we steer with dignity clear of their contemptible factions and intrigues, we must be looked up to. I hope only that another *Morla* will not get into power.

"We have intercepted some despatches lately by which it appears they have a design upon Ciudad Rodrigo after Venegas has crossed the Sierra Morena, and the late army of Cuesta is driven or has retired from the Tagus."

The Marquis of Buckingham to Thomas Grenville.

1809, September 15. Stowe.—"I quite agree with you that nothing can be more wicked than the whole conduct of the expedition. It is quite clear to me that the force collected by the 10th June was sufficient to have carried Flushing by *coup de main*, and that our ships might at any time have passed the batteries and destroyed the French ships before they got under Lillo on the 4th August; but I do indeed rejoice that Lord Chatham did not land at Sandvliet, where he would have been beat, and that the troops are returned though with the heavy loss which this fever has occasioned. My son sends me the return of sick landed in the Deal district, amounting on Sunday to 5,265; and I understand that about 1,100 are landed at Harwich. This does not include the

sick seamen or marines, and the whole blame of this is thrown on the medical staff. Since you wrote from Cornwall the tone in London has been diverted from Lord Chatham to Lord Castlereagh, and there should seem little doubt of the removal of the latter if I could see how they are to go on in the House of Commons without him. Bathurst certainly, as I hear, takes the Treasury; and the rumour of yesterday was that Lord Melville was to succeed Castlereagh, and that all enquiry military and Parliamentary into Lord Chatham's conduct was to be resisted. In short the whole game seems now afloat, from the wicked eagerness of all the Ministers to throw the blame on their neighbour; but I have every reason for thinking the King quite decided to risk all rather than to call upon us. God keep him long in that temper.

"I hear very poor accounts of the P[rince] of Wales; he is out of health and spirits and with various complaints. He is gone yesterday to Weymouth to take leave of Princess Amelia, who is said to be in the last stage; and such a scene will not mend his health or spirits.

"I have twice looked over Lord Somers, Volume 1, leaf by leaf, and your quotation respecting the French name of Grenville *is not* in that volume. I perfectly agree to the corrections of Prince's Devon, and would add if I saw W[illia]m's notes. I have a very fine picture of Sir Beville, the engraving of which I will give if it is wanted. I have likewise Sir Bernard, and the two prints of Sir Richard."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, September 17. Castle Hill.—"Our political speculations here are not enriched by any additional information since I left you; but I see the general impression is that considerable change must immediately take place in the Government, and the *Courier* of yesterday spoke positively of the immediate resignation of the Duke of Portland, and two others, who I presume are Lord Castlereagh and Lord Chatham; the *Courier* adds a wish that Lord Wellesley may succeed to the Duke of Portland, and the newspaper of this morning (the *Globe*) supposes Tierney to succeed to Perceval, and Perceval to succeed to Lord Eldon.

"I have no London letters; but though I suppose the Duke of Portland may resign from his very increasing infirmities, yet I shall not easily give credit to any other changes till I see them: if however one or two of the others should run out, my notion is that Lord Sidmouth and Company will run in, and the country will by that means be left in pretty near the same state in which it now stands.

"I shall be at Bristol on the 25th, and at Stacpole, Pembrokeshire, on the 29th, where I shall stay ten days or a fortnight, and then to Trentham."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 21. Castle Hill.—"You will see that Bathurst is, in my brother's opinion, the present favourite for the Treasury, but his notion of Lord Melville seems to me very questionable, because I know from good authority that Lady Jane lately spoke of his health as requiring the greatest care and attention. I still think it will end in the Sidmouths, though I observe that Canning's *Courier* still threatens us with the resignation of the Foreign Secretary, if such an outrage should be offered to his feelings. I find Lord Granville Leveson has been passing three or four days at Trentham, though it seems an odd moment for him to absent himself from London; it was thought kind to him to banish all reference to public affairs or to those who conduct them, so that his visit there appears to have been a blank; but I find that even in his loyal county of Stafford these disastrous expeditions and the lamentable list of 16,000 sick from Flushing, have made considerable impression. General Paget, who had been named to the command at Gibraltar, writes word to his sister here, 'that he declines it and is quite well.' This looks like his belief of some new expedition! Can it be possible?"

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 22. Castle Hill.—"Fortescue and I set out on Sunday evening and reach Stacpole on Wednesday, and on Wednesday Hester talks of the possibility of her going to Boconnoc; but her children come home from Torquay on Monday, and she does not seem as much determined to come to you, as I wish to make her; I shall try again with her before I go, and I hope she will be persuaded to jumble on to Boconnoc. She has just received a letter from Lord Glastonbury in which he tells her that he is informed from 'authority that he can rely upon, that the Duke of Portland, Castlereagh, Canning, Huskisson and Stourges Bourne have actually resigned, and that the remaining members of the Cabinet have recommended to the King to send to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.' In no part of this have I much faith, no such actual resignation can have taken place, because none of these persons would mean to distress the King by taking that step before he had determined how to supply their places, nor do I believe that any of your old friends, as Long calls them, cares one jot more for you than for Lord Grey, nor one jot about either of you or anybody else, except as they might hope so to speculate upon their own continuance in office. Lord Glastonbury goes on to say, 'but will they who are sent to, come when they are sent for?' A very natural question for a prudent man to ask, and yet I think not very difficult to answer; because the circumstances under which such an offer should come would probably leave very little difficulty as to the acceptance or the refusal of it.

Unless full and complete assurance should be given of a sincere disposition to support without restriction or limitation of any kind, I do think it would be quite an act of desperation to accept ; on the other hand, if such a disposition be professed and be acted up to in the offer, and in the discussions which must arise upon it, I do not then see how it would be possible to refuse without a manifest direliction of all public duty. The intelligence which you send me, and particularly the expressions of Lord W. B[entinck] to K—— incline me to think that some communication will be made perhaps both to you and to Lord Grey, but I retain the same opinion which I had last spring, and I cannot help suspecting that if any offer is made, it will be framed for the purpose of inviting a refusal, and with the desire of acquiring new strength to the court party by appealing to the people from what will be called, the intolerable pretensions of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. I suspect this the more because I think such a project is very likely for the Chancellor to conceive, and for the King to entertain; and moreover I am strongly of opinion that it would completely answer it's object, and that however reasonable might be the demands of Lord Grey and of yourself, the people would be quite ready to be hallooed on by the cry of King and church, to treat your demands as an audacious conspiracy against the interests of both, and as creating the necessity of their rallying round the throne under the auspices of Lord Eldon and Perceval. This is my expectation of the nature of any overture which might be made, but though I admit that Lord W. B[entinck]'s question makes some communication less improbable, yet the evident reluctance so strongly manifested by their having even now sought for no channels of intercourse with any of us, and the nominal resource which they will have to count upon in Lord Sidmouth and Lord Wellesley, incline me very much to believe that they will patch it up with rags and tatters and remnants, and that neither you nor Lord Grey will have any questions put that are worth your answering. Nothing but this strong conviction is my mind could carry me as much out of your way as Pembroke ; but I trust it is unnecessary for me to say, that if, contrary to my belief, anything should arise that should make you want me, I should not count the miles to come to you."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, September 23. Castle Hill.—"I have just received your letter, and do not hesitate a moment to return to you at Boconnoc, whither Lord Fortescue very kindly accompanies me. As there is nothing of very immediate urgency, we proposed to sleep to-morrow, Sunday, at Oakhampton, and to be with you on Monday to dinner ; I have likewise proposed to our friends here to write to Bristol to direct George to come on and join us at Boconnoc, and though they have not absolutely

deeided, I trust that they will do so. My letter to you of yesterday's date will show you how entirely we agree in our speeulations as to the shape which the eommunieation to us is likely to take, and as to the probable result of it; but at the same time where so many eireumstances and persons are in question, and where sueh variety of interests is brought into question, it would be an idle eoneeit to imagine that anybody ean foresee the real eourse or solution of sueh multiplied embarrassments; but we shall have so early an opportunity of talking these matters over that it is needless to prolong any eomment on them by letter.

"Tueker writes to tell me of Canning's duel with Castlereagh, whieh is reported to have arisen from a difference of opinion respeeting Pereeval. He says he never remembers sueh feverish anxiety upon polities as now prevails in London; and that this has mueh inereased upon the belief that the King had left town without giving any answer to a supposed list of names that had been submitted to him, so that four or five days have already passed without there being any responsible government. He ends with telling me that the Prinee returns to town on the 22nd, and that Lord Lansdowne is very ill again. This last intelligenee is a very formidable addition to the difficulties of the House of Commons, and makes that gloomy part of the picture still more dark and dreary. Another letter from Trentham tells me that Lord Granville was not to leave there till Thursday last, that he looked melaneholy and oppressed, but said nothing of polities to anybody. How unaeeountable that he should be passing ten days there, just in the moment that his friend Canning is resigning his office and firing at his brother Seeretary! My notion is that Canning, seeing their game up, has broken off from them to take the ehanee of being separately open to any new arrangements, and this would explain the report of his supposed violent hostility to Pereeval. Can he be endured in new allianee with those to whom he has behaved so ill? Could the House of Commons in a new government go on without him? Could it go on with him? Would not his present pretensions take off from us as large a portion of our own friends as he eould bring to us of his? How would Tierney look at any sueh arrangement? How eould it tally with Lord H. Petty if he shall still remain in the House of Commons? The diffieulties multiply on every side, and one's imagination ean hardly furnish the possibility of any government being made whieh can have it's fair portion of weight and influenee in the House of Commons, at a time and under eireumstanees whieh require more authority and vigour there than Pitt or Fox were ever ealled upon to exhibit. Till I ean see more day-light, I eonfess to you that I look with unaffeeted terror at the possibility of seeing you engaged in seenes of sueh little hope; and of sueh dreadful diseourage-ment."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 24. Eden Farm.—"We are just returned from a ten days circuit of family visits to the Speaker, Lord and Lady Chichester, and others. I was consequently too distant from the scenes of battle to be able to send any intelligence of the strange transactions between Downing Street and Windsor Castle, and even now I know little beyond what may be better collected from the newspapers. It had been intimated to me before I went into Sussex, and I mentioned it to you, that a fever of recrimination was raging among the late Ministers; but I did not foresee the delirium which has since taken place.

"It is now evident that we are without any Government; and to me it is equally evident that there does not exist any rational hope of the speedy formation of a Government that will not be either weak, or wild, or wicked, or possibly a composition of all those qualities. In short I am of opinion with Lord Grey, from whom I have just heard, 'that with some change of names, the same system, weakened even beyond its former weakness, will struggle on till some dreadful explosion and mischief shall overtake us.' And I have long seen ground of despair in the levity of the popular mind. Mrs. Clarke, or Catalani or John Kemble are severally objects which supersede all the feelings that ought to prevail respecting the sacrifice of three armies in two campaigns, and the mad waste of 30 or 40 millions; and even those silly ferments about kept mistresses, singers, and play house prices, exhibit a want of sense and of principle.

"After all, it is not easy to see how a patchwork Ministry can be formed of sufficient substance and connection to bear the tug even of one debate, or of a division; nor can I comprehend how any individual possessing any sense or character, can be induced to lend himself as the prominent figure amidst responsibilities at once so great and so hopeless. Besides, if a new administration should be formed on the ground-work of that which stands now subject to such heavy accusations, it will have to encounter all the hostility of those who are separated from it, in addition to all the force so powerfully exhibited in the last sessions, and now so strengthened by the results of another mad and disastrous campaign. I understand that it was at one time in contemplation to have brought forward the Wellesleys: but the individuals who were trying that experiment will now be among the outs; nor do I think that the Wellesleys, under a sore sense of diplomatic and military failure, would have the courage to come forwards. Another notion is to have a temporary sort of scaffolding, to which men of great property and fair private character are to be called, in order to give time at least to the King to look round. A third mode is to try a coalition with the Sidmouths, Wellesleys, and the remains of the Duke of Portland's ministry. In these several alternatives, and

in various other concoctions now talked about, I see nothing but imbecility and public mischief. Only one thing is certain; that everything will be attempted even to desperation rather than recur to a strong Ministry, and pledged to a point which has already been made the pretext of a separation.

"We shall probably know within forty-eight hours that something is decided for the semblance at least of a government.

"This weather is bad for the northern harvests. Our crops here have been good; and yet I understand that the wheat yesterday at Croydon market was at fifteen shillings per bushel."

Lord Grenville to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

1809, September 25. Boconnoc.—"I hope your Royal Highness will not disapprove the liberty I take in humbly apprizing you of my having received this morning from Mr. Perceval, a letter of which I venture to enclose a copy.

"The difficulties in the way of such a discussion as is there proposed, with these gentlemen remaining in office as a part of that administration which succeeded those with whom I had the honour to serve his Majesty, will, I am sure, at once present themselves to Your Royal Highness's judgment.

"To have declined, on that ground, coming to town might, I thought, be liable to the possible misconception of my appearing deficient in the respect which I owe to his Majesty's commands. I have therefore resolved to undertake what will, I apprehend, be a very fruitless journey.

"On my arrival in town I should feel myself particularly grateful for being permitted to pay my duty to Your Royal Highness, and to submit such ideas as occur to me in this most difficult and awful crisis; being at all times most earnestly desirous that my conduct should be such as may be honoured with Your Royal Highness's gracious approbation." *Copy in the handwriting of Thomas Grenville.*

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, September 26. Howick.—"I enclose a copy of the answer which I have just sent to Mr. Perceval. As I am by no means sure that I have done right in not going to town, and as you have done otherwise, I have thought it best to send this to Camelford House, from whence I take it for granted it will be forwarded to you if you remain in Cornwall.

"I thought that there could be no proof so good of a positive determination not to treat with the present Ministers, as declining to go to town; and I hope you will not think me very wrong.

"I have not time for more at present, as the messenger who brought Perceval's letter takes this. I shall be most anxious to hear from you; and I have myself much to

say; but I shall not write till I know something of your movements."

Enclosed.

EARL GREY to SPENCER PERCEVAL.

1809, September 26. Howick.—"I have just had the honour of receiving your letter of the 23rd, informing me that, in consequence of the Duke of Portland's intention of retiring from his Majesty's service, his Majesty had authorised you in conjunction with Lord Liverpool, to communicate with Lord Grenville and myself for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration; and expressing a hope that, in consequence of this communication, I would go to town, in order that as little time as possible may be lost in forwarding this important object. Had his Majesty been pleased to signify that he had any commands for me personally, I should not have lost a moment in showing my duty and obedience by a prompt attendance on his royal pleasure.

"But when it is proposed to me to communicate with his Majesty's present Ministers for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, I feel that I should be wanting both in duty to his Majesty and in fairness to them if I did not frankly and at once declare that such an union is, with respect to me, under the present circumstances impossible. This being the answer which I find myself under the necessity of giving, my appearance in London could be of no advantage, and might possibly, at a moment like the present, be attended with some inconvenience.

"I have thought it better therefore to request that you will have the goodness to lay my duty at the feet of his Majesty, with an humble entreaty that he will not attribute to want of attachment to his royal person, or to diminished zeal for his service, my declining a communication which, upon the terms proposed, can lead to no useful result; and which might be of serious detriment to the country if, in consequence of a less decisive answer from me, any further delay should take place in the formation of a settled government." *Copy.*

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 26. Eden Farm.—"I wrote to you on Sunday night and did not retain my letter when I saw the next morning in the newspapers of government that messengers had been despatched to you and to Lord Grey for the formation of a ministry 'in concurrence with the Ministers now remaining in office.' Such a proposition, so grossly inadmissible, could only tend to entrap, and to discredit, and eventually to raise a pretext for botching and continuing the present system.

"I last night received the following note from a private and better authority. 'Lords Grenville and Grey are put

in requisition to form a ministry on a *broad basis.*' The meaning here also may be insidious, but it is open to explanation before it can be right to presume that it is so. If it were sincere and fair, I think that it might be improved to a possible chance and means of serving and saving the public interests both at home and abroad. There are some obvious measures (especially with regard to America) which might be immediately taken with a most salutary effect.

"I have a communication, marked *secret*, from a friend of Lord Castlereagh's; and the writer cannot be ignorant that I shall think myself at liberty to confide it to you and to Lord Grey. I have therefore employed Mr. Eden to transcribe it. This paper is '*Le mot de l'enigme.*' I shall be curious to learn whether Lord Castlereagh was allowed and encouraged, pending the concealment in question, to recommend the two peerages for Sir Arthur Wellesley. I have reason to believe that this was the case. It seems to be within possibility that this may not find you at Boconnoc."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1809, September 26. Stowe.—"I have just received your letter of the 24th, and as I conclude from it that you would not leave Boconnoc till this evening, and consequently you will receive this short note to-morrow morning. If you think that I can be of the slightest use or comfort to you, I owe it to you (in every sense of the word) to come away and to meet you there or at Dropmore; but hitherto there can be no question on this most extraordinary proposition, that you should negotiate for an extended administration with Mr. Percival and Lord Liverpool! It will not be necessary for you to consult your friends on *that* matter, on which your own feelings must decide you, even if every friend were inclined to that negotiation as strongly as I am persuaded they are hostile to such an idea. Any negotiation is, God knows, difficult enough with the King; even supposing his intention and his conduct to be all that you could wish; but a proposition so disgraceful to your character does not augur well of what is in any shape to follow. Ministers count much on the clamour that will be raised. I think it will be raised and most loudly against us; but that clamour must be stood unless you are prepared, by losing every point of public character, to facilitate that kicking which would most assuredly be your lot within six weeks of such a new administration, if indeed it could be formed at all.

"The great management will be to put yourself on good grounds, and not to let the King (if he should put the negotiation for a new Government in a shape that could be pursued) break off on the *Catholic* question; which I know he is prepared to do *in the present moment.*

"My earnest wish is that this negotiation may fail, for it promises nothing for the public service, or your private

credit or comfort; but it must end in a new government unless they can induce both Canning and Castlereagh to resume their offices, which, though improbable, is not impossible. As to the thing being patched by Lord Sidmouth, that I am persuaded cannot be; and if it could, the result of it would be the increased inveteracy of Canning, and no accession of strength any where, and least of all in the House of Commons. Of the rest I say nothing till we meet in London, which will not be (as I am persuaded) if the King abides by this very novel sort of negotiation. But in that case you will probably leave London as soon as you can after writing your letters to those to whom this explanation will be necessary; and if you then let me know when and where we can meet for a few hours, I will arrange so as to see you.

"Adieu, and God guide you; but I fancy that it is unnecessary for me to remind you that the thing is bad enough even in its best shape; but in that which is now presented to you, it is so intolerable, that in your place, I should distinctly have refused to have come to town for any communication such as is described in that letter."

Earl Spencer to Lord Grenville.

1809, September 28. Northampton.—"As long as the invitation which has been sent to you from Windsor was merely the subject of newspaper rumour, I forbore to write, because I did not think it either worth your while or mine to pay much attention to such speculations. Being now, however, informed of its having really been sent, and Tierney having communicated to me a copy of Perceval's letter to you, I can no longer delay troubling you, more particularly as I understand from him that you are likely to be in town to-morrow.

"My motive for writing to you is not to express any doubts what your answer to this communication will be, for I have none; but, knowing what it must be, and consequently foreseeing that this pitiful contrivance to lay the foundation of an outcry against you will fail, I look forward to the bare possibility, for I cannot think it a probability, that some other more plausible overture may follow, which perhaps may be so framed as to lead you into discussions on the practicability of forming a new administration. This being barely possible, I think I owe it to the confidence with which you have so long and so kindly treated me on matters of this description thus early to apprize you of the irrevocable determination I have made never again, under any circumstances, to enter into public office. What I experienced, both in mind and body, when I have before been so engaged, has rendered this determination indispensible, I do not say to my comfort, but to my future existence. I have come to it as much on public as on private grounds, though I do not deny that my motives partake of both. I do not think it necessary, when

you must of course be so much occupied, to trouble you with any more details; but, on the present occasion, I felt it was due from me to you to put you in possession of the fact.

"I am here attending on my yeomanry, and that and my other engagements in this country will necessarily require my presence here till the end of next week. I shall then come up to Wimbledon for a few days; and if you are not returned into the country (which I do not think it at all unlikely you may be by that time) I shall not fail to take the earliest chance of seeing you."

The Same to The Same.

1809, September 29. Northampton.—"My letter of yesterday, which I hope you received on your arrival in town, will have anticipated my answer to yours of the 25th which reached me this morning. It did appear to me to be very doubtful whether you ought to have come to town upon such an invitation; but the ground you have put it upon in your letter to Perceval of the 25th, removes any objection that could be made to it. The answer you propose to return to the proposal itself is just what it should be, and what I had no doubt you would return to it. I think it will be conclusive for the present.

"I shall remain in the country, as I told you in my letter of yesterday. If I could see any probability of my assistance being of use to you in your deliberations, should you have any, I should be unwilling to let any convenience or inconvenience of my own influence me to stay away. With respect to co-operation, my letter of yesterday will have acquainted you with my feelings and opinions on that head, and I need not therefore take up your time by repeating them."

Lord Grenville to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

1809, September 30. Camelford House.—"Mr. Tucker is just now come here, and has delivered to me Your Royal Highness's gracious commands. It is with the most perfect sincerity I assure your Royal Highness that the draft of the letter which Your Royal Highness proposes to address to the King, appears to me in all respects admirably suited to the circumstance which have given occasion to it; and leaves to me nothing to say upon it but to express to your Royal Highness my most grateful acknowledgments for the condescending manner in which you have the goodness to speak of those motives by which I have been actuated on this occasion, a condescension of which I must ever entertain the deepest sense.

"When Mr. Tucker came, I was preparing for your Royal Highness the copies, which I now take the liberty to enclose, of the letter which I yesterday sent to Mr. Perceval, and of his reply.

"The latter, as it is not written by the King's authority, but contains merely his own personal remarks and those of Lord Liverpool on what has passed, does not seem to me to call for any further discussion. His distinction between acceding to this government, and forming an extended and combined administration, is purely verbal, and cannot alter the nature of the thing. In the formation of a new administration his Majesty would no doubt have condescended to honour with his personal commands those whom he thought capable of being useful in that object; and the treating on such a subject exclusively with two of the actual Ministers, must give the transaction the character of a negotiation for an accession to the existing Government." *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 1. Althorp.—"I congratulate you on having put an end so satisfactorily to a negotiation which, I am persuaded, would only have been attended with fresh difficulties every step it proceeded; and am very glad to see by looking at the answers returned by you and Lord Grey (a copy of the latter of which I received from Tom Grenville) that they do not materially differ in their purport, though from the circumstance of his not coming to town, it may possibly be thought by some that there is a difference in the manner in which the proposal was received by you both. I think, as I said before, that the ground on which you rested your coming up removed the objection which might otherwise have existed to paying even so much attention to an overture of such a nature; more especially as it must be evident that no other reason but respect for what you understood to be the King's commands to come to town, could have made it necessary; your answer being of a nature which might equally well have been returned from Cornwall.

"I take it for granted that we shall now have a curious piece of patch-work, and, though it is difficult to foresee how matters can go on worse than they have lately done, I still fear that we may come even to regret the late Cabinet.*

"I am afraid I shall now have but little chance of seeing you."

Postscript.—"Since writing the above I have seen yours of yesterday inclosing Perceval's reply. The distinction he takes is certainly without a difference, and all the rest is mere paper and packthread."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, October 2. Cleveland Square.—"Some business keeps me in town to-morrow and perhaps on Wednesday, so that I do not expect to be able to come to you till Thursday, but trust that I shall certainly be at Dropmore on that day.

* "On reading this over again, I must say that I think *that* is impossible."

"I hear of nothing but very general approbation among friends and foes of the course taken by you and my Lord Grey, nor is there any appearance of the Ministers having gained any the slightest credit from their unpromising overture. All is now said to be finally settled. Perceval, Treasury and Exchequer; Saunders Dundas, Military Secretary of State; Harrowby the Foreign Seals till Wellesley's pleasure is known; Lord W. Bentinck, Secretary of War. Some people add to this an offer to Melville of the Admiralty, which they mean him to refuse on the score of health. I am told from what seems pretty good authority, that this is merely an attempt in order to gratify the King, but that they will surrender as soon as Parliament meets. I hope not, and indeed I cannot believe that to be the present intention, though it may be the ultimate result.

"Sheridan is very assiduous at Gloucester Lodge, and I find by letters from my midland friends, that great hopes are expressed for such a union as would bring together the eldest and the second brother, and placing them in a compact opposition. One cannot say what may or may not be, but I know nothing so little to my taste as the connection in question, and I do not envy those who are to conduct the negotiation, nor, as at present informed, am I at all desirous of it's success. I know there are difficulties all round, but I know of none greater than a confidential intercourse where you cannot place confidence. The Staffords approve highly, and so does Carlisle, and everybody whom I have heard of."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, October 2. Howick.—"I have to thank you for your two letters, from Boconnoc and from Camelford House. Could I have been assured that you would determine upon going to town, my earnest desire that there might be the most perfect agreement between us even in appearance, would have determined me, whatever might have been my own opinion, to set out without a moment's hesitation. But in the uncertainty occasioned by the ambiguous way in which Perceval's letter was expressed, an ambiguity, I am inclined to suspect, studiously devised for the express purpose of producing some apparent difference in our conduct, I could only decide according to probability; and the probability appeared to me to be in favour of the construction which I thought right, and of the measure which appeared to me the least embarrassing.

"The King's *authority* being expressed for the proposed communication, and a *hope* only that we should go to town for the purpose of forwarding the object of that communication, and no other, I considered the subsequent paragraph stating that a similar communication of the King's pleasure had been made to you, as referring to the communication which he had authorised, and not as requiring our attendance

in town unless we were disposed to treat on the basis proposed. For, no ulterior contingency was adverted to ; and, if not for that, it did not appear to me that we were desired to come for any other purpose. This construction, I confess, I adopted very willingly, for it placed the matter on the simplest and easiest ground ; and enabled me, as I thought, with propriety to send a direct negative, unaccompanied with anything but those general expressions of duty by which I endeavoured to guard myself against any misrepresentation as not having acted with sufficient respect towards the King.

"But I will not waste your time by a further discussion either of the meaning of Perceval's letter, or on the reasons which influenced the particular measure that I took. It is sufficient that we agree in the essential point of refusing any communication with the present Ministers, and the copy of your letter to Perceval relieves me from the fear, which I could not help entertaining, that after your arrival in London the Ministers would have contrived to have engaged you, however reluctantly, in the appearance at least of some discussion, which must have been attended with disadvantage to us. That apprehension is entirely obviated by the decisive answer which you have given ; of which, if it was necessary to say so much, I entirely approve, with perhaps one exception.

"I am, as I trust you know, as little inclined as any man to political proscriptions. But I am not sure that I could go quite the length of stating that I have no personal objections to the present Ministers, independent of the principle of their government itself, and of the circumstances that attended its formation. After all that has passed in the last three years, standing chargeable as they do to the country for the series of crimes and follies by which we have been disgraced and nearly ruined, and exposed as they have been for their want of fair dealing and even of common decency in their conduct towards each other, it must be a sense of very strong necessity indeed which could induce me to hazard my personal security and honour in any connection with them. This applies no less to those who remain than to those who have resigned, or are about to resign their places ; and I am anxious to lose no time in putting you in possession of my feelings in this respect, as, if any new arrangement should be formed, and I agree with you in thinking it will be tried, I foresee approaches from Canning, which I could not bring myself to meet. This however, for the present, is for yourself only.

"I think too that it might have been better if you could have confined yourself, as I have done, to a direct and simple negative without reasons. But to the allusion to the Catholic question (which, whether you intended it or not, I think will be understood as being conveyed in what you say of the principle of the government, and the circumstances attending its formation) my objection is only as to the prudence of now

introducing it. In the sentiment I entirely concur. I feel as strongly as anybody can do, the utter impossibility of our accepting the government, if the King were *bona fide* disposed to commit it to our hands, without a full explanation on that important point. But here, whenever it occurs, will be the King's advantage; and even with a view to the success of that question itself, which must be promoted by any influence we may gain over the public opinion, I think it would have been advisable to confine ourselves, as to the present overture, to that plain and simple ground of refusing to have anything to do with the present Ministers, in which I am sanguine in believing we shall be generally approved by the country. These criticisms are undoubtedly now of no use, but I never wish to have any of my opinions concealed from you on points which interest us both so deeply; and I have written them with the less scruple because, whatever shades there may be in the manner, in which you are much more likely to be right than I am, our agreement in all that is essential is complete; and at this my satisfaction is unbounded.

"I think no further application will be made to us at present. But I confess I do not see the possibility of forming any government that will appear tolerable to this country. Even if they could make it up with Canning, I don't think the thing would now do, as I hear from all quarters that the public are exceedingly scandalised at the duel.

"My belief however is that, however willing the Ministers may be to withdraw themselves from a post which they have rendered almost untenable, the King will not allow them to do so; and that they will be compelled to try some other arrangement, however weak and contemptible. A strong proof of this is afforded in the information given by Lord Lonsdale to Lord Fitzwilliam of the King's having prohibited any further communication to him, after he had sanctioned Perceval's letter, till they were prepared to lay before him a definite arrangement.

"I know Lord Fitzwilliam has sent you a copy of a letter he had received from Lord Lonsdale; and I am sure you will will agree with me in thinking the proposed offer of the Treasury to me, if true, a further proof of the faithless spirit in which this whole scheme was conceived.

"It certainly will be very disagrecable to me to go to town in November, but I feel with you the indispensable necessity of our both attending at the meeting of Parliament."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, October 3. Eden Farm.—"It does not appear by the last accounts from the Continent that the Austrians have renewed hostilities, or that the King of Prussia is making an attempt to break his chains. Considering the channel through which that report came, I never gave credit to it; and perhaps it would have tended only to complete and

strengthen the subjugation of the Continent, if such events had taken place.

"I was told yesterday by an official acquaintance in this neighbourhood that to-morrow, at Queen's House, Mr. Perceval will be declared First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Dundas Secretary for War Department, and Lord Harrowby Secretary for the Foreign Department. If this should be the arrangement, it can only be with a view to take the benefit or chance of unforeseen events till the meeting of Parliament; with the heavy responsibility in the meantime of leaving the gigantic dangers and difficulties of our public situation to float in the storm without masts, sails, or rudder.

"I sent copies of Mr. Perceval's reply to the several persons to whom, in your name, I had forwarded the preceding papers. I regret that those four papers, together with Lord Grey's answer, have not been printed *in extenso*. The transaction is abandoned too much to the flippancies and falsifications of the *Morning Post* and *Courier*.

"I have received a long letter from Lord Grey, dated 29th, describing the 'utter impossibility of his ever joining with men who came into office on the principles of the present Ministers; who have since brought such a succession of calamities on the country; and who now stand chargeable with the consequences of their misconduct.'

"He expresses that 'he has not had any doubt in his mind except as to the propriety of his not going to town. But that his going might have delayed the means of forming a settled government, which is so essentially necessary in a crisis of unexampled danger to the public safety.' He adds the following postscript to his letter 'I have not heard from Lord Grenville for some time, but I have no reason to believe that his answer will be materially different from mine; though, as he is a better judge of these matters, he may in the manner not pursue exactly the same line.' I transcribe this as I think it not immaterial that you should write fully; some other expressions in the letter seem to imply a disinclination to come to town."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, October 3. Cleveland Square.—"The arrangement still stands the same, but I believe Canning is less confident of Wellesley's refusal; and I hear it rumoured that Canning refused to acquiesce in Wellesley being Premier, which had been suggested as a solution to the difficulties between the choice of Perceval and Canning. Ellis said to-day that he rather thought Wellesley would accept. The Duke of Portland was forced into his letter of resignation by Lord Titchfield, aided and seconded by that great man the Dean of Christ Church. I hear from the best authority that the present Ministers do not expect or intend to meet Parliament, but that they only profess their conviction that the King

will not let our new government stand three months, and that they shall then return again to power. Lord Liverpool is now the great favourite at Windsor; last week the King dictated a letter to him in which were these words, which were repeated afterwards by Lord Liverpool, 'you are my eyes, and I know I can trust you that I shall not be imposed upon.'

"Huskisson says that they have barely money enough to go on to January, that they certainly ought not to strain on, but that he believes they can and will. I hope to see you on Thursday.

"I have a letter from Windham most highly approving all that you have done, including your journey to town."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, October 3. Howick.—"I last night received your letter with the copy of Perceval's answer enclosed. I now send a copy of that which I had received from him by the preceding post, and which I did not think of any importance; but it now perhaps becomes in some degree material from the difference of the tone and manner adopted towards you. It seems to show the different ways in which our conduct will be represented to the King. How to guard myself against it I don't very well know; but there is no kind of unfair dealing that I am not prepared to expect from these gentlemen.

"I think you have done quite right in not entering into any further explanation on the foolish distinction between accession and extension. But I am afraid you will not be quit here. My former suspicion that they would endeavour to fasten some further discussion upon you is confirmed, though they have not set about it very dexterously; and from Perceval's letter I should collect that you will have some further communication, and possibly an attempt may be made to drive you to some explanation, in which the Catholic question may be brought into view.

"I have already told you that I agree with you in thinking our attendance at the meeting of Parliament necessary; but for explanation, if required, and a general statement of our opinions on the state of the country only. I see nothing either in the situation of public affairs, or in the means of acting with a combined party in the House of Commons, which induces me to think a regular Parliamentary opposition more practicable or more expedient than it was last year.

"If any further communication is made to us, either conjointly, or to you separately, which, if at all, I now think the most probable, for the purpose of forming a new administration, I shall of course be with you as soon as I can, after receiving a summons. Then indeed there will be not only the Catholic question, but many points to consider. But upon these I will not enter at present, as you will have better opportunities than I have of collecting general opinions;

and I shall save you some unnecessary trouble by waiting till I hear from you what you think yourself, after having well considered the whole matter."

Enclosed.

SPENCER PERCEVAL to EARL GREY.

1809, September 29. Downing Street. "I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the 26th instant, and I lost no time in laying the contents of it before his Majesty."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 5. Howick.—"In consequence of a letter from Lord Holland in which he informs me of Sheridan's frequent visits at Gloucester Lodge, and of a hint thrown out by your brother, I have thought it necessary to express to both, what I have already said to you, with respect to a junction with Canning, or indeed any of the leading members of the present administration, but more especially Canning; desiring both not to let the knowledge of this resolution on my part go any further at present.

"I shall be, as I have always been, ready to withdraw my own pretensions, and to stand completely out of the way if any arrangement, in which I cannot personally concur, is thought by you and those in whom I have the greatest confidence, necessary or advantageous for the public service. To such an arrangement so formed, with the confidence that while you formed a part of it, it would be conducted on the principles on which we have acted together, I would give my support out of office. But I feel that I could not with propriety, even while a proposition of this nature may be very distant and uncertain, and with no reason to believe that you would be more inclined to accede to it than I should, leave you in ignorance of a determination which I believe to be too deeply fixed to be changed by any of the ordinary causes which either time or altered circumstances may produce.

"I told you before that, rather than surrender the government, I thought the King would force the present Ministers to try any arrangement however weak and contemptible. But I had no idea of anything so very bad as that which the post of last night has announced to me. It is indeed putting the power of the Crown to a high trial.

"I have had a very civil letter from the Prince."

Private. LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1809, October 6. Dropmore.—"I got your letter here to-day. I thought it from the beginning very doubtful whether we ought to come or not. If we came we were sure to be misrepresented as showing an eagerness for office;

if we stayed in the country as showing disrespect to the King. I thought in this alternative it was best to come, because the charge of courting office would easily be refuted by the rest of the transaction; the other accusation could not. Had we both stayed, there can be no doubt that the papers would have been full of the facilities we should have found had we condescended to come.

"The whole is however very immaterial, and the difference has not, I believe, made the least impression on the public mind. I never remember an instance in which the satisfaction of friends of every description has been expressed with so much unanimity and cordiality; and that is some test of the impressions even of those who are not friendly.

"I heartily wished to have had your assistance in framing my answer. On one point, and that the most material, I strongly believe that, on discussion, I should have satisfied you I was right; I mean in not omitting in it to advert to the Catholic question.

"You will readily do me the justice to believe that it was not without full consideration that I determined to touch on this point. My reasons were these. In the first place a full determination, in which I know you concur with me, never again to take office without the most distinct explanation on this point; a determination, by the bye, which I had last week the opportunity to express to the Prince of Wales. Secondly, the certainty which the circumstances of this transaction afforded, that no offer was meant to be made to us in good faith; and that, had we come into discussion, we should have broken off on this point; which, therefore, it was best for us not to appear to shrink from in the very first instance. And, lastly, a strong persuasion that the very worst effects might have been produced in Ireland if the ill-intentioned there had been allowed to tell the Catholics that a proposition of this nature had been made, had been in some degree discussed, and had been finally broken off, without there having been on our part the least allusion to them or their claims.

"The advantage which the Court has on this subject from the foolish prejudices of the country is one of which we cannot deprive them; and, in such a state of things, the more directly we appear to meet it the better I think it is both for us and for the cause.

"With respect to the ex-Minister you speak of, I think there are many of the recent transactions of the government which we must unsparingly condemn, and in which he is deeply implicated. What time, and a course of concurrent conduct on other points, may produce we cannot, I think, now anticipate; but Spain, Antwerp, and America must surely at this time keep all such ideas at a distance.

"The baseness of the project disclosed in the communication I have received from Lord Fitzwilliam must excite as much

contempt as indignation. The same artifice has indeed more than once been resorted to on former occasions; but the trick is now stale, and we have even from our own personal experience learnt too much to be duped. What I now hear is that the present patchwork is meant to last till the meeting of Parliament; and that, if it then yields to necessity, we are to be called upon to take the government on our own terms, *but with a fixed determination that we shall not hold it many months.*

"When I reflect what the empire is whose government is made the sport of these base intrigues, what its condition now is, and what the objects are to which the interests of millions are thus sacrificed, I own I do feel more indignation than I usually give way to on such subjects.

"What has passed, and what we have to look to, will at least be pretty good lessons to us as to what to do.

"You will have the goodness to keep this last communication to yourself alone." *Copy.*

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809, October [8]. Eden Farm.—"I have some doubts in respect both to your letter, and to Lord Grey's, whether either of you brought forward sufficiently the most obvious, and most popular objections to any accession to any part of a Government which, in two campaigns, has disgraced our arms, and has thrown away the lives of at least 20,000 brave men, and has uselessly expended above 30 or 40 millions in measures ill-conceived and ill-combined. That statement is unhappily true, and is beginning to be felt through the country. It will be the game of the '*Faiseurs*' to overwhelm it under other fabricated matters of public attention.

"We shall now hear a knocking at the doors of Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge; and I shall not be surprised if some of them should be found at home; or if there should be a *raccommodement* with either Lord Castlereagh or Mr. Canning."

The Same to The Same.

1809, October 12. Eden Farm.—"This is precisely the weather in which I pass the whole of the mornings in the farm and gardens, and I am consequently disposed to give up the whole of the evenings to newspapers, novels, and idleness. I wrote, nevertheless, three days ago to Lord Grey in answer to his letter, and urged three points strongly on his attention. First, that some well-arranged plan should be adopted for preserving the public mind from the mad and malignant influence of the newswriters. Even the papers which wish well to you and to your friends contrive from time to time to do all possible mischief; and they at all times make themselves the dupes to the swindling system of diverting the attention of the country to Mrs. Clarke and Miss Taylor,

Catalani, Covent Garden jubilees. Next, I urged the necessity of adverting to the chaotic predicament of the House of Commons, and of bringing the *discordia semina rerum* into some regular and efficient system. And, lastly, I urged him to pass the winter in London or in the neighbourhood, for his own credit, for the sake of our friends, and from a sense of duty to the public. I mention these particulars that they may have your aid, as far as you may think material.

"The apathy of the country as to all its best interests is disgusting and discouraging; but it might be removed by a conviction gradually awakened towards the insane expenditure of life, money, and national character in the two last campaigns. The government writers are aware of this, and, accordingly, are labouring more than ever to draw attention to the Catholic question.

"With respect to that question, I feel no difficulty in saying to you that, though I do not expect from it either Irish gratitude or Irish tranquillity (but the contrary), I have made up my mind to acquiesce in it, as I see that it will be carried a little sooner or a little later. But those who think it material to be carried should abstain from urging it, or seeming to urge it. Their project would be soonest and best gained by leaving it, and by professing to leave it, to its own course. I dwell on this because I have reason to believe that some little allusions, or supposed allusions, of a contrary tendency in your letter to Perceval, have been converted to bad purposes by the keeper of a certain conscience.

"Our best and most useful writer is Napoleon himself. I exhauted my eye-sight last night in the perusal of his dissertations on our Spanish and Dutch achievements; and though he says no more than we have thought, and had foretold, it makes me 'wince' as coming from him. It ought therefore to cut gallingly on the shoulders of our Generals and Ministers.

"I cannot believe that Mr. Perceval will be able to mend his *demi-saison* suit, so as to make up a warm clothing sufficient to resist the inclemency of the month of January. But he is knocking at many doors for workmen. Will they come when called on? I incline to think not. I shall know more in three or four days, and will then write again.

"I have received a letter from an intelligent friend, who writes, 'you will know whether it be true or not that Canning joins Lord Grenville. I had no doubt that this would, after a certain time, be the case; but I do not see how it can be decorously practicable quite so soon.'

"Mr. Eden brought word yesterday from the Exchequer that the surplus will be about three millions. This is beyond what was expected considerably. The amount of the surplusses of the two preceding quarters was 1,370,000*l*. The amount for the January quarter will be a deficit. On

the whole the surplus for the year ending 5th January will probably be about 4,250,000*l*. It was taken for the year to the 5th April at four millions."

Postscript.—"I understand that the mortality continues to be great both in Walcheren and at Elvas. What a responsibility it is!"

Confidential and private.

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 15. Eden Farm.—"I think it material that the subjoined paragraph should be made known to you; it came to me from a near connection whose accuracy and friendly meaning may equally be relied on. I will explain to you when we met why it must be considered as peculiarly secret between us.

"'Mr. Perceval undertook the premiership at the instance of two of his leading colleagues, and in the hope that they should succeed in drawing over to their assistance several detached individuals of character and efficiency. It was deemed probable that a junction so formed might be able to stand upon the principle that, Lord Grenville and Lord Grey having refused to concur in forming a government on any other grounds than those of admitting the Catholic claims, the King called for the general assistance and co-operation of all who were willing to support him in resisting them. I do not mean to imply that this is a fair interpretation of Lord Grenville's answer, and still less of Lord Grey's. But I can confide to you with certainty that the former has been understood so by very many persons, and especially by the King, to whom it was sent by Mr. Perceval without any observation, and who returned it with a very severe comment as personally offensive to him.'

"In other words the nature of communications at Windsor is most unhappily such, that the King's mind has been worked upon to confound the intimation that it must ever be considered as unconstitutional and unprincipled to promise in no event to recommend the Catholic question, and to convert that intimation into a menace to bring forward that question uncalled for, and as the leading measure of a new Ministry. Though Mr. Perceval sent no observations, I have not the smallest doubt that your letter was accompanied by a comment from Bedford Square.

"Mr. Canning's counter-statement is a very curious paper, and places Lord Camden in a predicament of considerable awkwardness. At the same time it seems hardly credible that Mr. Canning could know so little of mankind as to conceive that Lord Castlereagh, whom he daily and hourly conversed with, had been apprized in any degree of what was intended. When Canning talks of 'the difficulties started on the 6th September by the Duke of Portland' I find it difficult to

guess whether they related to Lord Wellesley's admission into the Cabinet ; or to the Premiership ; or to Mr. Canning's pretensions to the Cabinet. [Premiership ?] At any rate it seems to me quite extravagant to suppose that Lord Wellesley can now come into the office vacated by Mr. Canning, in consequence of their having made *cause commune*.

"Nor indeed, if that objection were not so strong, do I believe that Lord Wellesley would risk so prominent a responsibility, which would sharpen the attacks to which his unwise mission, and his brother's calamitous exploits, are exposed.

"You will soon hear through other quarters, and I would not wish it to be known as coming from me, that considerable situations have been separately offered to Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and Mr. Vansittart ; to the last-mentioned Mr. Perceval's private secretary was sent and with a King's messenger. The two last declined ; I know nothing as to Mr. Yorke's answer. I have reason to believe that Lord Sidmouth (who is now recovering from a dangerous erysipelas fever) was not asked to come into the Cabinet, but was insulted (for so he must have felt) by a flattering communication of the wish to employ his friends, and of the hope that he would encourage their services to the King and to the country.

"I enclose Mr. Eden's minutes relative to the Consolidated Fund.

"This is a letter of great merit in point of length when I add that the sun shines brightly, and that I am just obtaining an addition of eight or nine beautiful fields or copses which were peculiarly desirable to me."

Postscript.—"I have just received yours of yesterday. I doubt whether you had perused Canning's paper when you say that there seems to be a strong probability of Lord Wellesley's acceptance."

Private. THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, October [16]. Eden Farm.—"I have been visited to-day by an official friend who knows much of what is going forwards. I collect from him that the following appointments will be declared on Wednesday next :—

Lord Liverpool. . . .	The War department. (now we shall march to Paris).
Mr. Richard Ryder . .	The Home Department (we shall have a Cabinet of lawyers).
Mr. Manners Sutton . .	Judge Advocate.
Mr. Saunders Dundas . .	The India Board.
Lord Palmerston . .	Secretary of War.
Lord Lowther	Commissioner of Admiralty.

"It is also understood that Lord Bathurst will give up the Foreign Department, if Lord Wellesley can be persuaded to take it.

"These arrangements which are indicative only of weakness have been achieved with difficulty.

"Mr. Manners Sutton (son of the Archbishop) is a modest and sensible young man; but the office to which he is now put requires a knowledge of life and law, and all the weight of established character and experience.

"I reserve other curious details till we meet."

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

1809 [October] 17. Eden Farm.—"We now offer ourselves to wait on Lady Grenville and you on Wednesday the 1st November, to stay at Dropmore on Thursday and Friday, and to proceed on Saturday morning to Shottesbrok for two or three days, and thence to Blenheim. If the proposition should be interfering with other engagements you will tell us so without scruple. I think that we shall return from Blenheim on the 13th and go to Baylies.

"In a note which I have this morning from Mr. Tierney, he intimates a sort of wish to arrange to pass a day at Dropmore when we are there."

Confidential.—"The enclosed is evidently of a very private nature. Lady Auckland has been so good as to transcribe it from a private letter which Lord Sidmouth had dictated to his daughter, and sent to Mr. Vansittart. It suggests many obvious and interesting remarks. On the whole, as I was not supposed to be likely to see the letter, it is handsome, and not unwise. I do not believe that Lord Chatham's generalship will be in this instance more creditable in its results than it was on the autumn expedition. There is some ambiguity in the language of the letter, and in the punctuation; but the corrections are evident."

Private.—"I have received a letter to-day from Lord Grey, in which he says; 'How long the country will suffer itself to be made the sport of these vile and foolish intrigues I will not pretend to determine; but I am sure that things cannot go on much longer in their present course without certain ruin.'

"He adds in reply to something which I had written, 'I certainly shall be in town a week or two before the meeting of Parliament; sooner than that, I do not see that I can be wanted.'"

Lord Holland to The Same.

1809, October 19. Holland House.—"I am not without hopes of being able to set the press at work in the way in which of all others I know you would think most eligible; but for that purpose it is necessary to do away impressions which very great mismanagement has made, and to show that one considers that branch of labour as important and as *confidential* as it really ought to be. You will think all this very mysterious, but when I see you I shall be able to

explain what I mean; in the meanwhile I will make it my business to ascertain how an evening paper can be procured, and shall by next Saturday be able to tell you in what the real difficulty of that scheme consists, which I suspect to be chiefly in the expense. With respect to the organization of the management of the press there will, I think, be no difficulty at all, provided the discussion about it is strictly confined to Lord Grey, Mr. Grenville, and ourselves, and those who are actually employed on it. I should hope if you do pass an hour in town in the course of the next fortnight, that you would let me know, as I cannot trouble you with all I have to say on this topic by letter."

Private. The Bishop of St. Asaph to [Lord Temple].

1809, October 20.—"You are probably well aware that the Duke of Portland, who was given over on Sunday and Monday last, may yet live a few days. It was less expected that Lord Grenville's chance for his successor as Chancellor should suddenly revive; yet I conceive that in fact it is so. The Dean of Christ Church removed, and a tottering ministry, are circumstances which, I guess, have effected this change. I know not if Lord Dartmouth, Lord Liverpool, or the Bishop of Durham may be offered from Christ Church, but I judge a large division will be for Lord Grenville. Two or three, I think, I see amongst the canons, possibly more.

"To Brasen Nose College I add friends in Jesus, Wadham, New College through Lord Sidmouth in part, and Oriel if the Duke of Beaufort be not well supported in other colleges, besides Trinity. Circumstances above alluded to offer hopes of Exeter, St. John's, and Worcester. Queens' I think well disposed, provided the Provost sees that the Catholic question can never again separate Lord Grenville from the King, or the country; which I take for granted from many considerations.

"I have written by this post to request my friends at Brasen Nose College will put up Lord Grenville on the first notice of the event, and have thought it would be interesting to you to have before you the grounds of my hopes."

The Bishop of Oxford to Lord Grenville.

1809, October 20. Cuddesdon.—"After making some other visits in Oxford, I called on Hall, who at once and of his own accord entered upon the subject of the Chancellorship, telling me that Lord Liverpool was not anxious about it, and would probably not stand; enquiring what you would do, telling me, as he said, in strict confidence, that you were the fittest man for the situation, but expressing a hope that you would feel, even though Lord Liverpool should not stand, the impossibility of his giving you any support. I told him I supposed the appointment would be very gratifying to you,

and that I hoped, if there should be a reasonable hope of success, you would offer yourself. He asked if you would choose to be proposed by the head of another college. I said that, much as you would be flattered by the support of Christ Church, and particularly of the Dean, I should conceive the want of it would not prevent your coming forward, if you were likely to succeed without it. Having gone so far, with much apparent openness on his part, I asked whether he was aware that any plans had been formed or were forming in the University for filling up the vacancy, and whether he thought that Government would set up any of their own body. He professed that he would tell me all he knew; that the Common Room had been with him to enquire what his views might be, that he returned for answer that he could say nothing decisive at present, but that he would communicate with them again as soon as he should come to any determination. For my further information he added that Lord Eldon and the Duke of Beaufort were talked of, but he believed no plans were forming except for Lord Eldon; that the Principal of Jesus (who is in Oxford) had been canvassing for him for two or three years; and that his own persuasion was that Lord Eldon would be a very formidable candidate, and would certainly have Jesus, Queen's, Magdalen, Corpus, and University. I asked what his line would be in the event of Lord Eldon's standing, and he said, without meaning to commit himself, that he thought he should merely give him his vote, and possibly not vote at all; but that he certainly should not make it a point with his college to support him. From his manner of falling in with what I urged of the unfitness of Lord Eldon, I am inclined to think Lord Liverpool's indifference proceeds from Lord Eldon's strength; but I am fearful also that Lord Eldon will be formidable.

"Hall's language, and the language of others whom I conversed with, satisfy me that, with one or two good colleges, you would be a formidable adversary; but you cannot do without some foundation of that sort, and, with that advantage, you would divide even Christ Church. I have been told it might conciliate Queen's College if the support of Richards at a future vacancy for the representation could be dexterously held out to them; but then such inclination must be cautiously concealed from Magdalen in particular; that Magdalen might be gained through the President, and the President through Dr. Parr, provided the college is not aware of the means by which the President is influenced; that Wyndham also has much influence with the President. This possibility of gaining Queen's and Magdalen does not accord with Hall's account. It has again been suggested to me that you might possibly have Heber's interest. Of that you can best judge.

"I have returned home late, and have unfortunately company at dinner, who are arrived. It has obliged me to

write in a hurry, and I have only time to add that the general result of what I have heard and seen to-day is, that Lord Eldon will be candidate, and a formidable one; but that unless there is much secret cabal, no college is absolutely pledged; that your interest is more, if in good hands, than I had hoped for; that the Catholic question is the only obstacle, even though you are in opposition; but that every possible advantage will be made of that question by your adversaries. The Principal of Brasen Nose is an admirable canvasser. Are you sure of that college?"

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 20. Eden Farm.—"I shall therefore confine this note to what occurs at the moment on yours of Wednesday, respecting the eventual opening at Oxford. The object there is, at best, rather honorary than important; but it happens to be intermixed with a consideration which alone impedes the prompt establishment of such a government as might save the empire. My reasonings thereon may seem abrupt and to be lightly brought forward; still I have a self-conviction that they are solid and founded in truth; and that they tend to conclusions which would not be injurious either to your public character or personal consistency. There is a general misrepresentation that you withhold your services until the King shall specifically agree to give up what he has been taught to consider, and considers, to be a point of conscience. That misrepresentation should now be corrected, and it should be known that you wish to postpone the whole discussion at least for the ensuing session. Indeed I am convinced that the best consequences would result on both sides of the channel from its being understood (it is not necessary to proclaim it) that the question stands adjourned during the King's life; under an implied acknowledgment on the part of many (I might say all) that it will then be favourably and temperately considered. In that case it would be carried by a sort of general concurrence. On the other hand it is glaringly evident that the agitation at this moment would create a mischievous and popular clamour detrimental to the question itself; at the same time that it would leave the empire helpless and distressed, and perishing in the hands of a broken and distracted government. Nothing would be easier than to find means for managing such an explanation, gracefully and becomingly, and with the dignity that you could give to it. Some of the hotheaded in Ireland would scold for an instant, but you are not to be influenced by men of that description.

"If this were accomplished, I have no doubt that a government might be formed most beneficially for Great Britain and for all persuasions in Ireland; and, if it be not done, I have as little doubt that the essential interests both of the one and of the other will be irreparably injured. I think

it therefore due to yourself, to your friends, and to the country. *Dixi.*

"If that line were taken, and if the Oxford election could be postponed for a few weeks, there would be little doubt as to the result. Blechston and the clergymen about Blenheim have little weight beyond what is individual. Nor do I believe that my son's friend Dr. Hall would at present, and in the first moments, lead his college. The times are not quite favourable for Lord Liverpool to make the attempt, and if his power in the state should be small, it will not be great in the church."

Postscript.—"London. The Duke of Portland is 'very ill' to-day, but 'not worse than yesterday.' Lord Uxbridge is dying in Anglesey. I met Cooke 'on the pavement,' and complimented him on being there. He said that he was not yet 'on the pavement' and was going to the Office for the current businesses, as he was told that Mr. Dundas now hesitates. He seemed to consider the remnant of a Ministry as utterly impossible to be kept. The Duke of Devonshire has married Lady Elizabeth Forster. There is some puzzle and squabble about declaring it."

THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 20. Stowe.—"I received your letter this morning, and its enclosure, which I guess is an extract of a letter to a zealous friend of your lordship, Dr. Hughes, Principal of Jesus College. It certainly opens a new scene to me, and indicates a change of opinion, the effect of a change in existing circumstances; the removal of the late Dean of Christ Church and the sense of a tottering Ministry.

"When I last conversed upon this subject in Oxford under an impression that your cause there was still desperate, I encouraged the idea of putting up the Duke of Beaufort in opposition to Lord Liverpool, Lord Dartmouth, or the Bishop of Durham, no one of whom I conceive could carry the general voice.

"So much stress do I lay upon Dr. Cole's letter to Dr. Hughes, that I class with Exeter, St. John's, and Worcester, the Provost of which was cruelly disappointed by the Duke of Portland by a promise not fulfilled. To these I add the colleges of Brasen Nose, Jesus, New College, and Wadham with whom Brasen Nose is well connected; and Oriel, if the Duke of Beaufort cannot be served. A certain division of Christ Church, where I think Dr. Burton, Dr. Hay, and possibly Dr. W. Jackson among the canons, with some of the Common Room, will join even against Lord Liverpool or Lord Dartmouth. The Provost of Queen's leans much to you but for a certain question; and listened kindly to Dr. Hughes, who told him from me that, as matter *of unauthorised opinion*, I was confident that question could not well be brought on by your lordship till the Catholics

gave you the same ground which they revoked since you last recommended their petition to a Committee; and that event is not at present very probable.

"Corpus and University Colleges will probably be influenced by Lord Eldon and Sir W. Scott. The Head of Magdalen cannot be counted amongst your friends, nor the Head of Baliol. All Souls must always be *distributed individually*, and so will Merton. Trinity with the Duke of Beaufort, as Oriel. Pembroke, at least the Master, probably with you. Lincoln I know nothing of. Hertford is hardly in existence.

"Upon such grounds I have written by this post to Mr. Hodson, Principal of Brasen Nose College, to leave Liverpool for college without delay; to the Vice-Principal, Mr. Dean, to desire he will put you in nomination the moment he hears of the event; and to Dr. Hughes of Jesus to request his immediate return to Jesus to put you at all events in nomination; because they can at any time, after they meet, relinquish this nomination, if they find it necessary, without committing you at all in credit. I have likewise written to the Bishop at Cuddesden to acquaint him confidentially with these measures, and thus I trust I have done the best for your interests and credit. I am not often too active; but you will have the goodness to recollect I can collect no opinion of any one in the University without a delay that may be fatal to my wishes. I did indeed propose to the Marquis this morning that I should go express to Oxford; but he objected to it as an impolitic measure; and so I believe it would be, on more consideration. Our manners in Oxford will not bear any open interference before the vacancy."

Lord Holland to The Same.

1809, October 21. Holland House.—"If there is a chance of success, or of a good stand, I should think the appearance of your influence in Oxford would be attended with the greatest possible advantages. With respect to Parr, there is no doubt of his zeal, nor of his personal influence with the Master of Magdalen. His discretion is somewhat more problematical; but if told what to do, and what not to do, especially if you would honour him with a letter and a civil expression, he would most religiously obey any injunctions you gave him. The worst is that Martin Routh (according to Parr's account, and in his language) is a Tory, and a fierce Tory, but he is a gentleman, a scholar, and Lord knows what. Where does the right of election of a chancellor reside?

"I rather despair of an evening paper. It is entirely a matter of chance and out of our control; for, unless Perry can buy one without its being known that he buys it, the establishment of one would be a greater expense than we can manage, especially as in these matters, a little caution is necessary for preserving secrecy. Brougham is gone out of town, and we shall be a little gravelled for paragraphs for

some days. Can you procure me any or give me sense for some ? Hitherto the labour has fallen exclusively upon me."

Postscript.—" Parr, who has been writing volumes to me of late, sent me two lines to recommend to you, and me, the first ten lines of Horace's *Art of Poetry* as descriptive of the Ministry. Perceval wanted to form with you ; and this my friend Parr imagines is so good a joke that he says he hopes Lord Grenville will excuse him 'for relaxing so far from his sacerdotal gravity.'"

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 21. Cuddesden.—" My servant was gone with my letters to the post when your packet arrived. I had told you that I had written to Hall ; heard from Cleaver, whom I think too precipitate ; endeavoured to open a communication with some leading man at Brasenose ; and thinking it more satisfactory to see you than to write, told you I should probably be at Dropmore for a few hours to-morrow. As it is, I shall be with you about one on Tuesday, unless I hear by the post that you will not be there, or Hodgson should arrive in Oxford to-morrow night, or be expected early on Tuesday morning. If you wish that I should not be absent even for a few hours, you will let me know. I fear I did not make myself intelligible about the Vaughans. The *Rev. Peter* Vaughan, brother to the physician, is a leading man and tutor at Merton. He is likely to follow his brother the doctor's wishes ; and I added that, unfortunately for us, Lord Bathurst had just appointed another brother, Charles, Fellow of All Souls, his private secretary. I said *unfortunately* because I feared the appointment might make the family unwilling to oppose the government candidate. It is to the doctor therefore that Lord Essex must write for his interest with *Peter* Vaughan. I conclude Charles is in London. I will endeavour to see Peter Vaughan to-morrow, but lose no time about him yourself. We have passed the Rubicon, rather precipitately I think ; but so it is, and we need be less circumspect, though, till I see or hear from you, I shall not make a general avowal of your intentions, unless it should seem to answer our purpose. The canvass however must begin. Defeat is not disgrace ; but I could bear that you should be beat by Lord Liverpool better than by the other.

" I feel the full force of your reasoning about the Catholic question. I wish it could be known, and if known, properly felt where it most ought to be felt and acknowledged.

" I will visit the Vice-Principal of Brasen Nose to-morrow. I had called on Hodgson on Friday as soon as I learned his connections, and attachment to your family ; and had he been in Oxford should have made myself known to him."

Postscript.—" Will Lord Sidmouth espouse your cause, and can you get at Heber ? I mean, can you have his vote ? Queen's is likely to be violently anti-Catholic. Bishop Randolph

has influence, I believe; at least his name would weigh with the opponents on the ground of the Catholic question. Would you choose to get an application to him?

"I received Hall's answer, and a note from Dr. Burton, whilst I was sealing up the accompanying note. I enclose them, and I enclose also the Bishop of St. Asaph's, because as your confidential friend, it seems to me he ought to be instructed in your mode of reasoning upon assurances relative to the Catholic question.

"The Duke of Beaufort's nomination may help us with respect to Hall. Lord Worcester is just entered at Christ Church, and it would be therefore doing an ungracious thing to the duke as well as to you to vote for Lord Eldon. I think he cannot vote for Duke of Beaufort.

"I shall go to Christ Church to-morrow, and still *hope* to see you on Tuesday."

W. Windham to The Same.

1809, October 21. Pall Mall.—"I enter fully into your feelings respecting the Chancellorship, and shall be happy to contribute any little aid that may be in my power, either in a later stage for the attainment of the object, or in the first instance for endeavouring to learn whether it ought to be attempted. I am afraid my last communication with the President of Magdalen was such as to leave me but little hopes from him for either purpose. It was very friendly, but for that very reason more adverse perhaps in the view in which we are now considering it; inasmuch as with all professions of good will personally to me, he declared the impossibility of supporting a person who thought, as I did, on the Catholic question. I may have a better chance and to a greater extent, with the present head of my own college, to whom I will write without delay; and I know not whether I may not have some weight, and some hopes of a disposition not unfriendly, in Dr. Cooke, head of Corpus, and Dr. Marlowe, head of I forget what college. But since the extinction of my own hopes, my communications with Oxford have altogether ceased, as well as my acquaintance with what is doing or thought there. On this occasion, as upon so many others, I have to regret the loss of our late friend Dr. Laurence, whose influence in the University was not inconsiderable; and whose exertions were never wanting, when called for by those who had any claim to them. Dr. Hall is unfortunately so tied up, that he could not be asked even for advice. I will cast about, you may be sure, to find if there [are] any means by which I may be useful, and use to the best advantage that I am able."

The Marquis of Buckingham to The Same.

1809, October 22. [Stowe.]—"Be assured that your kind attentions to all that so deeply interests me are not lost upon me.

There are always points, on which it is not possible to recur for relief, even to the affection of a brother. Some misconception, and much precipitation had left me no alternative; but I had, before I received yours, gladly seized the first appearance of the return of those feelings, which, I well know, are uppermost in his heart; and I wrote to him on Friday a letter, which he will have received this morning, desiring that all further discussion might be dropped, on a matter originally of little importance, but in which he allowed his heat of temper to commit him very deeply. I hope and trust very sincerely that this will be the last thing of the sort, for I have no doubt but that he has suffered very severely; and a vexation like this never fails to operate severely on my sleep and appetite.

"The Bishop of St. Asaph leaves me to-morrow to sleep at Oxford, where he will see proper persons that evening, and will be with you as soon as this letter next morning. After much discussion he thinks he sees his way, so as [to] hold out to you much more than a reasonable prospect of success. My friend Barnard, of Finmore, accompanies him, and remains at Oxford for the purpose of working on the mind of Dr. Marlow, with whom he is most intimate, and for the purpose of collecting information, which he will send to you by the Beaconsfield coach, or post, if material. He is a most indefatigable, and discreet man, and very valuable from his extensive acquaintance there. I see Dr. Hall is gazetted, which is a very material point in your favour. The Duke of Beaufort can have no chance against you, nor can the Bishop of Durham; Lord Liverpool, with all the power of Government, would poll the greatest number. The Bishop seems to have made out to himself a clear view of the subject; and we have written to the new Principal of Brasenose, who is at Liverpool, to come to Oxford immediately; so that I hope that you will gain some advantage by immediate canvass. I would write to Lady Downshire to desire her to canvass her *protégés* Dr. Burton, and *Mr. Reed of Exeter;* the last is material from his influence over his Head; but I did not choose to open a canvass for you without your knowledge, and therefore you must write yourself, or in my name, if you are shy of your own on such a subject. I agree with you that the victory would be material in *such a moment* to you, otherwise I should say that your academical gold would be bought too dear. You will of course employ me whenever I can help you."

Postscript.—"I open my letter to say that Tom is just arrived, and has put some water into our wine by showing by Bishop Moss's letter, that Dr. Hughes votes for Lord Eldon, who, I should think, will to a certainty succeed; but if your support can be made respectable it is worth your while to stand. As this will find you in town, pray call on Lady Downshire and leave your note for her; men are essential to you. We shall send Bishop Cleaver over to Oxford

to-morrow, but we shall endeavour to make him sleep on Tuesday at Cuddesden, or to come to you very late. We have sent for Charles Williams to assist at Christ Church, which I think will give you good support. Eton College used to have interest at Merton. I think you would find out some of their connexions and might secure them."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1809, October 22. Cashiobury.—"The great goodness which I have experienced from your Royal Highness induces me to take a liberty which, if it should appear improper, will, I hope, meet with your Royal Highness's forgiveness.

"I learn this morning that some of my zealous friends at Oxford have determined to put me in nomination for the office of Chancellor of the University in the event, now hourly expected, of the Duke of Portland's death. I am myself no sufficient judge of the grounds on which this decision is taken, nor of the probability of success; but the object is one in which no discredit can attach upon disappointment, and in which therefore I am disposed to acquiesce in their decision, if it should not appear improper in your Royal Highness's opinion, to which I trust I need not say I should immediately defer.

"I should on every account not think of commencing any open canvass for such an object before the vacancy actually arises; but there is one instance in which it is so materially in your Royal Highness's power to promote the success of this pursuit, that I hope I do not presume too much in humbly apprizing your Royal Highness that I have reason to believe Dr. Cole, the rector of Exeter, well disposed to me, and to think that the least word from his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence would decide him to appear openly in my favour; and an early declaration from him would be of considerable importance.

"I know not how to apologise for taking so great a liberty with your Royal Highness. Nothing could have encouraged me to it but the proofs I have already received of your Royal Highness's goodness. This object can, I am confident, in no degree be considered as political. If it were, I am too sensible of the propriety of the line adopted by your Royal Highness to venture to lay before you any solicitation, a compliance with which might interfere with that line. The choice of the University might certainly with great propriety be guided by motives wholly independent of politics, by considerations of general character, literary pursuits, and habits of life which it would be presumption in me to apply to myself, but which are at least independent of any question connected with political opinions." *Copy.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 23. Holland House.—"Though I am not without hopes of seeing you at dinner, I shall take my chance

of finding you at Camelford House after seeing the Prince, whom I will not fail to sound on your application. There is however no doubt but he will do all that you could wish on the subject, and his zeal is more likely to require the curb than the spur. I had forgotten Oxford delicacy about canvassing, and have sent another letter to Parr, of which I enclose a copy.

Enclosing :

LORD HOLLAND to DR. PARR, Oxford University.

1809, October 23. Holland House.—"I did not forget to apprize Lord Grenville of your reference to Horace's *Art of Poetry* which I thank you for in his name and my own. You did right in supposing that any classical quotation would not be thrown away upon him. The fact is there has seldom been any public man, and never one so much versed in all the details of business, more sincerely and ardently attached to literature than he is ; and this circumstance, joined to other considerations, has induced some of his friends at Oxford to suppose that the learned members of that university would for once sacrifice party and even high church feeling to the interests and credit of learning, and, in the event of the Duke of Portland's death, elect Lord Grenville to succeed him in the Chancellorship, in preference to Lord Liverpool, whom it is the intention of some more attached to Courts than to the Muses to start on that occasion. Though you and I might be inclined to feel some exultation at seeing a friend of religious liberty at the head of that metropolis of Toryism, yet it is surely possible, and even rational, that many men who differ with us in such subjects might consider a contest of this sort in a very different light from a political election. How would your very worthy and excellent friend the Master of Magdalen act upon such an occasion ? Would he not prefer the interest and credit of learning and the university to a sorry and unprofitable triumph even of Toryism at their expense. As a Chancellor of the University has no political influence whatever, it does not seem that political sentiments, but habits of reading, scholarship, and taste, should be the qualifications required for the office. I will thank you to give me your opinions on this subject, and especially on the probability of Dr. Routh's support of Lord Grenville, as speedily as possible. Of course the whole communication must be considered as strictly confidential, and if you have any suggestions to make on it I shall consider them as equally so." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1809, October 23. Camelford House.—"The near prospect of the Duke of Portland's death has revived the question as to the choice of a successor to him at Oxford, and I learn from my friends there that they judge the probabilities of

my success such as to induce them to bring my name forward as a candidate. It is certainly on every account natural that I should feel considerable anxiety that their hopes should not be disappointed, and that I should derive much gratification even from the prospect of a respectable support, should I obtain no more, on such an occasion. I trust that these feelings do not mislead me in judging that I ought not to omit to apprize you of the circumstance, and to express to you the great pleasure which I should feel in any assistance that you felt yourself enabled to give me, recollecting, as I do, the kind part which you took on this subject on a former occasion.

"Delicacy and respect towards the Duke of Portland do not admit of an open canvass before the vacancy takes place; but that I fear cannot be long delayed; and I owe it to my friends not to omit in the meantime such steps as can with propriety be taken." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 23. Stowe.—"I avail myself of the opportunity of the bishop's going to Oxford and Dropmore to tell you that I found upon my arrival here the best solution of all the domestic difficulties, a letter having been received here, which had been answered from hence by expressing a wish that the whole subject should be completely wiped out of memory; this is all that could be wished.

"The bishop was aware of Hughes's engagement for his personal vote, but seems still sanguine enough to make it desirable that nothing should be neglected. I wrote a few lines to Charles; and I think of writing to-day to Fisher, because it may at least abate the ardour of his University College inclination to Eldon. It has occurred to me that you might perhaps with some advantage write to Lord Sidmouth though in very measured terms, such as saying that 'your friends having renewed a proposition at Oxford on which you had formerly communicated with Lord Sidmouth, that you had thought it a proper attention to him that he should first hear this from you, although you could not presume upon the part which, under the present circumstances, Lord S. might think it proper for him to take.' Would not something of this sort be, at least unobjectionable, and possibly useful?

"The bishop talks of application to be made to Lord Fitzwilliam, Duke of Argyle, and others whom he will name to you.

"I return you the Bishop of Oxford's letter. I told Charles that if he came up he had better go first to Oxford and Cuddesden, and then to Dropmore. Should you not write a line to Abbot?"

Private. LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, October 24. Eden Farm.—"I find it to be the opinion of my son George, who is not ill-informed as to Oxford,

and who lately took his master's degree, that there would be a very strong disposition towards you on the eventual vacancy in question, 'even in the state of things as they are at this moment.' He thinks that the Duke of Beaufort would be started as the candidate of the colleges and individuals who might be adverse to you; but that his grace would certainly not be of the description which would meet the general sense of the University.

"I transcribe the following paragraph from a letter the writer of which you will easily guess:—

"*Private.*—'I understand that there will be a change of principles and measures (either for the better or for the worse). Perceval sent me by H[awkesbury] a private memoir on the state of the finances which he has laid before the Cabinet. Having declined the proposition made to me, I thought it right to decline reading the memoir. But I understand that it was to enforce the necessity of economy; and the message which accompanied it was that, he sent it to shew that his views were such as he hoped I would approve.'

"It is a curious circumstance, if it be true, that Mr. Saunders Dundas, at the request and advice of his father, declines the seals offered to him; but I can hardly believe it. Though the offers, acceptances, declinings, resignations, and appointments, are all a strange medley."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, October 26. Stowe.—"I enclose to you with Lord St. Vincent's permission two letters to him which you will be so good as to return to me; they give a curious account of Lord Mulgrave's gold contract, and a frightful picture of Lord Wellington's military position. What a disgrace it is to our national character that a per-centage on Spanish dollars should lead an English officer to threaten to attack a friendly ship of war; and by that threat should create a spirit of national enmity against us in the very country which, of all others, it seems to be our duty and interest to endeavour to conciliate.

"The little that I have heard of Oxford since my brother wrote is still rather of a favourable cast, and it seems evident that we shall find great advantage in this early agitation of the question. If they are wise they will abandon Eldon, and put up the Duke of Beaufort, and give him all the most active and express support of the Crown. I have written to the Master of the Charter House, but I do not feel inclined to write to Randolph; he has no vote, and the best one can hope is that his answer will be to say that he has no vote; an answer which is not worth seeking through the medium of solicitation and obligation. I have not heard from Vernon or from Charles; I wait to hear more certainly of Parliament before I determine as to Trentham or Althorp."

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1809, October 27. Dropmore.—"When I communicated to Lord Sidmouth the correspondence relative to Perceval's overture, as it is called, to yourself and me, he returned it with a letter saying that the result of that step was such as was naturally to have been expected; but adding a hope that we were disposed, 'to afford satisfaction and confidence' to the King's mind on the Catholic question. It did not appear to me that the circumstance of an overture, rejected in the outset and respecting which all discussion was closed, required any explanation on such a point. I therefore let the subject drop there, and returned no answer.

"Two or three days ago Lord Sidmouth wrote to me that he would come here to make some communication to me, and yesterday I saw him. His main object appeared to be to apprize me of what had passed between the present government and himself, which he detailed to me, and allowed me to communicate to yourself, Lord Holland, Lord H. Petty and my brother.

"It is shortly that Lord Chatham came to him to desire to know on the part of the King, and of Perceval, how he was disposed to this government; and to express a hope that he would influence Bragge Bathurst and Hobhouse to take office with them. But, what is certainly strange enough, this desire was not accompanied by the expression of any wish to have the assistance of Lord Sidmouth himself.

"Lord Sidmouth appears to have answered that such a proposal was inadmissible at any time; that his friends would certainly not separate themselves from him; but that, under the present circumstances, no proposal for his or their taking office with the government now forming could be listened to, they being of opinion with him that it was only by the assistance of us and our friends that a government adequate to the crisis could be formed; that it would not be their disposition to lend themselves to any other course *unless it were ascertained* that the formation of an adequate government was rendered unattainable by our adherence to a measure on which the King could not give way; a point which he conceived to be as yet by no means ascertained, notwithstanding what he termed some *ambiguous phrases* in my letter. This answer was delivered verbally to Lord Chatham, and confirmed by two letters written to him by Lord Sidmouth. The communication (I believe) of the conversation (or of the first letter) drew from Perceval a long letter to explain the grounds on which he was acting; but particularly to apprize Lord Sidmouth of the reason why, in desiring the aid of his friends, Perceval made no proposition to himself; which was, *frankly*, because some of those on whose support the new government was principally to depend, had insuperable objections to Lord Sidmouth personally, and would probably oppose instead of supporting any government

of which he formed a part. This explanation you may suppose did not mend the matter much either with Lord Sidmouth or his friends, and there the matter rested.

"But Lord Sidmouth in the course of this narrative (which I have repeated as accurately as I can from memory) several times intimated to me a desire of receiving some answer to that part of his former letter and of this communication which related to our views and intentions as to what he termed setting the King's mind at ease; and gave me to understand that circumstances might possibly arise hereafter in which this knowledge might be essential for the guidance of his own conduct, and that of his friends; though he repeatedly assured me that nothing of any sort had passed between the government and him except what he now communicated to us.

"My answer was that, with respect to my letter to Perceval I saw no ground for considering any part of it as ambiguous. It was well known that I had originally objected to his government as formed on the principle, and giving effect to the demand of an unconstitutional pledge; a principle to which I must myself have become a party had I acceded to a government so formed. That to any step liable to the same objection my repugnance continues insuperable. But that we were neither called upon, nor was it possible, as things now stand, to enter into further explanations of our views or possible conduct on the subject of the Catholics in Ireland, in all the various circumstances that may arise. Nor could such explanation be given by any general answer to such general phrases as are now commonly used of giving ease to the King's mind and the like, it not being known what would be required for that purpose.

"That whenever the King may be pleased to signify to any persons whom he may be disposed to call to his service under what restrictions he may be disposed to place them with respect to that or to any other question of public policy, it will then be their duty to answer with equal precision whether on such grounds they can accept office, consistently with their own sense of duty to him, and to the interests of his empire. That the subject in question was one of very extensive bearings, always considered by us as connected with various other measures of great importance, and never yet forced forward by any act of ours, although the contrary had been so studiously asserted. That much consideration would be required respecting it whenever such a deliberation was called for by the state of affairs. And that, however desirous we must feel, and had before proved ourselves, to consult the King's personal difficulties, we could not on the other hand forget that our decisions, whenever we are obliged to form them, must also be regulated by a sense of our own duty, and of that public consistency and character without which no useful service could be rendered by men in public office, either to the King or to the country.

"That, in short, on these and other grounds I must say that I thought we neither could be called upon, nor could in fact be able to give any explanation of the possible conduct we might hold in cases the grounds and circumstances of which we could not anticipate.

"This is the sum of our conversation. He took my answer *ad considerandum*. I do not believe that *this* ship will ever be launched; we must therefore soon expect some new propositions, and shall be obliged to enter fully into this most embarrassing subject. The Court has hitherto played its game very ill, but experience cannot be so wholly thrown away upon them as not to teach them to do a little better another time, and we must be prepared to counteract their endeavours to use against us the great advantages which the conduct of the Catholics themselves is continually affording to them.

"In these circumstances I cannot express to you the anxiety I feel for your being on the spot. I know that such a proposal cannot be agreeable to you. No man is more sensible than myself to all the motives which must make you reluctant to it. But on the other hand the importance of it is so great that I cannot forbear to press it upon you. It is not for this or that particular object that you are wanted, but because every day and every hour brings forth fresh circumstances on which I feel the utmost anxiety to have the benefit of your assistance.

"The purport of this very conversation I had anticipated, and would have given anything to have had the means of referring to your judgment as to the nature of the answer I should give to it.

"I have decided, in the event of the Duke of Portland's death, to stand for the Chancellorship of Oxford. It is too long to explain by letter the reasons of my decision. I believe they are right even if I should fail, which is certainly, to say the least, very possible. But I have considerable hopes of success, and I shall be much obliged to you for any assistance you can give me. But *come*, and that will be in this, and in every thing else the greatest of all assistance." *Copy.*

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, October 27. Stowe.—"I do not resist the concurrent opinion of yourself and of the bishop, and therefore I write to the Bishop of London, although I do not hope any good from it. I write also to Lord Spencer to canvass Lord H. Seymour, and to Lord Stafford. I have not heard from Charles, which makes me fear he is not at home, but I can add nothing to what I said, which in addition to your own letter to him will certainly produce all that he can produce, if that be anything. I have a very handsome letter from Richards pleading a thirty year's intimate friendship with Lord Eldon as a reason for his not canvassing against him, though nothing

shall induce him to canvass against you ; if Lord Eldon is not the candidate he will be absolutely devoted to your wishes ; but if he is, Richards must then do nothing. My brother has full promises from Lady Downshire ; he refers you to Temple for Lee, as that is the only channel ; but he can do nothing with Purefoy who quarrelled with Temple about Hampshire ; the other Purefoy is dead. Mr. Barnard has sent no lists as yet. Lord Sidmouth's visit and conversation must be a little curious, and will make some speculation, but none that will not be rather useful than prejudicial."

Private. Most Reverend Dr. Milner, V.A. to Sir J. C. Hippisley, M.P.

1809, October 28. Wolverhampton.—*Extract.*—" It is true, that four or five years ago, I wrote to sound *Cardinal Borgia** on the subject of a Royal interference, and that I communicated his answer to the *Irish Catholic Prelates* last year, some of whom very improperly laid it before some of the lowest of their scribblers, who garbled and misrepresented it in the newspapers. The sum of what he wrote was ' that the King of Prussia had heretofore solicited in vain *Benedict* xiv to enter into a *concordat* with him, the thing itself being without example ; that it was inconsistent for a Catholic King to choose even among Grand Vicars appointed by the Prelates ; but that there was less difficulty about a *pure negative*, provided there were *due precautions* to *prevent its becoming, in fact*, a *positive power*. Nevertheless, that there did not appear to be a necessity or good cause for any innovation at all, as the loyalty of the Bishops was unimpeachable ; finally that there was no objection to us Vicars Apostolic becoming Ordinaries ; if the thing were desired.' I earnestly hope (if another *contretemps* is to be avoided) that the Veto may not be again talked of. The Irish Bishops wrote to me that nothing short of a solemn Act of Government will induce them to reconsider their last resolution ; and five parts in six of them, I can take upon myself to say, would, if ever thus called upon, declare the measure to be *inexpedient*. The grand obstacle however is the indisposition of nine-tenths of the Catholic laity ; they say that too much has been parted to England already, particularly in the Union, and that nothing more ought to be granted, especially as the measure proposed looks like an attempt to buy off their clergy. Some of the prelates are very much displeased at the publication (at the end of the debate on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Grattan's motion) of their resolves in 1799, into which, they say, they were tricked by the promises of Lord Castlereagh.

" I lament that so faulty a report of the debates on Mr. Grattan's motion should have been published by some

* Then Prefect of the *Propaganda Fidei*.

of our Catholics; and that, besides, the resolves of the English Catholics (falsely said to be in the Museum) *that Pandorean box of all our internal divisions*, should appear in the appendix."

Postscript.—"Mr. Reeves has favoured me with another letter. Count [Taffe] is gone on an errand from *Government* to the Continent. I can take upon myself to affirm that it was a Scottish priest, one Mr. Robinson, who was employed by Government to induce Romana and the Spaniards in Germany to declare against the French."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 28. [Stowe.]—"I have written immediately to my friend Rose, but I have been so very ungrateful that I have quite forgot who or what he is, and for fear of mistakes have sealed the letter and sent it (with the direction of Carshalton near Croydon) to my son, who will ask Eden whether he is Dr. or Revd., Mr. or Esq., and will frank it to him so that no time will be lost. I have sent to Holloway for his namesake and nephew of Exeter College, and I have applied a second time through another channel to Fermor of Frismore for Windham's vote. I have seen Hodson, who is very confident, and I have taken the liberty to lodge in his hands for the use of Brasenose College, a thousand pounds to enable the College to pay any post-chaise or stage-coach expenses that he may think right. You will remember that to this bribery or corruption you are no party, and the first use of it will be to bring two votes from Edinburgh. I hope all is now safe, but I cannot allow myself any gratification so complete as that of assisting your success even by two votes."

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1809, October 28. Dropmore.—"I wrote yesterday as full an account as I could to Lord Grey, Lord Holland, and my brother of what had passed between us, and I mentioned that I had your authority to make this communication to them and to Lord H. Petty. Had I retained a copy, I would most willingly have transcribed for you that part which spoke of my answer to what you mentioned respecting my letter to Mr. Perceval.

"It was in substance 'that I saw no ground to impute ambiguity to that letter; that the *principle* on which this Government *was formed*, and to which I had uniformly objected, was that of giving effect to the demand of an unconstitutional pledge. And that by acceding to this Government I must myself have become a party to that principle.'

"This you will not understand as here expressed with the precision and caution of a *public* and *written* explanation on so high and delicate a subject, but as a short summary of a friendly and confidential communication.

"Should any circumstances, as it is by no means impossible, lead to my explaining myself in public on this subject, I must do so with all the attention and care which the unceasing misrepresentation of all my words and actions on this subject must naturally inspire.

"I shall be anxious to hear that you have not suffered from your excursion, and that your apprehensions of a return of your complaint have not been realised.

"I beg you to be persuaded that the papers which you communicated to me could leave but one impression on my mind, that of astonishment at the nature and purport of the overture made to you, and of the propriety and temper with which you had conducted yourself in consequence." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 29. Stowe.—"Under the restrictions mentioned in your letter to Lord Grey, I did not think myself at liberty to say anything to my brother of Lord Sidmouth's communication to you, and I have returned you by post your letter to Lord Grey, which appears to me to be precisely what was best to write. You could not in my opinion make any other answer to Lord Sidmouth than what you made, without more affectation of mystery than was becoming or useful; at the same time I must however observe that his proceeding does not appear to me to be quite correct; he might very well think that the general tenor of his answer might authorise his making to you a confidential communication of it, to which he might feel the more disposed from the very offensive frankness of Perceval's language to him; but I cannot think Lord Sidmouth in any degree entitled to consult his own convenience in putting to you by anticipation questions obviously of the greatest delicacy, and subject to very considerable embarrassments; nor does it seem to me that he derives any claim for pursuing this very close examination, from the mere consideration that a knowledge of your intentions may assist him in forming his own. I am something more jealous upon this point with respect to him, from the strong persuasion of my own mind that the object which he is driving at in these discussions with you, is precisely that which it is the intention and interest of the Court to pursue in concert with Lord Sidmouth; and therefore, though I would not have the air of concealment or mystery, I should be cautious of admitting such a course of interrogations as could only be justified, if at all, by the direct authority of the Crown to Lord Sidmouth, or by the confidence arising from a community of sentiment; neither of which ingredients are, as far as I know, to be found in Lord Sidmouth's catechism, or in his notions of the primary duty of setting the King's mind at ease. I am still persuaded that a short time will send Lord Sidmouth to you with an official or an authorised enquiry upon the same subject, and I do not wish

either him or those who send him to have the advantage of coming to school to you to get their lessons beforehand.

"With respect to Oxford, my brother has as yet no other lists than those, 1807, the copies of which cannot be worth multiplying. I delight in the Archbishop's letter; and have written a long letter to thank him for the manly and liberal expression of his opinions concerning you, civil and religious, which are, as I think, very honourable to himself and likely to be very useful to you. I have likewise written to thank Richards, whose letter you will return to me with that of his correspondent, from which I suppose the Duke of Beaufort will at least be the Court candidate. I think with you that delay is an advantage to our opponents. I take for granted that your active friends will complete beforehand the appointment of a committee to carry on the election, and will have decided who is to propose you, and will in every respect be quite ready furnished to start as soon as the vacancy happens; and I wish this the more because it is evident that the enemy has as yet no settled plan, and that you are likely to have very great advantage from the early activity of your friends. Did you write to Charles as well as myself? What can have happened that I hear nothing of him? I wrote to Lord Spencer to canvass Lord H. Seymour; you should write a line to Lord Jersey about the Bicester man, for Lord Buckingham knows nothing of him. I wrote on Friday to the Bishop of London. Is it not worth while for you to write a line to the Archbishop of Canterbury to say that, hearing your friends' intention to be to nominate you, you think it a respect to him that he should hear this from yourself; and perhaps the same to Bishop of Ely. You will know this best; but I should advise every possible communication with the whole bench of bishops, in order to remove the notion of their being considered, as of course, to be hostile to you. I will write a line to Windham to canvass Malone for Boswell, and I will write to Golding as soon as I know how to direct to him. I see a Finch of All Souls has a vote; I do not know him, but I should think a line from you to him, as a relation, would be better than any application to Lord Aylesford."

LORD GRENVILLE to the VERY REVEREND DR. HODSON, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

1809, November 2. Dropmore.—"Lord Buckingham has commuicated to me your letter in which you speak to him of your interesting conversation with the President of Magdalen, a man whose character gives the greatest weight to his opinions, even independently of that which belongs to his high station in the university. The favourable opinion which he is pleased to express of my general pretensions to the honour which I am soliciting cannot but be in the highest degree flattering to me, whatever be the result of the

particular contest in which I am now engaged. On the subject on which he appears to hesitate, I have, I know, been greatly misrepresented; but I must not for the sake of removing such impressions, even in the most respectable quarter, commit myself in any manner at all inconsistent with my real opinions, or possible future public duty.

"Until the Union with Ireland, I resisted all applications for farther indulgence to the Catholics, beyond what had been conceded in 1793; believing that, under the then separate and independent constitution of that country, such indulgencies might be injurious to the establishment there.

"After the Union I concurred with Mr. Pitt, a warm friend, but not more so than myself, to the established church, that what it had before been necessary to refuse might then be with safety conceded; but accompanied always by such securities and safeguards for the interests of the church as might remove all apprehensions for that object, to which no public men ever were more sincerely attached. Our plan for this purpose we never were permitted to bring forward, and the Government was changed.

"At a subsequent period Mr. Pitt (acting I am confident to the best of his own judgment) thought himself at liberty to engage that, although retaining his opinions, he would forbear to act upon them. This engagement I then declined; and when it was again unexpectedly proposed to me at the close of the last Government, I was compelled by my own sense of duty to adhere to the same refusal.

"This conduct was then construed, and the same misrepresentation is now repeated, as a determination at all hazards to force, as it is called, the conscience of the King. But no two things are, in truth, more widely different than the declining to promise *never* to bring forward such an opinion, and the having determined to act upon it rashly, and at all hazards.

"The agitation of this question in Parliament has at no time been the act of my choice; it has been the act of the Catholics themselves, frequently against my expressed opinions, never by my instigation or advice. When they have decided for themselves to apply to Parliament, I could as an individual, not in office, act in no other manner than such as was consistent with the sincere, though perhaps mistaken, belief that this measure may be so combined with others as to produce not danger but increased security to the established church, with whose interests I have ever held that every other part of the constitution is essentially connected.

"In the late overture made to me by Mr. Perceval for acceding to the present Government, my objection was rested on the principle which I have already described. I am satisfied that by acceding to this Government I must make myself a party to such a pledge as I have already described; a measure

to which no public man can, I think, in duty or in conscience lend himself as the price of acquiring or retaining office. This opinion by no means depends on the merits of the particular question to which such a pledge is applied. It would have been the same if Lord North had been required *never* to propose, under any circumstances, the independence of America, or Mr. Pitt never to acknowledge the French Republic. The pledge itself would be a promise to violate my oath of office, an engagement not to advise the King to the best of my judgment according to the exigencies of the times and the interests of his people. Not one word passed on the late occasion as to the conduct which it might be proper for the King's Government to pursue now, or hereafter, respecting the Catholics of Ireland, under all the various difficulties with which this question is surrounded. No such subject was propounded to me for consideration, much less was any opportunity afforded to me of explaining myself upon it. Nothing therefore can be more absurd as well as more unjust than the imputing to me, as is now done in the public papers and communications of the Ministers, declarations of a character and tone very different, I trust, from the whole course and tenor of my life.

"That pledge which I thought myself bound to decline giving to the highest authority, and for purposes for which none of the King's subjects is more anxious than myself, no one, I am sure, will ask me to give in order to promote any personal object of my own, however interesting to me. Neither would I wish in any manner to imply that I am less strongly persuaded than I was of the perfect safety to the established church with which measures might be proposed and judiciously combined for conciliating the great body of the Irish nation. But this I can with perfect truth declare, that in every consideration which I have ever given to the subject, the security of the establishment has been one of the leading and most prominent features to which my attention has been directed. Of this I never have for a moment lost sight; it formed an essential part of the original plan conceived by Mr. Pitt and myself, when acting together on this subject. It has been mixed in every proposal and every statement I have ever made respecting it, and is, in my judgment, inseparable from it. Such would still be the principles which would influence my conduct if ever I should again be called upon officially to consider what steps ought or ought not to be taken respecting it, and at what time or under what circumstances of accompanying arrangement; a consideration which could not be fully examined or decided upon, in justice to my own character or to the public interests, without a reference to the circumstances of the time in which the deliberation is to be entered upon, and to all the various particulars of our foreign and domestic interests as then subsisting. What may be the decision of the President of Magdalen

as to his conduct in the present contest, it is not for me to anticipate. Sure I am from all I have heard of his character that it will be the result of his own unbiassed judgment. But, be this as it may, I must at all events feel obliged to him for the opportunity of setting myself right, as I trust, in his opinion on many points on which I have been misrepresented; and I must also feel greatly flattered by his expressions of general esteem and good opinion." *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 3. Howick.—"Your last letter makes it unnecessary for me to trouble you with all the numerous and substantial reasons, as I thought them, both public and private, which I was marshalling to convince you that there could be no real necessity for my going to town at this moment. I certainly will be with you according to my promise some time, that is two or three weeks, before the meeting of Parliament. I have not yet got a house; but as I think the present prorogation, being to the 12th of December, makes it clear that Parliament cannot, on account of the new elections, meet for business before Christmas, I hope I shall be able to provide myself with one in time. But, at all events, I will not delay longer than I have mentioned, and I shall be much obliged to you to give me the earliest notice of any certain information you may obtain with respect to the day to be fixed for the meeting.

"It is impossible that anything could be more judicious than your answer to Lord Sidmouth. I regret, as you know, your having introduced any allusion to the Catholic question in your answer to Perceval, and I should perhaps have had some doubts of the expediency of making a formal communication to Lord Sidmouth of what passed respecting the overture unless your mind is made up to invite him to take a part in your government, if you should be called up to form one. But, having by these circumstances given him a sort of right to put to you the question that he did, I think, as I have already said, that it could not be answered better.

"I suspect you will have other applications from some of our friends on the same point; and indeed, whether you have or not, it is so much for the advantage of our enemies to bring forward, that it is vain to think of keeping it in the background, desirable as it might be to do so, even on the first days of the session. It is therefore undoubtedly of the first importance both that we should have a thorough understanding with one another on this point, and that we should be agreed as to the language to be held upon it to our friends.

"Upon the question itself I cannot imagine the possibility of any difference between us. I feel confident that you must think, as I do, that we could not take office under an engagement, either expressed or implied, not to bring forward *any* measure in favour of the Catholics, without a complete

sacrifice of character, which would enable the Court to avail itself of the first favourable opportunity, for which it would be constantly on the watch, of turning us out, after having deprived us of the means of again becoming either formidable to its own system, or useful to the public. The power therefore of proposing measures for the settlement of this question being, as I assume it, a *sine quâ non*, the next consideration is in what state or under what limitations such measures are to be proposed.

"Here I should say that we ought both to profess and to feel a disposition to give effect to all such regulations as, without danger of defeating the end we have in view, may tend to give satisfaction, as the cant is, to the King's conscience, to obviate the public prejudice, and to provide real or even ostensible securities for the church.

"I do not know that we can do more than hold this kind of general language at present, except with respect to the single article of the *veto*; subject to which condition, as well as to some other regulations of the same nature, I should have no hesitation in saying not only that the concession of the question would be satisfactory to me, but that it would not even be desirable to carry it without them.

"The result of these considerations in my mind therefore is that, when questioned by our friends, we should declare that we never can consent to take office if a bar is to be put to all consideration of the Catholic question; but that we should feel an anxious desire to annex to any measure which we might propose upon it all such guards as could with any propriety be required, either for the ease of the King's mind or for the security of the church.

"I have been led to say so much at this moment on this subject both by a letter I have received lately from Tierney; and by what I have heard of discontents and complaints amongst some of our friends on the country's being left exposed, as they say, to all the mischiefs of such a government as the present, because we insist on a point which it is known can never be carried during the King's reign. The effect of this language, if it continues to prevail, cannot be doubtful, and with a hope that it may tend to obviate it, I have been induced in writing to Tierney to state in the most positive terms my own determination, even if it should be against the opinion of all my friends, not to take part in any administration which is not allowed to bring forward measures for the settlement of a question so indispensable, as I think it, to the security of the empire.

"I certainly had begun to think that Perceval would not be able to find even names for the different offices, and he certainly has not found much more. I am not however by any means so confident as many appear to be, that even *this* administration will not be able to struggle through the next session.

"I have no doubt that your determination to stand for the Chancellorship of Oxford is right, and I heartily wish you success. I wrote to Mr. Bigge on first hearing of your determination. I have not yet had his answer, but, whether the vote is in himself or his brother, I hope you will have it. If the Chancellor is your opponent, there may perhaps be some danger with respect to the latter, as he is a lawyer. I have also written to my brother to exert himself with his friends; and if there are any other means by which I can assist in this object, you have only to point them out to me.

"Have you seen the papers that have passed between the Prince and the Ministers with respect to the payment of the Princess's debts? What do you think of Perceval's having avowed to Adam that a fund in the Treasury of 10,000*l.* for secret service (I don't know what this fund is) had been exhausted in buying up the pamphlet which he had printed when we were in office respecting the Princess's case?"

[William Wickham] to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 3. Oxford.—"I send the enclosed from Charles Hayes, not as containing anything new, but as expressive of personal good will, and as bearing an additional testimony, if any were wanted, to Dr. Goodal's desire to serve your lordship.

"The attack upon the Eldons has fully answered its main purpose. I think it now quite impossible that he should retire from the poll.

"The paragraph that Hodson sent your lordship last night for insertion in the *Morning Chronicle*, rests partly on his own, partly on University feelings. The latter are very strong, and Woolcombe in particular is most anxious that the disavowal on our part should be complete. In point of policy we ought to abstain from writing in the newspapers, because those to which our friends have access, have no circulation in the university, nor in the country at large; whereas the *Courier*, in which the answers are inserted, is read probably by nine-tenths at least of our outlying voters, and by every resident member of the University. I wish your lordship would read the Cobbet? of yesterday on the subject of Ireland. It seems this paper is only the beginning of a series on that subject.

"The Eldons were making a frightful progress the whole of last week. I think they begin now to be at a stand, and Woolcombe's list of last night would contain two or three transfers of E's. to B's.

"I have only seen Matthews for a moment, as he has, I believe, four churches to attend to-day, after having passed the two last nights on the road. He is a most useful and indefatigable friend.

"As it seems quite clear that we can hear nothing new to-night respecting agents and conveyances, I shall go to

Cuddesden this afternoon to meet Dr. Pett, and, I hope, Wood of Christ Church, who is very zealous.

"The Duke of Beaufort's friends here persist in their declarations that they will stand the poll. I cannot help thinking that they gain ground, though they must be still very far indeed behind Lord Eldon. I am going now to Woolcombe's to look over his list, and will send you the result from Cuddesden."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, November 8. Cleveland Square.—"Upon receiving your letter I sent back my chaise; and will stay here till Saturday, on which day I promised to meet Tierney at Dropmore. His general notions seem to be full of some appeal to the party at large, or to a large part of it's leaders, upon the necessity of convincing the Catholics of the impropriety of now urging their claims; and he thinks their consent may be readily obtained. I have always answered him by saying that any interference of us or of our party for this purpose at present would be so suspicious, and liable to such misrepresentation, as would over-balance any speculation of advantage. This he admits in some degree; but says that he knows of no question in politics that is not comparative; and that if the King and the country are as adverse as he believes them to be to the Catholic question, there can be no duty so strong as to prevent that question being put by; and that he does not know on what principle opposition to this Government can be justified, if the course taken by their opponents renders it impossible for those opponents to form one. This is the general turn of his mind, in perfect amity and harmony with us, but with a strong impression and a desire to act upon that impression. I think too I see an inclination in him to resume the idea of Lord G. Cavendish being the leader; and I perceive him a little less inclined than formerly to the idea of Lord Henry Petty. We shall talk this over on Saturday.

"Your committee here is numerously and actively attended, with more business and less coffee-house conversation than I could have believed. Wood and Heber have both been there the greatest part of the day. I have called in Wimpole Street on Bishop of Norwich, but missed him. I still teach myself to think that the suffering your letter to get into print would on every account be very desirable, you first sending a copy to the Prince. It would cut away from Perceval's feet the only Catholic ground he has to stand on.

"The letters from Archbishop of York and from Trentham are as good as one can wish; but it is evident they did not know of the Duke of Beaufort when they wrote. I have written to Trentham to say distinctly that I hope they will not let Lord Granville Leveson persuade them or the

Archbishop to relax in their useful and powerful exertions for us ; so I have spoken plainly enough at least.

"You say nothing of Bishop of Durham or Bishop of Winchester or Lord Bridgwater. Heber tells me he hears that the Eldonites are very much cowed in Oxford ; and he expects them to coalesce, as well as they can, with the Duke of Beaufort. This is what I most fear. *Lord Northesk* has got promises from Mr. Ballard, and Mr. Charles Richards. G. Heathcote has no vote ; he has also written to Mr. Marsh, of Crawley, whom he expects to get.

"*Commissioner Grey* has got Sangar of Oriel at Bristol.

"*Tucker* has writ to and expects to get J. K. Fletcher, of Alban Hall, Callington, Cornwall.

"You will see by my letter of yesterday that Bishop of London has neutralized Randolph of Corpus, who had promised his college for Duke of Beaufort."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 9. Cleveland Square.—"Temple writes to you and sends a list with the evidence of the numbers that are here conceived to amount to 287. My Trentham letter speaks of the Duke of Beaufort being a candidate, but makes no other remark except desiring a continuance of any suggestion can assist your interest ; and the letter to me which satisfies you from the Archbishop leaves all this as well as can be. I see too that you are sanguine ; the only *per-contra* letter that I have seen is from Shuttleworth of New College to Lord Holland, which states his opinion to be that the Duke of Beaufort will succeed. I have a letter from Lord Egremont full of expressions of kindness to you and to me, though mixed with very adverse political opinions ; I send it for your reading, but you must return it, as I mean to answer it. I cannot yet guess what is the mischief of your Government to which he alludes ; tell me if you can guess, and return his letter. Your opinion may be right about not printing your letter, but I confess I retain the same persuasion, and continue to believe that it would be useful to make it more public. What I propose for your consideration is to send it at least directly to Lord Grey, and to ask his opinion about giving it more publicity. Lord Foley passed all morning at your committee yesterday ; Holland desires you may invite him to dinner ; he complained two years ago that none of your Government had taken any notice of him. Send back Egremont's letter."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1808,*] November 10. Stowe.—"I have been very negligent indeed in having delayed so long the acknowledgment of your kind recollection of me in sending me a turtle, which was indeed a more valuable present than you imagined, for it missed H.R.H. the P[rince] of Wales by one day, and has

* Assigned in error to 1809.

fed me for the last month when I could eat nothing else. I have been very unwell all the autumn, and indeed almost ever since I left London, and to this moment have lost my sleep and my appetite. I think that I am now regaining a little more of the first, but as yet I cannot taste meat and very little of game or poultry, but I live entirely upon gruel and milk, and have left off all idea of forcing what is not to be forced. I feel rather weaker than I should, both in body and in mind; but I hope that I shall do well, and as I am not violently reduced by this diet, there is no medical defect.

"I have considered the matter of the Irish Catholics with great attention, and I do not think there is much real difference between us, except that I think you view the possibility of bringing forward that question more sanguinely than I do, who think that they have thrown themselves back so many years, in the eyes of those to whom they must look, that it will not be possible under any circumstances to flatter ourselves with the hopes of healing the rankling animosities of the whole of Ireland, and of part of England on this subject, for a very good length of time. All the old cry or opinions upon mental reservation, upon equivocation and Jesuitism, are revived by this atrocious and treacherous cowardice of the Irish R[oman] C[atholic] Prelates. It is idle however to rail or to act in such a business under the impressions of feelings such as naturally must occur to every one; and after the best and coolest consideration I can give, I am decidedly of opinion that we shall have, under other circumstances than those that now exist, the full co-operation of the Irish Catholics, and all their consciences on this matter at our feet, long before it would be possible for us to hope that the temper of Parliament would bear the proposition, or would entertain any specific plan for this relief. I therefore wish for the object that alone presses upon my mind in this matter (I mean the object of healing the wounds that both countries have suffered) that the door should not be understood to be shut by these resolutions, but that every facility should be given to a new course of opinions and declarations so soon as the thing should be ripe for moving. With these impressions I have laboured to make them explain the word *expediency*; and you will have seen that their Primate (a very weak and timid old man) has been induced to declare in his letter to Lord Southwell and others, that the resolutions in question refer to 'existing circumstances,' and I am told that others will speak out more strongly on the same text, which may be defended, but which in truth is not very good ground; though upon the whole it is the best that can be taken in a matter in which they have behaved so scandalously.

"I have heard the whole story of Mr. Ponsonby's letter to Dr. Milner, for the latter came here on Wednesday very much ashamed of his Irish brethren, and very heartily sorry for the publication in the *Morning Chronicle* of that very

improper letter written by him to Mr. Coyne, and published without his knowledge or consent. The letter, written and printed in the Waterford and Cork papers, refers to Ponsonby's most childish nonsense, of the King being by this negative the virtual head of the Catholic-Irish-Church; a declaration on which so much clamour had arisen, that Milner was induced by the reproaches of friend and foe to the very injudicious and unpardonable step of printing the letter in question. It is most certain that in Ponsonby's first speech, to which Milner and Lord Fingall's acquiescence refers, this objectional phrase was not used, but it was used by Ponsonby in *explanation* late in the debate. I must say that I never saw a man more hurt than he is by the very plain and very angry declarations which I made to him. He professes the most unconditional respect and deference to your opinions, and has prepared a draft (to which I would be no party) stating in the plainest terms the authority under which the Parliamentary debaters who had communicated with him had acted, and avowing that warrant and authority in the strongest words; adding at the same time his opinion unchanged on the thing itself, and his persuasion that the resolutions are and were temporary and refer to 'existing circumstances' that may alter. This is the general tenor of his paper on which I refused to give him any opinion, save that, of being clear and explicit. I have however told him that the ferment of opposition against him and his brethren left him, as I believed, no hopes of any one measure of relief, or even of Parliamentary support. And this is of less consequence, as he tells me that Keogh will not hear of a petition to Parliament, and, as he is all powerful, his *veto* will be decisive.

"It remains therefore for us to tide over this difficulty as well as we can, looking (perhaps at a great distance) to our ultimate object, which I verily believe is the only step that can save both countries. But it is obvious that many of our friends who consider this as a mill-stone that has already repeatedly weighed us down, will be glad to find this moment for disclaiming those who have disclaimed us. My passions would lead me to go with them, my judgment tells me that we are not justified in playing a stake so very deep as that would be. I have shown Tom your letters; I think him much more eager than I am, and not so discreet in looking forwards; perhaps too I am too sanguine in my hopes of any good ever arising out of these little managements for keeping the door a little open."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 10. Clevcland Square.—"You will see upon Charles's fly-list that Lord Fitzwilliam has been very active; he is now at Milton, and I have sent him a good long Northamptonshire list.

"Lord Foley has been here again to-day and has told me of eleven that he has just written to, and has hopes of. All our accounts state that Lord Eldon's friends are very feverish and swear that nothing will induce him to give up; what I hear of the Duke of Beaufort sounds as if his withdrawing was the more likely of the two; I confess I am afraid of it in either case, though our lists now swell so much that I am very sanguine if all three should go to the poll. Sturges Bourne has written to Charles to say he does not like opposing friends and shall withdraw his name. Lord St. Vincent says that if you write to Lord Hardwick to employ Sir Joseph Yorke, or to Lord Somers for himself, Mr. Davies of St. Mary Hall who officiates at Fareham will be secured. Temple's list at this moment is 324.

"Tierney knows by the channel of his confidential friend, that Lord Wellesley is considered as having accepted: his letter is described as saying that he had heard from Canning, but that Canning had deceived him. This is just what I expected. It is moreover suggested to Tierney that the acceptance is by some thought equivocal, and that it refers only to the first situation of minister; but the confidential friend does not himself believe in this, but considers the acceptance to refer to the seals that were offered. Tierney thinks he cannot come before Sunday; I shall come probably to-morrow for two days.

"Sir R. Wilson is arrived at Whitehall with accounts of a great success obtained by the Spaniards over the French, Ney's army is said to have been routed entirely with the loss of 3,000 men, and all the French artillery, and the city of Salamanca.

"Abercrombie tells me that you have been surprised by Lord Braybroke into the support of a Mr. Walpole at Cambridge, who opposes the body of Lord H. Petty's interest at Cambridge, and that they are a good deal discontented at this.

"Pray tell my brother that Lord G. Cavendish has this moment told me that the Duke of Portland has declined having anything to do with setting up his brother; I then asked Lord G. Cavendish if their friends had any other candidate and he said none that he knew of, nor did he expect any opposition to Lowndes."

The Same to The Same.

1809, November 11. Cleveland Square.—"I think you have mistaken Lord Egremont's letter, because, though personally kind and friendly, it does not profess activity enough to invite a county list; but I have named Johnson his steward's son, and two or three of those in your list nearest Petworth; if he swallows this dose graciously, '*repetatur haustus.*' I have also taken this opportunity of desiring him to explain to me what his objections were to our

Administration. I have pressed this a good deal, though I know not whether it will do any good. We have got Sir C. Pole's brother, but I find the Bishop of Winchester is reported hostile from Butleigh. You never have mentioned Durham, nor Lord Bridgwater. I say all this by letter because, as I find Lord Temple is obliged to go to Dover till Wednesday, I had better stay here where I am of more use than with you, particularly as Tierney cannot go to you to-day or to-morrow. I think all looks well, if both the Court candidates poll, but I have more apprehension than you have of the manœuvres of Eldon. Why should he not poll University and Queen's to rob you of all chance of them, and then decline the poll, which would give a large accession of his other friends to Duke of Beaufort that could not be counter-balanced by any that you could pick up."

Postscript.—"Pray be so good as to send my saddle horses and groom to town; do not forget. Lord Foley just says the Dean of Worcester has only offered him neutrality, in consequence of strong previous solicitation; but Lord Foley still thinks he shall bring him up; his son has promised for you."

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 11. London.—"I return you your list, answered as well as we can. Striking out the names which have been entered by mistake, namely Annesly, Dr. Conybeare, Glubb, Holford, Dr. King, Griff Lloyd, Dr. Loveday, Maud, *Master of Pembroke*, Vaughan of *Merton*, Smith of *Christ Church*, the number of promises, including this day's receipt, is 330. You must always allow a *per centage*, but still so must the enemy. I should like to see 430 promises, and then we might defy their united strength should either decline. We have the most positive assurances from the Eldon party this morning that *he* will at all events go to a poll. I cannot however but think this *verbiage*. If Eldon finds himself too weak to carry it, he is too good a courtier not to assist one of that side who can. The *betting* in London is 6 to 4 in your favour. The language in Oxford is that it will be very hard run indeed, but that if all 3 go to the poll, you will carry it. As I came away meaning to return to Dover, I cannot break up my establishment there without returning, but it will be for only three days."

Postscript.—"Ley of the House of Commons can get Button Cox's vote, of Christ Church."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

*[1809,] November 13. Stowe.—"I was obliged to leave off before I had finished my Friday's letter to you. I have very little to add to it save that my hopes of seeing on the part of the Catholic Bishops or of their agent any full or adequate declaration such as in justice ought to be made,

* Should be 1808.

has very much diminished particularly as with respect to D[octor] Milner, but I have still the same opinion as I expressed to you that it would be wise to encourage the *mot de guerre* of 'existing circumstances' to which it is clear that a large body will rally; but as to any real assistance that can be given to the Catholic question *now*, it is idle to expect our friends to abide by us upon it, or the people at large to bear with it, after a conduct which, abstractedly from all other considerations, has revived all the odious and execrable tenets imputed to that church. I quite agree with you on the necessity of showing to the public the grounds (in the shape of the Bishops' declaration to L[ord] Castlereagh) on which we made our assertion; and I am the more satisfied of this necessity from the extreme pains taken by the Bishops and by the Irish Government to keep it out of public view; and, in point of fact, no copy of it exists in Ireland (as I am told) though every pains has been taken to procure one from the Bishops or from the Secretary's Office. The mode you propose is most obvious, and I have spoken to Mr. —— who tells me that *your lot* of 200, and the *more numerous lot* were all ready three months ago; but postponed for obvious reasons to the end of this November. I have directed him to add this (of which I have given him the copy) in the Appendix as No. 6; and you will send him word when and what use to make of your lot; and if you see no reason for postponing the more numerous lot, you will let me know, and I will direct him accordingly.

"I agree with you most fully in the reprobation of the extreme folly as well as mischief of the Court of Enquiry. It is now quite clear that Government mean to save Burrard and Wellesley at the expense of Dalrymple, who will, I think, make out a strong case. At the same time I have seen no reason for departing from my original opinion of the convention; and I wish to God that our Portugal army was even now besieging Junot's 25,000 men in Lisbon, or in and under Elvas, rather than they should now be upon a march of 716 miles to Burgos in the winter, and in the country where I have reason to think that the dearth is such that the Spaniard exists with difficulty. Any reverse must be fatal to our troops so situated, and in other points of view the feeding those men and *horses* with *provisions*, *hay*, and *oats*, from England, is a most tremendous consideration. The stake on the turn of this die is most tremendous, and I cannot but fear that Bonaparte has more means and is more capable of using them than his opponents.

"I *know* that the King has been very unwell for the last 12 days; he did not come to town last Wednesday and has missed his rides. He is very desponding on this Spanish question, upon the state of our army there; and the great opposition declaimer of that *circle* is the Duke of Cumberland, who condemns most loudly the whole conduct of the operations

in Spain and Portugal, not only so far as regards Sir H. Dalrymple, but the distribution and move of the force from England, which he lays at the door of *Government* as in contradistinction to the Duke of York. I am told that the clamour against the latter increases so fast with the public that he is alarmed for his situation.

"That of the Ministers is, I agree with you, ruinously divided by every indecent squabble; but they will be supported by the King, and will only fall from some great national calamity which will be irretrievable.

"I am glad to hear that you are setting your face eastward, for much of all [this] is a very 'delicate matter' to send by the post. However, all the world is welcome to know my view of public affairs on these two great points, namely the Irish question, and that of Portugal; in the latter of which, however, I foresee that I may be tied down by my affectionate partiality to Sir A. Wellesley to a case not so clear as I could have wished it; and most certainly very ill managed by him, *without concert with Lord Wellesley.*"

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 13. Cleveland Square.—"I am told by Mr. Heber that Lord Grosvenor can absolutely influence Mr. Hanmer who owes him great obligations; if so you had better write a line to Lord Grosvenor.

"D'Oyley's list of *All Souls* just arrived, gives you 21 names, Lord Eldon 8, Duke of Beaufort 10; and yet Somerville of New College, yesterday from Oxford, says that All Souls is reckoned against you. They are covering the walls at Oxford with *No Popery*, but the resident voters there are now out of reach of clamour; they have an advantage in so great a majority of resident voters; we beat them, I suppose, to a great extent in out-voters; great care therefore must be taken to make this superiority tell with proper effect. Our news is that Lord Eldon has gained much on the Duke of Beaufort. At Lord Radnor's table yesterday the most violent abuse of Duke of Beaufort prevailed, and he was accused of breach of word in terms which do not sound like a junction or compromise. All this is excellent. I have set Lord Lucas, Lord G. Cavendish, and Lord W. Bentinck upon the Duke of Portland, but I know not with what effect. Wood tells me that the Bishop of Carlisle will, as he believes, certainly be brought by Bishop of London's letter, but he is not authorised to say so.

"Grey writes me word that he does not press the Master of University, and Thorp of that college, because he hears they must support Lord Eldon; but I have writ to Howick to beg him to urge them as strongly as he can, and not to forget to ask second vote for Lord Grenville if he cannot get a first, or if they are engaged.

"No news, except that Ward says Charles Stuart told him from the Foreign Office that they have a *Moniteur* account

of a sea-fight in the Mediterranean, where the French lost six ships, and we four.

"Duke of Bedford, Lord Derby, Tierney, Calcraft, Abercrombie, Heber, Eden, Frankland Wood, Lord Essex, King, and others have all been here this morning; we beat them hollow in canvassing."

Earl Temple to The Same.

[1809, November 13. London.]—"Dr. Philpott of Bath is canvassing for us, but there are two other Philpotts who have votes, and are now only neutral. *Lord Bath* could secure them *all*. Dr. Gibbes of Bath *has* declared that he will vote for *you*, if you apply to him. I do not know whether you have written to the Duke of Sussex. I have, and he has written a most eager answer in your favour. It would be as well if you were to write to thank him.

Cooke Leigh	..	Magdalen C.
Townshend	..	Do. C.
Cox ..	..	Worcester C.; entered before in Trinity, and erased.

"Dr. P. Mayo is neuter; there are two other Mayo's (Oxford authority) one of Oriel C.; the other, St. John's, lives near Cheshunt, Herts, neuter.

"Extraordinary as it may appear, the fact is that the Princess of Wales is canvassing for you. She writes to-day to two votes for you. Windham is my authority, who dined there yesterday."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, November 15. Cleveland Square.—"Proposed postscript to the circular letter which names the day of election. '*The personal attendance of every gentleman at the election at Oxford is very earnestly solicited; and it is submitted to their consideration that, as three candidates have been proposed, any arrangements for pairing off are likely to be exceedingly injurious to the interests of Lord Grenville.*'

"The above postscript appears to me to be the best way of giving general circulation to this caution, and I sent it at one o'clock to Camelford House to be sent to you by the coach. I send this by the post to be quite secure of reaching you. I have talked to Tucker about the papers; he thinks it would not be easy to make a paragraph, but he proposes printing the letter and postscript—if you approve it—in the *Times*. I think this is for the best; pray send us word how far you approve, with as little delay as possible. Heber tells me that the Eldonites talk of their numbers as 400, but that he does not believe it. Queen's going with Duke of Beaufort is—as I suppose—a jealousy of Brasenose, and a fear of your election encouraging Heber's hopes and strength; so that we have suffered more from Richards than we have gained by him, however handsome his letter was.

"Windham's answer from Lawrence is that his *personal obligations* to Lord Eldon make it impossible for him to take any other line; and Griffiths, asked for his second vote, tells Windham that the case is highly improbable of Lord Eldon receding, but that, even in that case, Griffiths cannot promise. Anstey has been here full of anxiety for your success and of eagerness to assist; by his advice I have written and sent lists to a Mr. White, of Bath, who, though no voter, offered to canvass for us. Anstey thinks there are two votes at Bath, well inclined but too poor; and I have authorised him to pay their journey, if he can persuade them to go.

"Lady Grenville should get the Gilberts to urge Vye of Exeter College. Duke of Bedford tells me he yesterday saw the Duke of Beaufort's brother, who said that the Duke had very little chance; but perhaps Queen's have put him into spirits. Dr. Hodgson writes eagerly about engaging the Oxford coaches from London and Birmingham; I confess I should have thought this a hazardous measure, and capable of giving great offence; and yet Hodgson must be of tolerable good authority upon this. I am myself a little afraid of the effect of this, and so I see is Charles, and Abercrombie and Tucker. You must decide this, and we will do it in any way that you direct; but you must say for what days, and to what extent; I presume that you would not in any case mean to take all the coaches which pass through Oxford; pray let us understand this distinctly. I have proposed to Charles to begin the whole list, noting as they go, the letters to be written in the separate cases of Eldon giving up, or of the Duke of Beaufort; to be prepared in either case.

"Bishop of London tells me we are in a satisfactory state, though not secure against the effect of coalition."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 15. Cleveland Square.—"By a perverse chance I have not got your letter till it is almost too late to answer it. The numbers appear to me to be such as not to afford security, but yet to furnish fair hope of success, if great exertions shall be continued. The zeal and activity of all your London friends exceeds everything that I could have hoped, and the indefatigable industry of Temple and of Charles is really more than could have been looked for under the influence of any possible motive of affection or interest. I do not know how to speak of them on this occasion with the praise that they deserve.

"I am, as I always have been, to the greatest degree apprehensive of a union of interests in such a shape as will give to the remaining Court candidate more than you will be able to pick out of his leavings. The only parry is to make the warmest possible canvass for second votes for you. I have no joy, I must confess, in the declaration of *Queen's;* and

I think our friends refine too much in this speculation. If they were sure that the Duke of Beaufort will thus be persuaded to stand the poll, they would be right; but do they not see that *Queen's*, being summoned and arrayed in hostility to you for the Duke of Beaufort, are much nearer than they were to the support of Lord Eldon, if the duke should decline? My persuasion is that he will ultimately do so. I believe with you that Temple's lists are of a sanguine description; and I am glad they are so, because he must be sanguine to be actively interested.

"Our post-letters will have told you that one of the two coaches which Temple sent to engage for the three days, had been engaged already; so that you remain possessed of one coach for the three days of 11, 12 and 13, and of one coach for the two days of 11 and 13. I do not understand how they mean to apply these materials, but I suppose that will be directed from Oxford.

"Lord Holland has just been here to tell me that he had written to you to state the disposition of the City to meet and address; and that the three points proposed are:—

1. Early meeting of Parliament.
2. Enquiry into Walcheren.
3. Removal of present Government.

"Holland seems to think that he may be obliged to give an answer to-morrow before he hears from you, and asked my opinion. I could only tell him that, if I was bound to answer upon the instant, my first impression was to think that if a meeting appeared likely to take place, I should think it very desirable that only the two first of these three propositions should be adopted; as the discussion of the third would only bring out all the Cobbett slander upon all the public men of the country.

"Our political difficulties have increased this day, for Lord Lansdowne died this morning. What is to become of the House of Commons? What is to become of the country and of all of us?"

Postscript.—"Lord Monson died yesterday; so did Sir F. Eden, one of our votes. Lord Blandford was here to-day, very eager. I sent on your letter to the Archbishop, and I wrote a very strong letter to him myself."

Charles W. W. Wynn to The Same.

1809, November 15. St. James's Square.—"I trust that our return to-day, including the new votes acquired, and those substantiated of which you had previously doubted, must increase your strength to above 350. Still I feel that until we have completed 100 more votes we cannot be secure against accidents and stratagems. We must allow full ten *per cent.* deduction considering the distance which the greater part of our voters are to be brought from, and the time of year,

which of itself may render many of the lukewarm less disposed to move.

"I am very glad to hear from several quarters of the extreme irritation of Lord Eldon's friends against the Duke of Beaufort, and of the public declarations that they must proceed to the poll whatever happens. I am inclined to believe that the duke is the weaker of the two, which I rejoice at as thinking him far the least likely to lend himself to the artifice of a resignation.

"Wrottesley had yesterday a good deal of conversation with one of Lord Eldon's committee, who spoke very confidently of success, but owned that we beat them in activity and weight of canvass. They received one answer to their circular letter worthy of preservation. 'I shall certainly give my vote to Lord Eldon, as I look upon Lord Grenville to be a bigger rascal even than his lordship.'

"My uncle Tom desires me to tell you that he has employed Lord George Cavendish, John King, and Lord Lucan all to press the Duke of Portland to apply to the Bishop of Carlisle. Lord George told me to-day that Lord W. Bentinck had yesterday promised to speak to Bentinck and Jones, so that I trust we shall have their whole strength."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 17. Cleveland Square.—"A letter came this morning from Hodgson to Charles to say that Mathias of *Jesus* had been dispatched by him to Birmingham to engage the Oxford coaches there, and to urge Charles to lose no time in securing the two London coaches, outside and inside, called the *Boater* and the *Angel*. Lord Temple has therefore sent Atkinson his servant, whom he describes as an active electioneerer, to secure these coaches for the 11th, 12th and 13th. The expense of one coach is 10*l*., that of the other is per day 14*l*., which makes for the three days 72*l*. This is no trifling expense; but Hodgson's letter urged this so strongly, and rested so much upon it, that I took upon me to authorise Lord Temple to make this prodigal bargain for you.

"If the Oxford letters to-morrow approve of the postscript, it will be printed, and the circulars sent off immediately.

"I enclose to you the answers made by Lord Temple to your queries, and I subjoin two memoranda. On Sunday Lord Temple proposes to verify all the lists; he therefore begs that you will send Saturday's fly-list either by that night's coach or by an early Sunday coach.

"If I said nothing to you of the death of Lord Lansdowne, it was not because I do not think it a great evil, but because it seems so great an evil that I don't know how to look at it. Tierney's last report of his visit to Whitbread is not encouraging. Duke of Bedford is expected to bring in Lord R. Spencer for Camelford; and Holland is eager for Brome being brought

in by Lord H. Petty, a proposal which one knows not how to resist at the moment that Brome is actively serving us. But what in the name of common sense is to become of the House of Commons? This to me is the most frightful feature of the many terrors that surround us. Temple's list, while I close my letter, amounts to 405. Morpeth, fresh from Castle Howard, says the Archbishop has a visitation some time in December. This is very bad news, if it should stop him."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809 [November.]—"The hurry of the various things which I have been obliged to do in Charles's absence, and Temple's confinement, leaves me very little time to tell you my opinion upon the Catholic petition. Temple however is now well, and there will be leisure enough before the meeting to give to that very important question all the consideration that it deserves. The cursory reading which I have hastily had of the petition does not suggest to me, at the first view, anything objectionable in the terms or substance of it, though it will be obviously necessary to compare it with the last in order to form a better judgment of it. In respect to the two questions of your presenting the petition, and of your moving upon it if presented by you, I see by your letter to Grey that our opinions are very much the same. In the first place I am clearly of opinion that it is not only unnecessary to make an immediate answer to Lord Fingal, but I entirely agree with you further in thinking that no answer whatever should be sent to Lord Fingal till after the 13th; nor is there any difficulty in this, because Lord Fingal's letter is dated from Newry, and announces his future direction to be at Edinburgh 'if you should have any commands to honour him with'; and the distance as well as the doubt of your having any commands for him, remove all impression of his being in any immediate expectation of an answer. I agree too that your answer to Lord Fingal, when given, must refer to communication with your friends; and I think this reserve the more necessary from the strong objection which I feel to the imperative terms of the Catholic meeting, who, in the use of the word 'shall,' seem to consider you as entitled to no choice or decision upon the propriety of your presenting any thing that they choose to put into your hands. When one recollects the total want of consideration which they have ostentatiously manifested to their English friends, one cannot but be very little inclined to make such a complete surrender of one's self into their hands as they seem disposed to claim from us all, and most especially from you, from whom they are least of all entitled to claim it. You seem however to me to have so precisely the same view which I entertain of this subject that I perhaps need say no more than that I concur entirely in every word which you have written to Lord Grey upon this part of the subject, as well as upon that

of the *Veto*. The only observation that I would make in addition is that, though I entirely agree with you as to the difficulty which may arise if the malignant and mischievous Catholics should inflame the *Veto* into a ground of new national discontent, yet I must fairly say that I am disposed to think, upon a point so much surrounded with dangers as the whole of this question is, one must not be diverted from the course which seems the most eligible, and which offers the best hope, by the apprehension of the wilful and wicked mischief which may be worked out by those whose only object it is to separate Ireland from this country in order to place it under the protection of France. Perhaps I should not originally and individually have been disposed to lay as much stress as many people did—and Grey the most of all—upon the constitutional security which is thought to be provided by the *Veto*; but after the agitation of that question, and after the clear and explicit avowal that the *Veto* was not irreconcilable with the religious opinions of the Irish Catholics, after the unanswerable evidence which we have of their having consented to it and acquiesced in it, I do not think we ought to be debarred from the facilities which the *Veto* affords towards carrying the measure in this country, by the mere apprehension of the wicked and base motives which have led the violent party in Ireland to try to recall that opinion; or by the sense of danger if they should inflame the country upon the false and treasonable ground which there is reason to apprehend that they are desirous to tread in. The bad men in that country will always find some topic which they will try to inflame into rebellion. I believe, as far as I am at present informed, that the *Veto* will afford great facilities in England for carrying the measure; I could almost persuade myself, by what I hear, that it will be impossible to think of carrying the measure in this country without the *Veto*; and if that be anything like the truth, as I strongly suspect it is, it would leave me little doubt as to the propriety of making the *Veto* a *sine qua non* if you present their petition. We shall have time after the 13th to talk this over more at leisure."

Earl Temple to Lord Grenville.

[1809, November 18. London.]—"We expected to have heard to-day from Oxford respecting the coach plan, and the form of the letter respecting pairing off. The London coaches are engaged; namely one coach 4 insides 10 out, for the 11th and 13th. It was previously engaged for the 12th. Another, 6 insides 12 out, for 11th, 12th and 13th. The form of the letter which you sent, we have had printed. They will go to Oxford by this night's mail, and from thence will be forwarded to their directions. Government are canvassing for Eldon *versus* Beaufort; Mr. Nott, who had promised the latter, has been transferred to the former.

George Rose is canvassing for Eldon, and the report is strong that these two parties are quarrelling.

"You must write to Dr. Gibbs, of Bath, who says he will answer none but principals; and to Rev. Dr. Lee, of Sandford, Essex. Our numbers to-day are 410. I am, however, very much afraid of pairing off. In all our letters now we canvass for second votes."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1809, November 19.]—"There seems no doubt whatever that the union which we apprehended is looked to with confidence as the means of excluding you. Mr. Heber, the day before yesterday, was told mysteriously that some arrangement would be made to exclude Lord Grenville. Mr. Goodwin, another of our committee, last night saw two gentlemen from Oxford who told him that all was now determined for the defeat of Lord Grenville, as the other two candidates were to compare lists before the poll, and the weakest was to give his strength to the other.

"Mr. Wheatley likewise was told by Mr. Dean that Dowdeswell his brother-in-law, and one of the Duke of Beaufort's committee, had yesterday told Mr. Dean that this same resolution had been adopted which must necessarily defeat Lord Grenville. Mr. Doyley of our committee heard this from Mr. Dowdeswell at the same time. The names which I have stated should not be repeated; but I have stated them to you to show you that the concurrence of these three different reports leaves no doubt whatever as to the designs of our two adversaries. This design must be fatal to our hopes, if it be suffered to take effect without resistance. The only hope that I see of your counteracting this under-plot is, by making public this intention, and by endeavouring to excite so much indignation against it as may render it ineffectual. At the same time, I must own between ourselves that I have very little hope of being able to avert this danger; we shall very easily succeed in making our own friends very angry, but I do not feel at all confident that any but our own friends will be provoked by this intended manœuvre; and unless we can raise a general spirit of resistance we do nothing. Under these circumstances it is judged right to lose no time in giving you the same information which we have had. Lord Temple sends his groom to you at Dropmore, and takes for granted that you will send on to Oxford to make the same communication there; and to consider with your friends whether any and what measure can be adopted to parry this inevitable danger."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, November 20. Cleveland Square.—"Soon after I received your answer I went to Fulham to the Bishop who is extremely zealous, and who wished to talk over the present state of things. He is persuaded that Eldon is no party to the

idea of compromise with the Duke of Beaufort, but he thinks that George Rose and others are probably preparing as well as they can for inviting the Duke's force to accede to the support of Eldon; and, upon the whole, my present view of things agrees entirely with this opinion, and I quite admit that Eldon cannot decently in any case retire from the poll, after his printed declaration from University College. But my fear all along has been that, in quality of the weakest, Duke of Beaufort would sooner or later resign; and that management will be had by George Rose and other such, to prepare a larger support to Eldon out of Beaufort's force than we may be able to counter-balance. And I conceive the rumours of which we wrote to you yesterday are connected with the notion (not of Eldon's retreat) of the Duke of Beaufort giving way if his numbers shall not be encouraging to him; and the same idea has made me see with apprehension *Queens* declare for Beaufort, because I think that is half way on their road to Eldon, of whom I am more afraid than Beaufort.

"The Bishop sees nothing to be done except to redouble activity for second votes; and yet Hodgson tells Lord Temple, and the Bishop of London confirms it, that people do not like to be asked for a second vote. Bishop of London is, however, upon the whole, very encouraging in his notion of our prospect of success, for he rather thinks all three will poll, and he deems us the strongest in that case. He regards *Queens* as actuated at present only by their calculation of what course will best assist Richards' future election; and hopes, if Beaufort retires, that we may get strength from *Queens;* but what we have heard of the language of the Head of *Queens* lately gives me very little hope of that college in any case. After all, if your account be justified in considering near 600 as still unascertained, that is a rich fund to work upon, and there is time enough.

"You see our Archbishop is now finally decided to come in person. Wellesley arrived yesterday at Portsmouth, in the *Donegal.*

"The Admiralty finds that there has been no action, and that the French fleet got out of Toulon on the 21st, and have escaped Collingwood. They are sending off Brest to try to intercept them there; but Lord Keith tells me he thinks we shall be too late to stop them, and have not force enough to do it. This is a brilliant onset for Croaker?"

Charles W. W. Wynn to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 20. St. James's Square.—"I also hear from all quarters representations of the necessity of circulating your letter to Hodson in order to contradict the calumnies of the enemy upon that subject. Mr. Richards has particularly pressed this, and mentioned to me that, at a dinner at Lord Ellenborough's a few days ago, it was positivley asserted that in this letter you had promised not again to agitate the

Catholic question. Would it not be at least desirable that Mr. Richards should himself have a copy to show, with the restriction of not suffering it to be copied or to go out of his sight. At present the reported contents of the letter are doing much harm, and I fear that you will at last be obliged in justice to yourself to make it public when it will be too late to counteract it's effects. You will see that Mr. Townsend's vote is obtained to-day, and Mr. Ellerton's name has been sent to him by to-night's post for him to canvass.

"I am inclined from what I heard yesterday to agree with you in disbelieving the reports of junction. I saw very leading men, both belonging to the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Eldon, but especially the last, who contradicted it positively; and Richards told me confidentially that the Chancellor had on Friday expressed great personal irritation against the Duke's friends, accusing them of conducting the contest with an ungentlemanlike acrimony and abuse of his private character, of which he entirely acquitted us.

"Can you not get the Duke of Marlborough to neutralise, if not obtain, the vote of Professor Hornsby, and of his son?

"While I feel I can be of use I certainly will not think of leaving town, but, from what one can at present see, very little can remain to be done after the close of the present week. I should then go down to Wales, and return to Oxford on the night of the 11th."

William Wickham to The Same.

1809, November 20. Committee Room, Oxford.—"Your letter of this morning was delivered to me a little before seven. I immediately assembled here Dr. Pett, Mr. Woolcombe, and Mr. Matthews, all of whom like myself have dined at a reasonable hour, and after talking the matter over, we have written to the Principal of Brasen Nose, who only sat down to dinner at six, to interrupt his festivities and to request his immediate attendance. In the meantime we who are assembled, having discussed the subject fully this morning with the advantage of the Bishop of Oxford's opinion and advice, are unanimous and clear in our opinion; (1) that it would have been better to have left the voters to find their own way to Oxford; (2) that this not having been done, but on the contrary, measures having been taken in certain parts of the kingdom, and *in part made public*, for transferring that care from the voters to your lordship, it had become expedient to inform all such voters of whatever means had been provided for their conveyance, and to instruct them how and where to apply for information and assistance; and that this resolution could not be affected by the determination of the Vice-Chancellor that the polling should continue for more than one day; (3) that putting out of the question for the moment what your lordship says respecting the proceedings

of Lord Eldon's committee, with a view to a monopoly of post horses, the circumstance of the poll being now to last for more than one day has very much diminished or rather altogether taken away the necessity and the expediency of any *extraordinary* exertions for bringing up your voters; and that no such ought to be made in future. (4) That it will be impossible to carry into execution in a satisfactory manner the measures that may be necessary for informing the respective voters of the means provided for their conveyance in manner above-mentioned, unless the London committee send down here immediately some one or two persons thoroughly acquainted with the measures that have been taken there, and who understand as thoroughly what it is that it is wished to do. They will find some laborious fellow-labourers here, who will work hard in any way that may be desired; but they cannot do the thing of themselves, partly because they do not thoroughly understand it, partly because they meet with practical difficulties in their way that of themselves they are not able to encounter, and which can never be overcome, particularly at this late period, by a correspondence only."

10 p.m. "Having discussed the subject thoroughly with the Rector of Exeter, the Principal of Brazen Nose, and Mr. Woolcombe, we are all of opinion, that the thing cannot be *well* done here unless you send down persons of the description that I have mentioned to carry the plan into execution; and that, after all, it would be much better executed in London.

"The Principal of Brazen Nose undertakes to write to your lordship fully on the subject, whilst I am engaged in writing some letters that cannot be delayed beyond this mail. I must therefore refer your lordship to his letter, and shall only add that Mr. Woolcombe and myself concur in what the Principal says on the necessity of securing post horses, only in consideration of what your lordship has said of horses having been engaged to a considerable extent by Lord Eldon's committee."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 22.—"The post of to-day brought me a letter from the Archbishop of Monday, which tells me that his secretary *thinks* his ordination papers are advertised for the 4th; and, if so, he will attend unless you can excuse him. I have again written to thank him for this, which I treat as a final promise of his attending; and have said that, painful as a long winter journey is to him, I must, as an honest man, press him to that hard service from the conviction which I have of the extreme importance of his personal appearance. I have likewise forwarded your letter to him.

"I enclose a letter of Lord H. Seymour to Lord Spencer to shew you how much more like a man than a Conway he feels upon the Catholic question.

"Eldon's letter has been sent to the paper with an introduction shorter, and nearer the exact fact, as to the cause of the letter.

"If you have a spare moment, pray write a line yourself to thank the Bishop of London; it will gratify him, and he is so zealous in your cause that it is right to thank him.

"We hear that Lord Eldon was to complain to-day at the *lévée* to the King of the Princess of Wales using her influence in your favour in the case of Mr. Lock. This is rare sport!"

LORD GRENVILLE to REV. DR. HODSON, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

1809, November 23. Dropmore.—"I have this morning received your letter, in which you mention the reports circulated for purposes hostile to my interests at Oxford, relative to the Catholic petition now preparing in Ireland, which it is asserted I am to present. Yesterday I should have answered you that I knew of no such wish existing any where. This morning I learn from the newspapers that the petitioners mean to apply to me for that purpose.

"To present to Parliament a petition if couched in proper terms, and to ground upon it any motion or proceeding for giving affect to its prayer, are two questions perfectly distinct, but which have, I suspect, been a little confounded at Oxford. The truth however is that, with respect to both these questions, I remain, as I before described myself to you, perfectly free to act according to my own sense of duty at the time, whenever any such application shall be made to me. On the step taken by the petitioners in now renewing their petition I never have been consulted; of their previous proceedings I know only, and through the same channels, what has been published to the world; and with the tenor of the petition I am still totally unacquainted.

"My situation and sentiments are therefore exactly what they were when I troubled you with my former letter. They cannot be affected by a resolution adopted without my participation or knowledge.

"My general opinions on the subject are well known; they are to the best of my judgment not only not injurious but very highly conducive to the interests and security of the established church; my warm and zealous attachment to which cannot, I believe, be seriously doubted by any man well informed either of my public or of my private life." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 24. Cleveland Square.—"I agree with you that the Irish Catholics are provoking enough, and the English Protestants vexatious enough in their proceedings at the present moment; it was, however, so obvious an opportunity for misrepresentation, that I do not wonder that your

enemies with the V[ice] Ch[ancellor] at their head, should begin their Papal clamours again when they read over the last Irish resolutions. The substance of your last answer to Hodgson I do not object to; if any formal answer was necessarily to be given, or if any such formal question was necessarily to be put to you. It appears to me that after your *first* letter to Hodgson on the Catholic question, your friends would do more judiciously to refer to what you have written than to perplex the cause with renewed questions and examinations. The renewal of a Papal clamour was evidently, from the first, the only manœuvre of your antagonists to fly to: you gave in your first letter an answer quite sufficient to satisfy any fair or candid enquirer; but having once done that, it is your business and that of your friends to treat the renewal of these fresh attacks as nothing more than a mere election stratagem. I could therefore have wished that Hodgson had seen this in the light that I describe, and had not come to you with so solemn and alarmed an appeal upon a matter that should have been held cheap by him as an election trick, of which he would not make himself the dupe. In my eyes the only danger upon this subject arises from giving way to the desire that your enemies have of inflaming this question by renewed discussions of this sort just before the election. I am so persuaded that my view of this is right that I have not named this *second* ground of controversy to anybody, nor shall I do so; and if you take my advice you will lose no time in putting Hodgson upon his guard against these insidious provocations, which would fall to the ground and burn out like a squib if you let them alone, but will burn your fingers if you take them up or meddle with them. I return your letter, and have not mentioned it either to Charles or to Temple or to anybody. The *first* letter I will show as opportunity occurs; but in the present state of the canvass, my advice to you *now* would be to stir those discussions as little as may be. When the letter was first written I was desirous of giving it more publicly, in hopes of deriving advantage to the canvass by it; but in the present state of votes and promises, I am clear that you are more likely to lose than to gain by these discussions, and therefore it is that they are renewed and brought forward by the enemy. My only answer to all such provocations *now* would be to state them as the last refuge of a beaten adversary; and where I could not use that language, I would content myself with referring to the letter which had originally been written by you upon this subject.

"Temple remains in town to look after the committee, and I have desired Charles to write to his brother for leave to continue the committee at his house.

"Temple is quite indefatigable; pray write a line to show him that you have a just sense of the invaluable service which he is rendering you.

"Keep your friends at Oxford to a judicious contempt of these fire-and-faggot tricks of the enemy, and we shall have the pleasure both of beating them, and of laughing at them."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 25. Cleveland Square.—"Huskisson has just told Tierney that he, H., had originally betted a guinea upon Lord E[ldon's] success, but that he heartily hoped he should lose his guinea; Tierney's answer was an offer of a guinea bet on you, with the additional remark that he thought you sure, if no tricks should be played of an understanding between the Duke and Lord Eldon; Huskisson's answer was 'that he could venture to say the wit of man could not now bring about any such junction; and that even if the Duke would consent (which he knew the Duke would not) he must in that case be content never to go home to his wife.' This is curious, because you may be sure that what Huskisson says of this, he hears from G. Leveson, and from Canning.

"Lord Camden's cards of thanks for enquiries are out, and *therefore*, as H[uskisson] says, Canning's case will be circulated among all his friends on Monday; and I suppose we shall soon see it in the papers. I had been desired to press Grey to press Mr. Moncrieff, who had been described to us as shabby and hesitating; I have Lauderdale's answer to set this right, and to say that Moncrieff not only attends for us, but has been actively canvassing for us ever since the beginning. Lord Grey, at the end of his reply to some of my lamentations over the House of Commons, agrees with me in my melancholy prognostics, and says he sees no solution unless a good understanding could be established between Whitbread and you, and he ends with asking me if I know on what footing things stand with G. Ponsonby; Lord Grey for himself says *he knows nothing of it*. Very recently Tierney told me that Lord Ponsonby had described G. P[onsonby] as having *told you* that he meant not to attend next session as leader; I never understood you so to have understood G. P[onsonby], and I had desired Tierney to ask from Grey the explanation of this misunderstanding; but now that I see Grey knows nothing about it, I have advised Tierney to write to Lord Ponsonby to beg him to get a letter from G. Ponsonby to show for himself what his own conceptions and ideas are upon this subject; till we know that, we know nothing; when we do know that, we shall have one difficulty the less. The impression of those with whom I talk is that there had better be no question now of any leader; Tierney and Whitbread are the two natural candidates, and though the first in conversation always puts himself out of the question, and perhaps prudently, I do not at all know that the second could be received as leader even if we had no difficulty in seeing him as such. Has it not however occurred to you

that if G. Ponsonby has not as yet distinctly explained his own intentions, he may be tempted to retain his situation of leader now that Petty's peerage has left no rival candidate for the lead except two whom he will consider as not likely to command even so much of party influence as himself. In thinking over these difficulties I have sometimes fancied that the best immediate solution might be if G. Ponsonby should persist in retaining the situation of leader, because that would at least save the question of the choice of any other without furnishing to anybody any new cause of complaint. If this should strike you as it strikes me, perhaps you will agree with me that a few lines from you to G. Ponsonby to make this enquiry would be safer for a hundred reasons than the letting this enquiry pass through the hands of T[ierney] and of Lord P[onsonby] who are both of them too adverse to the person concerned, to be the safest questioners and interpreters of his intentions. At all events I have persuaded myself that in any view of the question, a few lines from you to G. Ponsonby are indispensable under all the circumstances of the case.

"Temple's list an hour ago was 440, and he makes out besides 100 ascertained neutrals, and a close enquiry by Mr. Franklin into the correct list of voters produces only a sum total of 1,280. Now the boast of Lord E[ldon's] is that they have 350 sure promises, and the Duke of Beaufort's friends call themselves a sure 300; but whether these two last numbers are accurate or not, it is clear to me that if the two go to poll, and that we go there with 450 promises and 100 neutrals out of 1,280, there must be gross mismanagement indeed if you do not carry the day.

"This is another reason with me for wishing our Oxford friends to abstain from all discussions in the present stage, and to regard all provocations to new questions as the last stratagem of a beaten adversary."

Sir J. C. Hippesley to Lord Grenville.

1809, November 27. South Easton House.—"Mr. Phelips of Montacute, has just left me (who left Oxford yesterday morning); he tells me that great management is expected from your lordship's adversaries to keep off your friends, and throw impediments in their way, by securing *post horses for 2 or 3 posts from Oxford.*

"Phelips has been very active among our Somerset voters, and is to give a great party to voters next week at Montacute."

Postscript.—"He confirms what I had heard that the Duke of Beaufort's friends begin to be angry at the interference of Government against him; and that he is considered stronger than Lord Eldon."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

[1809, November.]—"I dined yesterday at Holland House and showed your Catholic letter to Lord H. Petty, Holland,

and Tierney ; they all approve it—the last not particularly—Holland objects to nothing, but says truly enough that he does not admit the necessity for himself of so much stress upon reconciling positive *claims* of *justice* with the interests of the Church ; but he praises and approves the letter.

" I am very anxious, however, that you should send it to Lord Grey, who ought to read it for himself and not hear of it from the judgment of others.

" Brome has read Canning's statement, and says it does not mend his case in any degree.

" If Hodgson's account of residents is correct, it makes us quite sure."

The Same to The Same.

[1809, November 26.]—" Temple thinks your list too much narrowed if you consider the 439, G[renville] as including *all* promises ; but whatever be the state of that question, the numbers are to me in either case perfectly satisfactory.

" Long has just said at Stafford House that by all he hears he thinks Lord G[renville] sure of success.

" Taylor of Kensington being canvassed by us for a second vote, writes on 24th to say that a letter of that day from the Duke of Beaufort's committee shows him that the Duke's declining at all is entirely out of the question.

" Duke of Cumberland rode over yesterday to Taplow to urge some friends of Courtenay to make him come for Eldon. Courtenay still says he will not vote at all ; but I tell you this to show you how earnest the Court are.

" The naval news will be in the evening paper—it confirms the Spanish accounts in this morning's papers. Nothing escaped but one frigate ; but only 3 of the line, 2 large and 2 small frigates came out of Toulon."

The Same to The Same.

1809, November 28. Cleveland Square.—" I am still persuaded that the danger which your friends describe as belonging to the Petition cannot but be prodigiously exaggerated ; and however perverse it may appear, I am satisfied that there would be no danger at all if they would hold these reports cheap, and that if these reports can be rendered really mischievous, it is only by the anxious importance which your friends give to them. Look at the list of resident voters among whom these dreadful impressions are so fearfully looked for, and ask yourself whether in as eager a canvass as this has been, your 60 resident voters, warmed by contention and encouraged by hope of success will suddenly turn round upon you and fly at you instead of voting with you, and this without the temptation of any new political speculation to make them believe this Cabinet more fixed than it was a month ago. One of the great features of your strength in Oxford is in their expectation

of a change of government; everybody sees and knows that this speculation sustains you against the overbearing influence at Oxford which any fixed government would have; and what is there that can have happened to change this their expectation? If you could show me any ground of a new opinion of the permanence of this government, I could easily believe in the shabbiest possible pretences being adopted for pursuing a new interest in the face of an old promise; but there is none; no change of opinion in this respect can be operated unless your friends create a new force against you by promising that they will run away at the first mention of Percival's war-whoop of *No Popery*. If they will invite this attack by proclaming their dread of it, and engaging themselves to run from it, undoubtedly they may easily beat themselves, and leave the field to the enemy; but nothing short of absolute suicide can in this case give the victory to your enemies. Have your friends forgot that the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London are coming to vote for you in person; do they not believe enough in themselves to follow the heads of their own clergy? See, too, the animated eagerness with which this contest has been pursued into the farthest recesses of the country, the new and sanguine hopes of success which your friends have conceived, and then tell me how it is possible that the few remaning days of canvass can undo these expectations, and counteract the promises on which our hopes are founded. The time which is left would not give the possibility of communication enough to change or stop the engagements that have been made. The only possible shape that I see in which the over anxious fears of your friends could help them to defeat themselves would be if these exaggerated terrors should induce the two candidates to join their forces in support of the one or the other. This may be invited by the unwise alarm of your over-timid friends; and yet I can scarcely believe this possible, for, as late as yesterday, Lord Stafford told me that Lord Granville Leveson had spoken to him of the Oxford election, and had expressed some doubt of the Duke of Beaufort's success, but had added that, if the Duke failed, it was to be hoped that Lord G[renville] would succeed and not Lord Eldon. Entreat your friends to be only quiet till the 13th, and not to stir any new question or invite any new point of controversy; let them but have the patience to wait for their victory, and the prudence not to run from their enemy upon a false panic, and the success is certain. Everybody here thinks it quite certain, and such accounts as we receive from Oxford describe the same expectation there. Princess of Wales told Windham that she canvassed everybody for you, *because* she could not bear the shabby trumpery cry of No Popery; and very eagerly has she been canvassing accordingly. I am sorry they worry you with all these feverish fears, for I am sure your cause is safe, if your own friends would think so.

"Canning's case seems to make very little impression; there is no answer to the plain question why, if he was so constantly impressed with the impropriety of concealment from Castlereagh, why did he not take care that the concealment should be put an end to by his telling him what his opinions were.

"Lord Henry Petty has desired the Chancellor to write to Lady Lansdowne to make the necessary enquiry, and she has as yet made no answer.

"Tierney wrote his letter to Lord Ponsonby; you do not tell me if you have sent your letter to Grey; pray do not neglect to send it."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809,] November 29. Stowe.—"I hope you agree with me in grieving over the lesson taught to the disaffected in Ireland, by this mismanagement of the trial of Dr. Sheridan, and the exulting on the blow to the No Popery cry, by the verdict of a Protestant jury. I had been assured that the Irish Government was prepared to prove the *malus animus* of the meeting and of the delegates by intemperate declarations prior to, and at the meeting; and if the jury had found that *malus animus*, the principal of the convention bill would clearly have applied. Judge my surprise at reading the evidence, and at this additional proof of the utter folly of Mr. Pole. The Duke of Richmond expects to be moved, and it is more than probable that this will hasten it. To that, or to any of the other newspaper arrangements, for new governments, I have no objection, so long as your name is not included in a patchwork arrangement such as I am persuaded will be now formed; at all events, I do not envy the new Ministers any part of their foreign or domestic task."

R. VALPY to THE SAME.

1809, November 30. Reading.—"The probability of the manœuvre, to which you allude, had early occurred to me; and I took the liberty to suggest it to Lord Temple, with whom I have had much correspondence on the subject. I have therefore obtained the promise of some of my friends, who were engaged to Lord Eldon, to support your lordship in case of a coalition of your opponents.

"I have omitted no opportunity of exerting the little interest I have; and I have been far from unsuccessful. The respectable and independent characters who support your cause are a circumstance highly gratifying to liberality.

"I beg you will be persuaded that I shall use every endeavour to increase the number."

THE EARL OF MOIRA to THE SAME.

1809, November 30. Donington.—"Mr. Piddocke and the others whom I have secured, will not fail to be at Oxford

by the day fixed for the election. Learning that the Reverend J. Wolfe, Master of Dilham School to which I nominate, had his name on the books, I have ensured his attendance to give his vote for you ; though it has been usual for his college to go in a body, and they are in an adverse interest. I lament exceedingly that I was not earlier aware that the power of voting lay with others than the Fellows of Colleges."

WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 30. Committee Room.—"The bishop will write to your lordship all about this foolish business of the visit to the Vice-Chancellor, and the determination taken to make the election last at all events two days. It is not possible now to undo what has been done, we must therefore make the best of it, and consider what good may arise from it. Now it appears to me that, with all its probable evils, it carries with it this obvious advantage that it will serve as a sufficient excuse for our giving up the plan of agents and carriages, and trusting our voters to themselves with the aid of a general circular letter advising them to procure early means of conveyance, and to be here as soon as possible. This at least is the joint opinion of the bishop, Dr. Pett, Mr. Woolcombe, and myself ; and also of the Principal of Brazen-Nose, subject to one or two particular exceptions. It is entirely to this proposed plan of agents and carriages, about which a great deal has been said more than the truth, that we owe this unfortunate decision of making the poll last two days.

"We shall not, however, act upon the opinion above expressed until we shall have received your lordship's approbation ; and, at all events, we approve the Principal's exception, and shall consider well whether it may not apply to more cases than those which he may point out.

"I have got access to Leycester's letter which commits him distinctly to approbation and support of Lord Eldon ; all that I can do therefore will be to insist on his neutrality, and on that I am confident you may rely. I have desired therefore that he may be noted in the books as neuter.

"I am sorry to say that there has been a difference of opinion between Woolcombe and Hodson on a practical point of no light importance, namely the policy of immediately canvassing Lord Eldon's voters *in the university.*

"The one thinks that we ought to do nothing here *as yet,* and canvass only among the out-voters ; the other is clearly of opinion that no time ought to be lost in making a secret canvass at least in the university, and an open one in a day or two. Woolcombe, who is of the latter opinion, mistrusts Lord Eldon's people altogether, and thinks that they will go in a large body to the Duke of Beaufort rather than support your lordship. Hodson, on the contrary, is persuaded that there will be a strong sense of indignation in the university

in case Lord Eldon should retire, which will turn more to your lordship's advantage than anything that you could gain by a premature canvass. I incline to think with Woolcombe that the Principal is much too sanguine ; and if your lordship should continue to have the same opinion on the subject which you seemed to me to have formed last night, you will perhaps do well to express it plainly to Hodson in your answer to the letter which you will probably receive from him this evening. He has construed what you wrote to him yesterday as rather checking an immediate canvass ; though to me and to the bishop your words appear to convey a different sense.

"Lord Eldon's committee here is or affects to be very confident, but Woolcombe has no trust in them, and thinks they would most of them do whatever Lord Eldon should desire.

"He is of opinion that if you could gain a hundred of Lord Eldon's voters you would be safe. He reckons only on about 60, but admits that his calculation is made on the lowest scale. I ask of him the average of 3 for every College and Hall, exclusive of Christ Church and the lawyers. Some reckon upon 8 in Christ Church, and you may add what you please for the lawyers not of Christ Church ; this will give you 72 + 8 + lawyers, and this number, with the host of neuters that you would necessarily have, will leave a very fair chance of equality at least with his grace.

"The Beauforts have certainly the majority of residents ; Beaufort 72 or 73, Eldon 69, Grenville 66."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, November 30. Cleveland Square.—"As soon as I received your letter I did all that I could respecting it. I wrote to [the] Bishop of London, Lord Holland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Carysfort, Mr. Herbert, Lord Essex, Duke of Norfolk and some others.

"Temple has written to his father, and the whole committee have been incessantly active in canvassing the Eldon voters, for their second votes, and in sending to all our grandees the general description of our apprehension of coalition. In the meantime Mr. Wheatley wrote to Dowdeswell, one of Lord Eldon's committee, and received the enclosed answer which, as you see, disclaims it from authority. Sir T. Plomer too (one of Eldon's committee) told Mr. Wheatley that there was not the least truth in it, 'that Lord Bathurst had earnestly pressed Lord Eldon to give up, but that he had not the least thoughts of it, and that they had just been completing their measures for bringing up their voters.' It seems to me clear therefore that nothing is concluded upon this subject, but as the Court will move heaven and earth to throw you out, I still feel that some coalition will to the last be urged by the Court, and perhaps the King will himself be urged to press Lord Eldon to give way. I therefore think it quite

right to continue the canvass for *second* votes, upon the avowed apprehension of intended coalition. This must be our safest course, and is not only the likeliest to prevent it, but the safest remedy against the consequences of the mischief, if it should happen.

"Temple is impatient for the Oxford arrangements respecting the bringing up the voters, for we have heard nothing to-day from Charles. My batchelor notions are not as sentimental as they might be if I was married; I heartily wish Charles back again, for he knew so much of all the names that he saved much laborious research, and his loss cannot be supplied.

"I quite agree with you in thinking Lord Buckingham's determination, as far as it regards you in this election, liable to some misrepresentation; at the same time, as I have long known that his opinion and that of Lord Temple had long ago been expressed in the same sense, I cannot wonder that, with his ardent and eager wish to serve you, he should express what he honestly feels when he believed that expression could assist you at Oxford.

"I am myself jealous of the slightest word respecting the Catholics being imputed to you as arising from the Oxford canvass, and in that view I had rather this should not have now been done by my brother, because no man will separate your opinions from his in this particular view. There are other reasons which, at another time, would have led me to think this language rather desirable than not from Stowe, where so much is imputed to a Catholic sense."

F. Hodson, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 1. Brasenose College.—"As soon as Mr. Wickham communicated to me your lordship's view of the possible attempts that might be made to disturb the election, on the score of the adjournment being unstatutable, I waited, with his concurrence, on the President of Trinity, and the Master of University, and have received from them both the most distinct and explicit assurance that they would discountenance and counteract any such attempt. The former told me that the same difficulty had crossed his mind, and that a few minutes before I entered the room he had been conferring with the Provost of Queen's, who assured him that the Vice-Chancellor was unhesitating both as to his power and his determination of adjourning.

"The Master of University, and (though I think he has not been, like himself, *simplex duntaxat et unus*) I believe him, declared that his only object was to afford a better chance of arrival to their distant voters; and that if they could have been assured of their being actually here on Wednesday, he should not have wished for an adjournment. If no resignation should take place before the 13th, and your lordship should not think the precautions that were promised sufficient

to prevent collusion, we have further means of prevention in our power by polling only a certain proportion of our force the first day, and thereby concealing its real amount.

"I am fearful that a direct canvass here would give serious offence to the friends of Lord Eldon, who certainly do not contemplate his resignation. Perhaps, however, we are deferring to them too much; and if your lordship thinks there is nothing to hope for from the governing part of University College, I should feel liberated from a great restraint, and would commence an active canvass at once."

Postscript.—"The Vice-Chancellor rates the members of Convocation at 1,305, the Master of University at 1,289. Both calculations are, I think, exaggerated.

"I have written to Mr. Carey requesting him . . . to favour us with the names of the gentlemen; I wish they may be *really* members of Convocation."

Enclosing:

G. Stanley Cary to Committee.

1809. Follaton, near Totnes.—"Having been applied to by a relation of the Marchioness of Buckingham to procure votes for the election of the 13th; and being favoured with the promise of six or seven (or more) gentlemen who do not find it convenient to be at the expense of a journey from Devonshire, I will thank you to inform me if it is consistent with the plans of the committee to defray these expenses."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 1. Cleveland Square.—"There is nothing that appears to me so pressing as the arrangements for bringing up your voters, and scarce a day has passed in which this has not been urged to Oxford. Charles also was full charged on this subject by Temple, and there has been great impatience to hear the result; but, notwithstanding all our clamours, not a word has yet reached the Committee here upon the subject, except that a letter to-day from Mr. Woolcomb to Mr. Franklin says, *that as the poll will be an adjourned poll, they have not thought it necessary to name any agents.* What this can mean I profess I do not comprehend. If the poll lasts two days instead of one, it is a second reason for not losing a moment upon a matter of so much importance.

"You see by what I told you yesterday of Sir T. Plumer saying they had just finished all their arrangements for bringing up their votes; you see by this how much our adversaries feel the importance of these arrangements. They must originate in Oxford; and it is now above a week that we in London have been daily urging the final arrangements on this matter at Oxford. Considering you have but 60 resident out of 450, that state of numbers alone describes the great urgency of the best modes of bringing up the absent votes;

and considering the immense distance of some of them, it seems to me that it is quite ruinous to defer doing whatever is thought best to do. Temple writes to Oxford on this same subject; but, if you think as I do, you should lose no time in pressing them.

"I hope to be able to prevail upon Lord Gower to move the amendment, supposing it to point to question and examination into failures at Walcheren. He is well disposed, though he has not yet absolutely promised.

"There is a vague report of Lord Wellesley having insisted on Canning being to replace Mulgrave, which I do not believe. The King, as I find, had last week said he would not come this. One of the Eldon committee has just told Stanhope that Beaufort is 400, and is a-head of Eldon. Another of Eldon committee told Abercrombie that nothing would induce Eldon to give up; and that the only real contest is between Eldon and Grenville."

Reverend C. Goddard to Lady Grenville.

1809, December 1. Eastey's Hotel, Southampton Street, Covent Garden.—"Mr. Goddard has the honour to enclose and to request Lady Grenville's acceptance of a copy of the catechism, bound in a manner similar to the copy which has been presented to the Archbishop.

"He hopes soon to have the honour of paying his respects at Dropmore, from which he has hitherto been prevented. In the meantime, if Lady Grenville could assure Mr. Goddard of the fact that a letter, with which Mr. Goddard had occasion to trouble Lord Grenville last Saturday, had been *safely received*, he would feel much indebted to her Ladyship for condescending to indulge him with the information. Lord Grenville's silence upon the particular subject of that letter would be equally understood by Mr. Goddard with a written intimation of his lordship's sentiments, and will equally prevent Mr. Goddard from any further thought of the matter. But as the letter (for greater security as he meant) was sent to London to be put in the post, rather than in the Uxbridge Office in which Mr. Goddard does not place much confidence, he is apprehensive that the very precaution he took may have caused its miscarriage. Mr. Goddard will be in London for the next week in his usual pursuit after books. If Lady Grenville should have any commands here Mr. Goddard would be happy to execute them. Not having looked over the former copy of the catechism before it was sent, Mr. Goddard was sorry to find in it afterwards some inaccuracies which he has now corrected, so as to render a very unworthy present less unworthy at least of acceptance.

"What his hopes and wishes are respecting Oxford need not be stated. The two persons whom he flatters himself he could have influenced, one his former tutor, the other a canon of Christ Church, are already on the right side and

zealously so. If it had not been to his leaving Christ Church so early that Mr. Goddard was indebted for his introduction to Lord Grenville, he would regret that, on the present occasion, he had it not in his power to offer a personal mark of the interest he takes in the event; an event indeed which may be honourable for Lord Grenville, but, as he conceives, infinitely more so for the university."

The Reverend F. Hodson to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 2. Brasen Nose College.—"The letter in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday has given us some anxiety, though I trust the different explanations we have had will, at last, pacify every one. Next to preventing it from making an unfavourable impression on the University, my attention was directed to the President of Magdalen, whose retired habits shrink from a newspaper explanation, and who yet 'for the sake of truth desired there might be a public contradiction.' He added that 'he would rather it came from your lordship's committee than from an opponent's, because the one might be acrimonious and the other would be more satisfactory to himself.' The President would have been glad that the three falsehoods had been distinctly noticed; 1st, that he had addressed a letter to your lordship; 2ndly, that your lordship's reply had removed all his Catholic fears; and 3rdly, that he was now supporting your lordship. For obvious reasons I thought it better to generalise the misrepresentation, and to gratify all the duke's friends, who are unquestionably more disposed to your lordship than to Lord Eldon; and to appease some of them who thought there was an *éclat* in the President's name which we ought, after it had been denied, explicitly to concede to them, we added that he supported the duke. I hope your lordship will approve of the enclosed disavowal, which was drawn up with a view to calm the feelings of a most honourable man, as well as to conciliate a committee in whose dispositions there are, I am confident, the elements of support. The present determination of the other candidate does not indeed afford much promise of our being benefitted by those dispositions; but as there is no knowing what unlooked for event may occur, I thought it right not to lose sight of such a contingency, and to avow the truth in the way that both Presidents would be best pleased with.

"If the London committee, of which there can be little doubt, can join us in disowning all the letters, perhaps it may be better to substitute for 'Oxford Committee,' *committees*, and to add after disclaim, 'on their parts.' Perhaps your lordship would send it forward to the London committee, and request that when it is fortified by their concurrence, it may be pressed on the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* to insert it, if possible, on *Monday morning*. I have sent a copy of it, with Mr. Wickham's approbation, to Magdalen

and Trinity, and told them that we intended to have it printed in the newspaper that had published the offensive letter.

"A fellow of a college (whose name, if it be necessary, shall be communicated to your lordship), now a neutral, has written to a friend here, stating that if he had not been inflexibly determined on neutrality, he would have come down to vote against your lordship, because he had been insulted with the offer of his expenses. It is not indeed likely that a member of the committee has been so unguarded as to do it without reconnoitering his man; but it is at once imputed to them, and certainly does harm."

F. Hodson to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 3. Brasen Nose College.—"Mr. Wickham is passing the day at Cuddesden, so that I lose the benefit of his advice; but the moment I close my letter, I will send your lordship's servant there, and have no doubt that early in the morning Mr. Wickham, as well as the bishop, will be here. If the result of our conference should be that it is thought advisable to submit the opinion against the legality of the adjournment to the Vice-Chancellor, it shall be previously shewn, as what is due to the liberal conduct of the one and to the office of the other, to the President of Trinity and the Master of University College. In the meantime I beg leave to trouble you with my reasons for thinking that it may be as well to suppress not only the opinion, but the fact of any opinion having been taken.

"In the first place, though there are bigots amongst us hostile enough to stop at nothing that could prevent your lordship's election, I do not believe there are any who would attempt to unsettle it when once proclaimed. But if, to the disgrace of themselves, such individuals should be forthcoming, and should actually set aside the election, I am quite sure, for the credit of the place, that there would be a triple alliance formed between the committees of the present candidates, and that the one who had been elected under the adjourned poll, would be, with the concurrence of all parties, re-elected by the more statutable one.

"In the next place, I think that nothing would be more likely to make those who, upon general grounds, or upon this particular question, oppose the Vice-Chancellor, rally round him than a notion that his official determination was to be resisted by unacademical authority. Dr. Swabey, indeed, is a member of Convocation, and in his place there would be listened to with respect, and would find many supporters; but his name, united with the highest legal authorities, would not make an *unmatriculated* interpretation of the statute acceptable, or ward off, at least temporary, unpopularity from those who had resorted to it. Inasmuch, therefore, as we cannot suffer from the malice or bigotry of the few, but might, I think, from the imputation of wishing to interpose external

authority, I do very humbly, but very firmly, express my conviction of the impolicy of allowing the opinions that have been given to transpire.

"I will not fail to wait upon the President of Magdalen to-morrow and read to him your lordship's letter. I am quite sure that I read his feelings correctly, and that he will be highly gratified.

"I have been taking steps to ascertain the preparations our Brasen Nose voters are making for their journey, and am happy to say I hear of only two invalids, and both of their cases hopeful.

"I trust that the London committee are directing their attention to that point. It appears to me to be now the only effort that remains to be made."

Postscript.—"If Woolcombe, whom I cannot wait to consult without detaining your lordship's servant, differs from me, I will write again by the post; and it occurs to me that it may be as well to leave your letter open, enclosed in one to Mr. Wickham, to request him to tell your lordship whether he assents."

LORD GRENVILLE to Reverend F. HODSON, Principal of Brasen Nose College.

1809, December 3. Dropmore.—"I need not, I am sure, express to you my utter disapprobation of the newspaper publications on the subject of this election. I consider them as highly injurious to the honour and decorum of the University. The London committee will, I am sure, most willingly join their disclaimer to that of my friends at Oxford.

"I have been, as long experience taught me to expect, assailed from the very beginning of this contest with newspaper abuse, and anonymous publications circulated with no little industry both in and out of the University. I early expressed to my friends my earnest desire that no such methods might be resorted to in return; and particularly that the election might not be made the subject of newspaper controversy. Those with whom I live in the habits of confidence know that my principal reason for restricting the circulation of my letter to you respecting your conversation with the President of Magdalen, was the fear that it might otherwise get into the newspapers pending the election. I thought such a publication in that form would have been indecorous and disrespectful to the University, and I therefore determined, to prevent it. Nor do I even now regret this determination, though a contrary course would have protected me against the gross and contradictory falsehoods which I know to have been circulated respecting that paper.

"I saw with real concern the particular publication to which you advert, inasmuch as it involved, not my name only, but also that of a most respectable man whose character I very much esteem. But I am not sorry for the opportunity

it has afforded to you and my other friends of publishing that disavowal which you have so properly given to it." *Copy.*

F. Hodson to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 3. Brasen Nose College.—"I have stated to Woolcombe the substance of my letter to your lordship, and am happy to say that he entirely coincides with me. I shall rejoice to hear that your lordship does so.

"The President of Trinity told me this morning that they had received a bundle of squibs against your lordship; and that though his wish that they should instantly be sent to Brasen Nose had not been acted upon, he yet could assure me that they were all put out of the way."

Postscript.—"The Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Leominster, may be had by Lord Essex."

William Wickham to The Same.

1809, December 3. Cuddesden.—"Your lordship's servant has brought here your letters to the bishop and to me of this morning, together with the enclosed letter from the Principal of Brasen Nose to your lordship. This last was accompanied by a note requesting the bishop and myself to go over to Oxford early to-morrow morning and consider with him what measures should be adopted with respect to the legal opinions that have been taken in London.

"The bishop, Dr. Pett, and myself having considered the point as far as we could do in a conversation of an hour, without having either the report of the lawyers, or your lordship's letter to the Principal before us, can only now say that we feel ourselves incompetent to form an opinion on the subject without first consulting openly some of our *resident* friends, and feeling the pulse of others. We shall therefore appoint Woolcombe, Corne, and Wood (this last as in some sort representing the Bishop of London) to meet us before we go to Brasen Nose, and we shall also take some measures for ascertaining whether there is any real foundation for the suggestion of the Principal of Brasen Nose that the mere fact of your having taken what he calls an unacademical opinion would be unpopular in the university, and tend to make the present enemies of the Vice-Chancellor rally round him on this occasion.

"As at present advised, we incline to think that it would be right to communicate the opinion to the Vice-Chancellor; and we think so, as well for some other reasons, as because it is scarcely to be supposed that the fact of a legal opinion having been taken can well be kept secret; and that, in that case, to say nothing of the imputation of want of candour that will be urged against us, we know not how we could in any way justify the having concealed the existence of such an opinion, should the legality of the election be hereafter called in question. Nor can it escape your lordship that,

as the opinion is against the legality of an adjourned poll, it would be imputed to us that we had concealed it for the very object which your lordship and your friends particularly deprecate.

"But, as I have said before, we shall form no decided opinion on the subject until we have consulted our best and safest friends; and should we be obliged finally to differ from the Principal, we should do everything in our power to express our reasons for differing from him in the manner that may most strongly testify our respect for him, and the regret that we feel in not being able to agree with him upon a point respecting which he seems himself to have formed so very decided an opinion.

"We incline to think that the best mode of proceeding would be that the Principal of Brazen Nose should communicate the opinion confidentially to Dr. Parsons, as a matter that concerns the character of the Vice-Chancellor and of the University, as much as it affects the interests of the respective candidates; but this we fear cannot be done, as the Principal of Brazen Nose has always declined going to the Vice-Chancellor; and has preferred communicating with him on this subject either *with* or *through* the Head of University, and the President of Trinity.

"With respect to the newspaper communications and contradictions, I need not say that the bishop and myself are as adverse to anything of the kind as your lordship can be, and that we would at all times set our faces against anything of the kind; but the case in which Hodson thought it necessary to make a disavowal was of a very particular kind, inasmuch as two of our friends composed the deputation from Magdalen entreating that, for the peace of mind of their President, we would disavow the publication. I was not present when they came to the committee room, but I was induced to give my sanction, however unwillingly, to the measure, from the very divided opinion of its necessity that I found entertained by Woolcombe as well as by the Principal.

"I had written that very day to Perry to desire that he would not suffer any more of these foolish letters from Oxford to be published in his paper.

"I ought to mention to your lordship before I conclude, that it was the earnest wish of Mr. Woolcombe and myself, which we pressed very importunately on the Principal on Friday night, that he should go himself to the Vice-Chancellor before the determination to adjourn the poll could be made public in the Oxford papers, and state to him confidentially, but very distinctly, that your lordship had great doubts as to the legality of the proposed measure, and that it was your intention to take legal advice respecting it; and further to add that those doubts were confirmed by the decided opinion of Corne, Wood, and Woolcombe. The Principal, however, would not comply with our wishes, chiefly, as he said, on

account of the Vice-Chancellor's present state of health; and contented himself with communicating your doubts to the Head of University and the President of Trinity, and then returned to us with the assurance of those two gentlemen that they would set their faces against every attempt to take advantage of the illegality or supposed illegality of the proceeding, whoever might be the successful candidate. With this assurance, as it had been accepted as a sufficient answer by the Principal, we were obliged to rest contented.

"I like the state of the canvass much. I have been over the book with Woolcombe this morning, and what follows is the result of our examination. It is not quite correct, but very nearly so:

Grenville, without any mark of doubt ..	428	
doubtful—chiefly as to power of coming to the election	16—	444
Eldon, ascertained		318
Beaufort, including some few unascertained votes at Lincoln and New College, which will probably go to B. ..		222
Neutral		148
		1132
Unascertained		155
Total ..		1287

"From this account you can afford to give two-thirds of the remaining unascertained votes to Lord Eldon, without very great danger to yourself.

"As your measures with respect to his lordship have produced their full effect, we may allow his friends to rest and scold, and himself to be in a passion, without our troubling our heads about them. They will not gain a single vote now by either ill-temper or evil tongues, and it would be no particular advantage to us that they should remain quiet."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 4. Cleveland Square.—"It was thought advisable to offer to the Duke of Beaufort's committee to assist reciprocally the bringing up of his votes and ours. Mr. Wheatley went to-day to them with this offer, which they received courteously, but declined on the ground of its appearing too much like concert between Duke of Beaufort and Lord G[renville]. As soon as you send the names of the houses where Botham has secured the horses, Temple will have the advertisement inserted in four evening London papers, and in all the county papers.

"Temple is urgent to send Goodwin into Staffordshire; I have told him fairly that I see no good in it, but he and Goodwin are so eager upon it that I suppose he will go.

"Our news is that Lord Wellesley has the blue ribbon; but that he has stipulated to have nothing to do with defending Walcheren expeditions and so on.

"Lord Gower has agreed to move the amendment.

"Ward has just shown me an answer to the *Courier*, written by Copplestone, which he desires Ward to put in the papers, and it will appear—I mention this to show you that while the Oxford Committee are sending up a formal disclaimer of all letters, by the very same post one of them writes a letter in the papers. The letter is a good one; you must not speak of it as Ward tells it me in confidence; I repeat it to you from the singularity of this letter coming by the very same post which desired a formal disclaimer of all letters."

Postscript.—"Tierney has just shown me a letter received to-day from Grey in which Grey says things look unpleasantly as to G. Ponsonby; for that he G[rey] wrote about the time of the last overture to P[onsonby] asking him what his notion was in a change of government, and whether he looked to return to the Irish Chancellorship or to any other office; P[onsonby] answered that, as the thing did not press, he would decline answering for the present, and since that he has never written to G[rey].

"Tierney's remark was 'that all this looked damned unpleasant, as if he meant to come back.'

"I was just sending to you the letter which accompanies this, when your servant arrived. He will take my former letter about the more material object of horses and carriages which has been so unfortunately delayed.

"In respect to the literary warfare, I am strongly of opinion that it would be more prudent and manly to abstain from it altogether; and, if it be pursued, I am the worst possible channel, as my aversion to all editors is such that I never had nor ever will have any communication with them. As you seem, however, so anxious to have the paragraph inserted of which you have sent two copies, I have despatched a messenger for Tucker to see what he can do about the insertion of them in the morning and evening papers of to-morrow, if (as I suppose) the evening papers of to-night are out of the question. You are quite mistaken about Walter; Tucker called to day to tell me that Walter had been to him to say that the first long letter in the *Times* having been sent to him *as a letter* from Lord Eldon's committee, he had refused it; that they then sent it as an advertisement, *paying* for it, and he put it in. The second letter (Oxoniensis) was sent by Lord Eldon's committee, and Walter at first refused to put it in unless with a line to say that it came from Lord Eldon's committee; they objected to that addition, and seem to have threatened him with a charge of partiality if he refused it, *and so* he gave way; but he assured Tucker that he would put in anything that any of your friends wished.

"I do not, however, suppose that he will announce in his paper the fact of his having been paid for the long letter. All that I can do for you is to urge Tucker to do what he can (from himself) to get your paragraph inserted in as many papers as may be; but for myself I never did have and never can have any communication with newspaper editors."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 5. London.—"Everybody here is surprised beyond measure at hearing that the Oxford committee have determined to do nothing with the legal opinion on the question of adjournment. In the first place the real risk of your being sent back to a new election by this invalid proceeding is too important to be put by without some better ground than that of general convenience. But, besides, there is another very powerful motive with me. We have, by Dr. Hodgson's consent, made ourselves party to this measure of adjourned poll; and, being party to it, we privately take a legal opinion which satisfies us of the incorrectness of the proceeding; and then we put that opinion in our pocket, without communicating it to the Vice-Chancellor and to the other two candidates who are joint parties with us in this measure. I own I think this so uncreditable that I have desired Temple to urge Dr. Hodgson upon it; and Mr. Franklin, who agrees in this, has written to urge Mr. Woolcombe upon it. It looks as if we had given our consent to the Vice-Chancellor through Dr. Hodgson, merely to entrap him into a breach of the law, while we kept our knowledge of this snug in our pocket, to spring upon him with it at a convenient opportunity. Nothing would satisfy my sense of right but our communicating the opinion to the Vice-Chancellor and the two candidates. If you agree in this, and I know not how you can differ, do urge this at Oxford; for I really think it to the last degree important to your own honour, as well as to the interests of your election.

"We do not yet know the houses for the horses; it is very material to learn them without delay, in order that sufficient notice may be given in all the town and country papers. Tierney writes an unsigned notice to members to announce an amendment, and he writes to G. Ponsonby and to Grey to say he has done so."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809 [December 8]. Monday morning.—"I have just received the copy of your Oxford letter which I suppose I am to show in confidence where it is useful.

"My present intention is probably to go down to you to-morrow, *after the post*, unless you think or I think I can be of more use here.

"My only fear of Duke of Beaufort is that he or Lord Eldon will resign to each other just at the poll, and will then transfer to one of themselves more than you will get from their leavings.

The letter you send me from Trentham is of Thursday, in which they still speak of their exertions there, and desire a printed list to be sent, which I send to-day.

"They have sent Dr. Buckeridge to canvass round Birmingham. Lord Stafford has written to Dean of Litchfield about Bailey.

"Lord Gower has written to C. K. Sharpe, Esq., but has no answer yet. I am glad to see Lord Glastonbury has such good hopes of Winchester. I am still afraid of next post announcing some neutrality from York and Trentham, but if we do not hear that soon, I shall be bold again; at all events I shall send them lists to-day."

Postscript.—"The alphabetical list printed is promised for this evening. I am going to send names to Lord Egremont with a letter, though I am not very sanguine about it."

LORD GRENVILLE to the Reverend, the VICE-CHANCELLOR, OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

1809, December 8. Camelford House.—"I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 6th instant, and am much obliged to you for the communication which you are so good as to make to me of the steps which you have taken on the matter to which it relates. I beg you to be persuaded that I most sincerely lament a circumstance which has been the occasion of additional trouble and anxiety to you under the pressure of severe disease.

"It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to assure you that nothing could be farther from my intention than to convey, in the short statement submitted to counsel, any misrepresentation of your conduct. The expressions there used were not meant to imply that the measure had originated with you, but merely that in adopting it you had wished it to be carried into effect with the consent of all parties; a desire perfectly consistent with the strictest impartiality. That was then the impression of my mind, and in order to bring the whole case fully before those who were consulted, it was necessary to call their attention to the question how far such consent might be deemed to cure the informality, if such it be, of the proposed adjournment.

"I have, however, no doubt that the statement which you have been so good as to make to me is, in all its parts, perfectly accurate; and I shall at all times be ready to declare that such is my conviction.

"Allow me to add that no man can more sincerely lament than I do the inconveniencies likely to result from the lateness of the period at which this discussion has arisen. You will, I am sure, do me the justice to bear in mind, in all that may pass on the subject, that there has not on my part been the smallest delay, either in the steps which I took for the satisfaction of my own mind, or in those which I afterwards thought due both in personal attention towards yourself, and in candour and fairness to all who were concerned." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. [THE DUKE OF CLARENCE].

1809, December 9. Dropmore.—"The great kindness and condescension which I have experienced from your Royal Highness on this occasion encourage me to take the liberty of asking your Royal Highness an additional mark of the same flattering sentiments, by endeavouring to prevail upon the gentleman whose letter I take the liberty to enclose herewith, to adhere to the promise which he had given in terms so very distinct, of voting for me. It is reported that some influence has been used with him to retract this engagement; but your Royal Highness's opinion would, I doubt not, be decisive with him to prevent his departing from an engagement so very distinctly stated.

"I hope your Royal Highness will allow me to express my wish that the original letter may be returned to me, as I should wish, especially in the event (very improbable I hope) of your Royal Highness's intervention failing of its effect, to be able to have recourse to it to show the nature of the steps taken against me.

"I hardly know how to apologise to your Royal Highness for the presumption of this request. I trust to the goodness you have already shown me, and to the nature of the occasion which encourage me to hope that your Royal Highness will not think I am abusing your condescension." *Copy.*

THE SAME to [a GRADUATE OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY].

1809, December 10. Dropmore.—"Your trouble approaches to an end, I trust a successful one; but, be that as it may, my obligation to you and my other friends for your unwearied kindness must be the same. I have every reason to feel proud of the testimonies of good opinion which this contest has called forth; and whatever be the issue of the election, this gratification I cannot be deprived of.

"Among these I must undoubtedly reckon the paper which I have this day received from you. It contains, from a person to whom I am known only by character, a spirited and just defence of my conduct in a case where I have been greatly calumniated; and a very effective retort against the person whose friends have resorted to modes of attack very unworthy both of themselves and him.

"And yet shall I not use the freedom of saying that, if the choice be left to me, I had rather the paper were not published. The Catholic question, as it is called, does not in my opinion justly belong to the merits of this election. It is most unfairly mixed with it by my opponents, in the hope of profiting by prejudices widely diffused on that subject. To remove those prejudices must be the work of time and reason, seconded perhaps by favourable circumstances; and if we allowed ourselves at this time to be drawn into the discussion, this would perhaps be to favour the designs of our opponents.

"To the latter part of the paper there is but one objection that can reasonably be made. It is one relating purely and exclusively to my own feelings. The measure there spoken of affords no doubt a just ground of attack, particularly originating as it did with the pretended champions of the church. A more absurd, or a more iniquitous measure never was proposed, nor one more directly militating with that sacredness of private property, the application of which to our church establishment is a main bulwark of its security.

"But I should earnestly wish to have it to say at the end of this contest, what I can safely say at this hour, that, however provoked by calumny and falschood, I have not in any single instance made myself a party to that course of personal attack in which Lord Eldon and his friends appear to have placed their best hopes of success. I have rested my pretensions, such as they are, on my own character and conduct; and have wished to succeed because I am thought worthy, not because others are thought unworthy, of the honour to which I aspire.

"I should be very sorry if this expression of feelings, I trust not ill-suited to such an occasion, could convey any impression of my being otherwise than deeply sensible of the good opinion which dictated the paper in question, and of the ability with which it is drawn. I trust to you to obviate any such idea, very inconsistent certainly, with what I really feel on this subject." *Draft.*

Earl Temple to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

1809, December 11. Grosvenor Street.—"I am ashamed to trouble your Royal Highness upon so worthless a subject, but I cannot refrain from taking the liberty of communicating to your Royal Highness the result of Dr. Morgan's promise to vote for Lord Grenville. After having voluntarily, and and without any application being made to him, promised his vote to Lord Grenville, which promise he confirmed by the letter which your Royal Highness has seen, he has finally, upon deliberation and after remonstrance, withdrawn it, stating in a letter to Captain Fremantle of the 11th instant, that in so doing he has obeyed 'the command' of the illustrious person whose chaplain he has the honour to be. As Doctor Morgan has also the honour of being your Royal Highness's neighbour, and as you were graciously pleased to direct the expression of your wishes in favour of Lord Grenville to be communicated to Dr. Morgan, I think it my duty to lay before your Royal Highness this trait of Dr. Morgan's character. He probably has preached to his parishioners the advantages of a good example. The knowledge of the fact I have had the honour of laying before your Royal Highness would be of importance to them, as they may perhaps attach more value to a notice by which a bad example may be avoided, than to an exhortation

which has not the benefit of the illustration of the preacher's practice to recommend it."

Private. Marquis Wellesley to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 11. Apsley House.—"As I heard that you had become a great farmer, I have brought you a ram and an ewe of the true merino breed from Spain. They are now safely deposited in my stables; and if you would let me know when you would wish to receive them at Dropmore, I will send them to you by a proper conveyance, with directions for their management, which will require attention during the winter.

"I conclude that you are in a great bustle upon the approach of the election at Oxford. I cannot help wishing you success, and I should certainly give you my vote (if I possessed one) although you be a Papist and a Traitor; so you may perceive, that I have not been at Mass, with a taper in my hand, both at Cadiz and Seville, to no purpose. Pray remember me kindly to Lady Grenville.

"Richard remains in Spain for a few weeks; he is very well.

"I think you had better leave the merinos in my stable for a week. If you ever send a covered wagon to town, it would afford them the safest conveyance, as they will require warmth, and an easy carriage.

"You will be glad to hear that Goodall succeeds our poor friend Davies at Eton."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 12. Cleveland Square.—"All seems to go on prosperously; I take for granted that the election will go into Thursday; that I may have the earliest possible intelligence, I send my groom to Dropmore, and beg that you will not forget to give him a line with the result at *whatever hour of day or night you first receive it*, that he may instantly return to me with the intelligence.

"I have no reason to believe in Lord C. and Lord M.'s resignation, except the confident manner in which the papers assert it. Cooke denied it this morning, and so did Lord George Seymour.

"I showed your letter to Lady Downshire, and she sent yesterday to beg to borrow it again to show it to the P[rince] of W[ales], who dined with her; I sent it observing that I should have felt sure that you would have wished me to wait upon his Royal Highness with it, if you could have deemed it of sufficient importance to have justified you in intruding with it upon his Royal Highness; and I added that I took the liberty of reminding her that I relied upon her original assurances to me that no word of it should be copied. She returned it an hour afterwards with the strongest expressions

of the satisfaction which the P[rince] as well as herself had derived from reading it.

"Lord and Lady Holland are gone to Whitbread's, and to Lord Cowper's, and I believe to Woburn; Whitbread came up yesterday for Wardle's trial, and Ticrnay describes him as very sulky this morning, partly at Wardle's disgrace, and partly at the general state of things upon which he was less communicative than usual. He seemed not to relish the notion of a short amendment, and Tiernay is persuaded that his own specch is already made, and will be his profession of faith upon all subjects of reform. My opinion is that in this case we had better break with him on that first day; if he would abstain *for that day* something might be conceded for that object, but if he will pledge himself to all his reforms on the first day, nothing is left but to separate from him on the first day."

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, December 12. Howick.—"I have purposely delayed answering your letter till the Oxford election should be over.

"This, I hope, will find you rclieved from all your fatigues, and satisfied with their results; and that I shall have in my next to congratulate you on being appointed Chancellor of the University, in spite of all the means, fair and unfair, that have been employed against you.

"I now return the copies of the correspondence between you and Lord Sidmouth. It is almost unnecessary for me to add that all the sentiments expressed in your letters to him and to the President of Brazen-nose are such as I must highly approve. You have assuredly done right in declining to give any further explanation with respect to thc Catholic question, at present. But we must expect to be strongly pressed on this point, and it is nccessary to consider whether it would be either right or useful for us to avoid stating with perfect openness the whole extent of our opinions upon it. I certainly would not allow this to be made a principal topic in the debates at the beginning of the session, if it is in our power to avoid it; but the subject must necessarily very soon occupy the attention both of Parliament and of the public; and when properly introduced, my mind being made up, I think unalterably, not to take office unless the power of *immediately* proposing measures for the conciliation of Ireland be conceded to us, I feel much disposed to make that avowal; subject always to those reserves with respect to possible changes of time and circumstances, which no prudent or honest man would willingly omit. I know the inconvenience and general impolicy of such declarations, but this is a subject on which, less than on any other, there seems to me to exist a probability of alteration; it is one on which the public and particularly our own friends have, perhaps, under circumstances such as the present, a sort of right to demand

from us a fair explanation ; the advantage of giving it may in some views be considerable ; and any reserve, whilst it would be treated by our enemies as evasive, might excite suspicion and distrust where it ought to be our peculiar care to prevent the existence of such feelings. I have merely thrown this out for your consideration, as it certainly is a point which ought not to be decided upon without much and serious reflection.

" But though I feel the necessity of a settlement of the Catholic question so strongly that I think it cannot be postponed with safety ; and though the power of immediately entering upon such a settlement ought in my opinion to be an indispensable preliminary to our undertaking the hazardous duties of government, yet it is a very different question whether it would be advisable for us, situated as we now are, and after all that has happened, to bring forward a new discussion upon it in the approaching session. And I feel disposed to concur with you in the opinions you throw out on both the questions of presenting the petition, and of following it by a motion in Parliament.

" I have always thought there was a sort of obligation on the members of both Houses to present petitions, being previously satisfied that the object of them was legitimate, that the necessary forms were observed, and that in the terms there was nothing objectionable. There would otherwise be some inconvenience in the forms of both Houses, which confine the presenting of petitions, except in a few cases, to their own members.

" I should therefore think it clearly right for you to undertake to present the petition of the Catholics, if after stating what you might have to state on the subject, their delegates should still desire you to do so. And this would necessarily connect itself with a consideration of the second question, namely the propriety of following the petition by a motion. On this point, if I were convinced of the expediency of making such a motion, I should certainly say that you were the fit person, and the only fit person, to make it. But there are two points to be considered ; 1st, the fitness of the thing to be done ; 2nd, the expediency of doing it now. If my mind were satisfied on both, there would of course be no difficulty ; but if I were of opinion, with the strongest conviction of the general justice of the Catholic claims, that the renewal of the discussion of them under the present circumstances, and *by me*, was likely to be attended with more of prejudice than of benefit to their cause, my answer, in your place would be this. ' I approve the general principle of your application, and if it becomes the subject of Parliamentary discussion I shall express that opinion, as I have always done, subject to those explanations and conditions which in my mind necessarily accompany it ; but thinking the introduction of the question at the present moment not likely to be productive

of any useful effect, I strongly advise you not to press it, and, at all events, I must decline being the mover.'

"This would undoubtedly require some further explanation. The principal ground, of course, would be that which you state in your letter, namely, the certain disadvantage under which any new application must come before Parliament, unless the Catholics should previously manifest a disposition to assent to all such provisions as the Parliament may think necessary for the security of our own church and government, and as are not inconsistent with the known and avowed principles of their religious faith. This, you may remember, I proposed saying in a much more decisive tone last year. But the circumstances are now much less favourable for the sort of declaration I then advised; and any manner in which you can decline making the motion, if such should be your determination, will probably be subject to some misconstruction. But this mode seems to me the safest and the best. It will secure you (if you can be secured against wilful and interested misrepresentation) from the imputation of having abandoned your former opinions; and it will prevent your appearing as a ready instrument to bring forward the Catholic question, whenever it may be intemperately urged, without any regard to your opinions either as to the time of bringing it forward, or the conditions you may think necessary to be annexed to it. And you might, I think, as an additional reason to your declining, not only without any appearance of soreness, but with the most perfect propriety, state the disclaimer of the bishops, whilst it continues in force, as putting you under a degree of embarrassment which much affect the question itself, if moved by you.

"This is the line of conduct which I should advise, on which much more remains to be said that it is possible to comprise within the limits of a letter. It seems to me so obviously right that I hope, when it comes to be considered, it will be very generally approved by our friends. But I am not sanguine in my hopes that you will not find amongst some of the members of what was the party, considerable differences of opinion on this, as well as on other subjects. This would lead to considerations which must occupy us when we meet, and till then I am the more willing to postpone them, as, though I have plenty of difficulties to state, I do not feel able to suggest any probable means of obviating them."

J. Parsons, Vice-Chancellor, to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 13. Balliol College.—"It is my duty to acquaint your lordship that the poll for the election of a Chancellor of this University, which commenced at nine o'clock yesterday morning, and was continued, without adjournment, through the whole of the night, and of this day, has just now closed; when the numbers were found to be:

For your Lordship..	..	..	406
For Lord Eldon ..	..	..	393
For the Duke of Beaufort	..	..	238

"Your lordship has accordingly been declared duly elected; and I lose no time in despatching Mr. Hall, the Esquire Bedell of Divinity, with this letter, for your lordship's information."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 13. Cleveland Square.—"I enclose you a letter from Hodgson to Temple. As soon as I had opened it I went to Agar, and desired Mr. Wheatley to go to Spitalfields; but observe and pray acknowledge the zeal of Mr. Wheatley. He found Wheldale was out, but he learnt from Wheldale's servant, that his master's objection was to the mail, and that he should go in any gentleman's carriage. Wheatley, without hesitation said he would take him down himself, and he goes in his own carriage this moment to take down Wheldale, and to endeavour to tempt Agar by the same conveyance, if that will fix him. Agar would not absolutely promise me, but I think will be tempted by a chaise at the door. See what a zealous friend Wheatley is!

"Lord Lansdowne begs me to tell you that he will call upon you at his return from Lord Ilchester's, if you should be at Dropmore as he comes back.

"I have taught myself to take fright about the Beaufort anti-Catholics being, in the course of the poll, seduced for Eldon, by the danger of your success; and sanguine as I have been, I am now more afraid and less confident."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, December 13, Noon.—"I send by my groom the two last fragments of the election correspondence. I conclude the Bishop of London is gone. Do not forget that, whatever be the result, you must have the trouble of writing several letters of thanks, particularly to the Fox wing of the army, such as Lord Foley, Lord Thanet, Lord Derby, and Duke of Norfolk. Wheatley and Franklin too should have a line from you; and I think Mr. Goodwin, who, though half-mad, has been very indefatigable and very useful. If all goes right shall you not of course have to name a new High Steward? Who do you think of? Would it be right to propose it to Lord Stafford? Or who else is there? I live in a fever till my groom returns. Pray write a line by to-night's post."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, December 13. Eden Farm.—"It would be idle to offer conjectures or to say anything on a subject which will be decided and known to you a few hours after you receive this; but I am disquieted and on tenter-hooks till I learn the decision.

"Napoleon's speech offers abundant matter for meditation, and presents a mortifying contract between his occupations and those of our Princes, four of whom appear by the same paper to have passed fourteen hours in a trial (not absolutely unconnected with them) relative to a parcel of fools, rogues, and a prostitute.

"If Lord Chatham and Lord Mulgrave can for a time be put behind the curtain, we are to be told that it is a new Ministry."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 14, ½ past 5 p.m.—"I send you this letter from Wheatley to show you how successful he had been with our two votes. I hope they will turn the election; but if I am to judge from the letters that you send me, I think there is more to fear than to hope. The Chief Baron is more sanguine."

Postscript.—"I like your printed paper very much. I sent it to Tucker immediately."

Enclosing :—

JOHN WHEATLEY to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1809, December 14 [13], 4 o'clock a.m. High Wycombe.—"I am happy to inform you that I have brought Dr. Agar and Mr. Wheldale thus far, and that I am instantly about to proceed with them to Oxford. But a stage coachman is just come in to this house from Oxford, who says that a gentleman whom he is taking to town told him that the election is likely to be in Lord Eldon's favour, in consequence of the accession of the Duke of Beaufort's friends to his party. This was always what we had to apprehend, but I shall hope for the best. The gentleman who informed him of this circumstance is of Exeter College, and a friend of Lord Grenville."

LORD GRENVILLE to the Reverend J. PARSONS, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

1809, December 14. Dropmore.—"The letter which you had the goodness to write to me to acquaint me with the flattering result of the poll for the election of a Chancellor of the University, has just been delivered to me by Mr. Hall. I entertain the deepest sense of the great honour conferred upon me by this distinction. Nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than to receive from the University such a testimony of good opinion, and to see myself thus connected with a body whose interests are essentially united with those of learning and religion.

"I beg you to accept my best thanks for the trouble you have taken in communicating to me this intelligence. I hope you will allow me also to express my earnest hope that

your health will not materially have suffered from this troublesome and fatiguing attendance under circumstances of bodily indisposition which must, I fear, have rendered it particularly irksome to you." *Copy.*

THE EARL OF JERSEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 15. Middleton Park.—"Allow me to add my congratulations to the many which you will receive on this occasion, and to express my regret that I was not able to contribute more essentially to so signal a triumph."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 15. Cleveland Square.—"It would be vain to try to tell you my delight, it is quite unspeakable. Have you writ to the Prince of Wales? if not pray do. I send you his answer to me which is very gracious.

"Tyrwhit is an old friend of Lord Wellesley's; the Prince has told Tyrwhit that he, Tyrwhit, must have no connection with Lord Wellesley. This is *quite between ourselves*, but I know it."

LORD GRENVILLE to [SIR CHARLES SAXTON], Dublin Castle.

1809, December 15. Dropmore.—"It was not till you were actually arrived at Oxford that I was informed by my nephew Charles of the very peculiar circumstances under which you had undertaken to appear there in my support. I know not in what terms to express the sense which I entertain of what you have done on this occasion. The feelings of dignified independence under which you have acted are such as in all cases carry with them the highest of all gratifications. But I trust it will not be indifferent to you to be assured that I entertain, as I ought to do, the highest sense of such a testimony of good opinion and regard. At the same time I beg you to be persuaded that had I been earlier apprized of the circumstance, I should have made it my own personal and earnest request that you would not put it in the power of my opponents to do an act which must indeed cover them with disgrace, but which would at the same time lead to a sacrifice on your part, such as I should be sorry indeed to have occasioned; and to a real and considerable injury to the public interests exactly in that quarter where they are, in my judgment, the most exposed to hazard." *Copy.*

SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1809, December 16. Petersham.—"I do not feel sufficiently intimate with Lord Grenville to trouble him with my congratulations; but I cannot refrain from expressing to you how sincerely I am rejoiced at his brilliant triumph. It is equally honourable to himself, to those principles he has invariably *in* office and *out* of office professed and acted on; and to the

University which has shown itself superior to the vulgar and wicked cry against him and his principles. May this be the prelude to another defeat of the present Ministry in another House, and may the country at last find out that the word of insult on Lord Grenville and his friends was, like Balaam's prophecy, true in their own despite. If the Opposition have not *All the Talents*, it is not certainly because that the prescnt and late set have any of them.

"I trust in your friendship that you will express to your brother how very happy I am in his success."

Countess de la Warr to Lady Grenville.

1809, December 16. Kedleston.—"Having this moment heard that Lord Grenville has gained his election at Oxford, I cannot resist troubling your ladyship with a few lines of congratulation upon this subject. I have really done all that has been in my power to do respecting soliciting the votes of all I knew likely to be of use ; and I beg you will believe that it must ever give me the greatest pleasure to hear that Lord Grenville succeeds in the attainment of his wishes.

"George was well when I last heard from him ; I am sure he will be delighted to hear how right all things have gone for Lord Grenville."

Dr. Samuel Parr to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 16. Hutton.—"My heart is at this moment afflicted by the severe sufferings and approaching dissolution of my only remaining child. But I think it my duty to make one effort, for the purpose of sending to your lordship my most sincere congratulations upon your election to the Chancellorship of Oxford. May you long live to adorn the station which you have most deservedly obtained, and to triumph over the deplorable prejudices, which for a time obstructed your success."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 16. Cleveland Square.—"I am still so eaten up with congratulations and kindnesses of friends that I do not yet find leisure enough to enjoy our victory at my ease. You will readily believe this when, in answer to your question about letters, I send you a list of those which I despatched yesterday, the greater part of which you will probably think necessary to repeat from yourself as fast as you may have time for it. What other names there are you will more readily find from your own correspondence ; but there must be many, such as Lord Hardwicke, Lord Somers, Lord Essex, Lord Kinnaird, Mr. Eden, Mr. Frankland ; if this list can be added to it must be by Charles and Temple, to both of whom I write to-day to desire them to send you word of any names which occur to them for letters of thanks.

You should, I think, direct Chisholm to write to Mr. Wheatley for an account of any expenses that he may have incurred, and especially for the journey to and from Oxford in carrying his two voters. The same enquiry should be made of Mr. Franklin, and of Mr. Goodwin; I do not know where Goodwin's direction is, but probably Sir Watkin's porter can find out. To Sir Watkin's porter you should likewise give 5*l.* or 10*l.*; he had all the trouble of our numerous committee upon his shoulders for six weeks, and was very indefatigable, very willing, very useful, and very much used. Chisholm should likewise apply to Tucker for any expenses he may have incurred, particularly with Walter for the newspaper insertions. Our adversaries can put no face upon their defeat, and do not attempt to conceal their mortification and disappointment. I wish you now again to consider the propriety of letting your letter to Hodgson get more into public view; and this the rather because, as the discussion of this subject must soon be revived by your answer to Lord Fingal, I think if that answer be such as we had talked of, I mean if the *veto* be referred to, as I still incline to think it ought, that reference would seem to be in consistence with your letter to Hodgson, and would have some advantage in bearing that character. Undoubtedly you will find that, though many will not consider the *veto* as a sufficient security for the established church, there will be few in this country who would be disposed to admit that, *without the veto*, there could be any security at all for the establishment; and if this opinion be as widely diffused as I believe it to be, it matters not whether it be correctly formed or not; if it prevails it will operate forcibly and perhaps irresistibly. What makes, too, your decision more important on this head is, that this is the only opportunity that can offer any peculiar fitness for taking that ground. You are entitled to take it now, because it is the same ground on which so much stress was placed by many of our friends and particularly [Lord Grey] in the very last discussions; but if you present a new petition, after their disclaimer of the *veto*, without any protest on your part, you seem to adopt their disclaimer, and by doing so you will increase those English difficulites which are already almost too great for the success of the question."

Postscript.—"I hope your dear little wife has not over-tired herself in your service. Fagel tells me she would not go to bed till the news arrived."

The Bishop of Lincoln to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 16. Buckden Palace.—"Most heartily do I congratulate you upon your success at Oxford. It is indeed a very great triumph to you, and I am confident that it will be felt to be such not only by your opponent, but government in general. Lord Westmorland said here, 'if Lord Grenville does succeed, it will, to be sure, be a confounded

slap of the face to us.' I was greatly afraid that the Duke of Beaufort would have withdrawn; and particularly as I understood that his committee in town were fully aware that they were fighting your battle. The duke and his party were probably indifferent whether you or the Chancellor succeeded.

"When I was in town Rose told me that Mr. Perceval offered him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; and two days since I heard from unquestionable authority that the same offer was made to Mr. Milnes; and that when he declined it, he was pressed to accept some other situation. I do not recollect an instance of the First Lord of the Treasury, when in the House of Commons, not being Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is it possible that Perceval's object in wishing to get rid of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer was to make the retention of the Chancellorship of the Duchy less obnoxious? From what I observe in my neighbourhood (at Hinchingbrook) I suspect that Lord Castlereagh's friends are very uneasy about the enquiry which must take place into the Walcheren expedition."

Postscript.—"I have lately heard, but not from authority upon which I can quite rely, that it has been in contemplation to place Lord Wellesley at the head of the Treasury; for Perceval to be made a peer; Canning to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer with the conduct of the House of Commons; Lords Camden, Chatham, and Mulgrave to retire. All this does seem to me very probable."

C. W. W. Wynn to The Same.

1809, December 17. Acton.—"From all that appears the effect of our triumph throughout the country surpasses expectation. The very circumstance of the smallness of the majority is favourable, as it convinces each individual voter that his personal exertion has decided the contest, reconciles him to the distance he has travelled, and the inconvenience he has suffered, and redoubles his zeal in your general cause. Many of the parsons will return from Oxford metamorphosed into advocates for your politics, and for the Catholic question, by the principle of self defence, in order to resist the attacks which will be made upon them by the friends of Government.

"Pray send me word what day your installation is to take place; for, as so *much stress* has been laid in the canvass on the excellence of your cook, I feel bound to assist him as far as in my power lies to cherish the good dispositions of our friends and assuage the mortification of our foes by procuring him some pheasants from Watkin's keeper, if any can be got at in this weather.

"The Principal of Jesus has certainly *bona fide* observed the neutrality which he professed in the beginning, for he showed me letters from most of our Jesus friends desiring to know his wishes, to which they promised implicit obedience

before they engaged themselves ; and he lodged some of our friends in his own house.

"Our whipping-in certainly succeeded beyond all expectation. The Duke of Beaufort appears to have been so much weaker than anybody had supposed (for nobody rated him so low as 250) that one can scarcely avoid believing that some of his votes must have been got over to Lord Eldon.

"I am ashamed to tease you with another letter when you must be so nearly overwhelmed by the number of congratulations showering in every morning, but I cannot avoid mentioning how gratifying to my feelings your letter of this morning was, and to repeat that the invariable kindness which I have experienced from you and Lady Grenville would have been but ill returned if I had shrunk from exertions which have been equally participated by those who never knew you ; and who have been actuated only by what they felt to be the interest of the nation at large."

Lord Carrington to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 17. Bath.—"Our long suspence was most agreeably terminated by the arrival of Mr. Eden on Friday night with the news of your success. We were not aware that the proceeding was rather an inseription than a poll, and were therefore disheartened at receiving so many accounts during the continuanee of it, without the least information. I congratulate you most sincerely on obtaining an object of such importance, but still more on the success of an attack against bigotry and intolerance in its fastnesses. We seem almost all on the same side at Bath, and have therefore determined to have a public dinner at the White Hart on the 26th, which we hope and expect will be numerously attended to celebrate the event."

Countess of Carysfort to The Same.

1809, December 17. Elton Hall.—"I congratulate you most sincerely and with the greater pleasure from my never having been sanguine in my hopes of so many honest voters among the black coats. They must all be made bishops. Adieu, I trust we shall meet at Stowe ; I mean to go there the 23rd."

Earl of Hardwicke to The Same.

1809, December 17. Wimpole.—"Though it is rather unreasonable to add to the number of letters which you will receive on the occasion ; I cannot avoid congratulating you upon your success at Oxford. As an academical distinction, it is highly honourable and gratifying to yourself personally ; but from the example and opinion of those whose attachment to the Establishment cannot be doubted, I consider it of great importance in the tendency it may have to keep down the

prejudice against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, which so many people in this country were desirous of increasing."

The Earl of Clarendon to The Same.

1809, December 17. The Grove.—"With whatever apologies may be necessary for the trouble of this letter, allow me to offer your lordship my sincere congratulations.

"Though educated at Cambridge, I feel (if I may so say) an *hereditary* sort of attachment to the University of Oxford; which, I trust, will always make me alive to whatever affects it's honour and welfare; and, consistently with those sentiments, I cannot but be much gratified with the event of the recent contest for the office of Chancellor. It is no affectation of private or public virtue to say also that there is a distinct satisfaction, upon this occasion, which results to one's mind from the triumph of liberality over every unjustifiable prejudice and obstacle opposed to it. Such consideration *alone* would afford me great satisfaction in your lordship's success; but that satisfaction (permit me to assure you) cannot fail of being much heightened by my personal feelings of long regard and very sincere esteem."

Earl Somers to The Same.

1809, December 17. Reigate Priory.—"I heartily congratulate you on your success at Oxford, which, in addition to the private satisfaction it must afford you is, I trust, a public triumph also."

Earl of Darnley to The Same.

1809, December 17. Brighton.—"I cannot resist the inclination I feel to add to the many letters of congratulation you must receive on the late event at Oxford, which has not only given me the highest satisfaction, as it personally concerns yourself, but which also appears to me likely in it's consequences to promote the best interests of the empire, in it's present most arduous and difficult situation.

"In addition to this, which I consider a most important event, there have appeared within these few days some gleams of light amidst the general gloom which have somewhat revived my hopes, almost extinct. If the country once begins to *feel*, we may hope that it will enable us to *act* with effect in delivering it from these *nuisances* in the shape of Ministers, if they should venture to meet Parliament. But I am sure you will agree with me that every exertion on our part at the opening of the session will be necessary for that purpose.

"I have been unexpectedly brought here on account of Lady Darnley's health, but hope to settle again at Cobham before the first of January; and if you and Lady Grenville could spare a few days before the 23rd, we should be most happy to see you there."

Earl FitzWilliam to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 17. Milton.—"Considering the event at Oxford, on account of its important bearings, more of a public than a private nature, I should not congratulate you upon it were it possible to suppose that on such an occasion the individual could divest himself of private feelings. Accept therefore my warmest congratulations on an event that must be highly gratifying to you in every point of view; but I must confess that while I participate in your feelings for your own sake, I take joy to myself on public considerations."

Lord Braybrooke to The Same.

1809, December 17. Audley End.—"You cannot imagine the delight of us all on the receipt yesterday morning of your triumph at Oxford over prejudice and calumny. I had the post very early on purpose (other plans having failed by coach) and as soon as I had the news, I took myself *undressed* to three adjoining bedchambers occupied by Watkin, Henry, and Dick. The female part shared in our joy, and we all join in most sincere congratulations. Catherine is out of patience with Mr. Holland Edwards for not going to Oxford, but he is very stingy, and perhaps was too proud, and too rich, to fall in with some of the conveyances set apart for your friends. I regret Hodgkinson's absence, but his wife, (I fear dying) could not part with him. I think I told you he is in the island of Madeira, for her health.

"Though I had long intended to be satisfied with my honorary degree of A.M. I feel an ambition to be promoted to LL.D. on the occasion of your installation next summer; and flatter myself I shall not be hissed by the Eldonites or Beauforts. Ashley of Brasenose, Duffield of Merton, and Milles and Frankland of All Souls, sent me frequent accounts and the final result at last. I know really of no event so interesting to real Englishmen, or one presaging in my mind so much good at this most alarming period."

Earl of Carysfoot to The Same.

1809, December 17. Bath.—"I cannot refrain from rejoicing with you on your success at Oxford. It appears to me the greatest and most honourable triumph which could be obtained. Your friends here have determined to dine together to celebrate the victory, and have pressed me to stay for that purpose till after the 26th, the day they have fixed for their meeting. I could not resist their general and earnest wish, though I have doubts whether it is expedient to do what may tend to give a party character to what is truly attributable to the general esteem in which you are personally held. But those who have put this forward are truly attached to you, and my judgment may perhaps be warped by my horror of a public dinner, especially when I am not perfectly strong in

health. I mean to be at Stowe on the 27th or 28th; and Elizabeth, who meets me there, gives me hopes that you and Lady Grenville will join the party."

Archbishop of York to The Same.

1809, December 18. Blandford Park.—"In acquitting myself of the claims of private friendship and personal regard, to have contributed also to correct, in any degree, the public opinion on a point, respecting which it has been so grossly misled, will ever be a most gratifying reflection to me. I desired the Bishop of Oxford to express to you the pleasure I should have felt in accepting your kind invitation to Dropmore; but I was anxious at this particular moment to avail myself of the opportunity of calling here, in my return into Yorkshire, for the purpose of satisfying the Duke of Beaufort (who I had reason to believe had expected that I would not *appear personally* as his adversary at the election) that my engagements to you would not have admitted of my absence from the poll, unless I had been able, after submitting to you, for your determination, his *distinct wishes* on that individual point, to obtain your consent to it.

"You will be glad to hear I have been able to set all right by plainly stating to him how I was circumstanced when I first heard of his entertaining those wishes, and which was not more than a week previous to the election. I have delivered your message to him, and am charged by him, in return, to assure you, that he feels much indebted to you for it; and sincerely rejoices that the conduct of his friends has accorded so entirely with his own views, and his disposition personally to yourself. Some of his voters (I believe about 30) went over to Lord Eldon, but this could not be avoided. Of the rest, it is the firm opinion *here*, that by *far the greater part* would have joined you had the Duke withdrawn from the contest at any period of it, notwithstanding the assertions of the Eldonites to the contrary. The latter are, or pretend, to be very angry with the Duke for having come forward. Of course, they are desirous that their defeat should be attributed to that circumstance. I have written in so great a hurry, that I fear I may not have made myself intelligible."

The Reverend R. Valpey to The Same.

1809, December 18. Reading.—"I do not congratulate your lordship on your election; but I congratulate the University of Oxford on a triumph over bigotry and illiberality. That election I consider as a greater security to Ireland against the effects of internal jealousy and discontent than an additional army. It will impress the Catholics with the certainty that the cause of political union and Christian charity must at last succeed, and make them wait with patience for that event. Of the other causes of

congratulation to the University I need say nothing, because they are obvious. This success will induce me to remain a member of Pembroke College, where I hope to have the honour of receiving your lordship at the installation, when the Master addresses a Latin speech to the Chancellor, who makes a short reply in the same language.

"Permit me to request your acceptance of some verses written by a son of mine for the Chancellor's prize. If they have not superior merit they are at least a curiosity, as being printed by the author, who, after taking a degree with some credit, is just settled in London in the line of the Aldus's and Stephens's, and who laments that he has not yet a vote in the University."

Viscount Bulkeley to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 18. Stanhope Street.—"No post going out on Saturday from Englefield Green, I had no earlier opportunity of congratulating you on the event at Oxford, so honourable to yourself, and friends for their exertions, of which I never yet saw the like in all the elections I have ever seen. I will own to you the result has been a most agreeable surprise to me, for I thought a Chancellor supported by the King and Court and the Ministers, with a number of livings purposely kept vacant, would have succeeded against even a man of your lordship's high and exalted character. I am most truly happy in having been mistaken in my guess, and I may say with truth that my desponding notions did not relax every effort I could make to serve you, and I actually polled five votes; honest persons not afraid of the Pope. I am come up for the Westminster play, and return to The Green to-morrow, from whence one of these days, wind and weather permitting, I shall pay my regards at Dropmore."

Postscript.—"Jemmy and the General are arrived, and in very high feather, but full of complaining as usual. I dined with them yesterday, and your brother Tom, at Metcalf's. Your friend the Duke of Cumberland has been boring the General to-day with his anathemas against your majority, interlarded with a good deal of 'profane cursing and swearing'; and, like the *Courier* paper of last Saturday, using the King's name most improperly and disrespectfully."

The Reverend G. Richards to The Same.

1809, December 18. Bampton.—"In the numerous congratulations which your lordship will receive upon the successful termination of the late contest, it will, I fear, appear presumptuous in me individually to join. Yet I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of conveying to your lordship my sincere and heartfelt expressions of joy upon the happy event. I had the honour of nominating your lordship because, for exalted birth, distinguished talents, great literary acquirements, political eminence, and exemplary moral conduct, I considered

your lordship as unquestionably the most proper person whom this kingdom offered, to preside over one of the first literary establishments in Europe.

"It was painful, in the course of the contest, to observe that endeavours were made to withdraw the attention of the electors from these high qualities, which alone ought to influence the decision, and to fix it upon another object, irrelevant to the question, and to be discussed in another place. It is, indeed, a source of the highest satisfaction to find that the majority remained uninfluenced by these attempts."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 18. Cleveland Square.—"You know that I am no great winter traveller; at the same time Tierney has expressed so much desire that I would go with him to Dropmore to talk with you *de summâ rerum*, and, in truth, there is so much to be talked of, that I yesterday agreed with him to propose to you that we should come to Dropmore on Thursday next. The post of this morning has meanwhile brought me a letter from Lord Buckingham at Stowe earnestly pressing me to meet him at Dropmore, where he hopes to be *at the time of the deputation*, if he can so manage with the festivities of George's birthday. By some words of his letter I see that he is very uneasy about the Catholic petition, and I certainly would do all I could to meet him when he so much desires it; but he names no time, and I know nothing about the deputation, when it is to come, or how long it is to stay, or how far it can be found practicable either for us to be in your house at that time; or, if there, to have any conversation except such as may be in common with 'all the Doctors, both the Proctors, all heads of colleges and halls'; yet as my brother seems to make a point of being there I suppose he must. Pray have the goodness to send me a line by return of post (this night if possible) to say what I can settle with Tierney in respect to Thursday, or with my brother in respect to the time of the deputation, of which I know nothing. Of course I shall not wish to give myself two separate journeys for these two objects, but must unite them as well as I can into one visit to you.

"I hear no news. Lord Melville is at Wimbledon. Broome is out of humour at having been taught by Holland to expect the Duke of Bedford's seat, and having found that there is some demur upon the subject, which he does not brook. I suppose, however, he will have it now that Lord R. S—— and P—— have both declined it. Did I mention that you should by all means write to Lord Ilchester, who was very zealous and very useful. I take for granted you have written to your ten pair of lawn sleeves. Elliot is in town, waiting for a summons to his Peterborough constituents as usual."

J. Phillimore to the Bishop of Oxford.

1809, December 18. Gower Street.—"It was a great mortification to me that I was under the necessity of leaving Oxford without having an opportunity of congratulating your lordship on the successful close of the contest in which you were so deeply interested. It was my first intention to have brought the intelligence of the termination of the election to Cuddesdon, but I was prevented from so doing partly by the lateness of the hour, and partly by my own exhausted state; and as I was to argue a cause in the Prerogative Court at nine o'clock on Saturday, I was obliged, on the day following the election, to make the best of my way to London. Our anxiety was exceedingly increased at the last, not only by the suspence in which we were necessarily kept during the interval which elapsed between the close of the poll and the counting of the votes, but more so by the information I received from my brother scrutineers of the desertion which had taken place from the Duke's party to Lord Eldon's. This was first mentioned to me by the Duke's scrutineer and was afterwards confirmed by Dr. Lawrence, who filled the same post for Lord Eldon. This certainly was an alarming circumstance, as one could not tell to what extent it might have been carried; but on the other hand I knew the more honourable part of the Duke's friends set their faces strongly against this base proceeding, and I had also every reason to think that we must have polled at least 400, out of the 1,036 who had voted. However, under all the circumstances, it was as nervous and anxious an interval as ever I remember to have passed through.

"The Vice-Chancellor is undoubtedly a person of a coarse and vulgar manner; he was also during the whole of the election suffering exceedingly from a very painful attack of the gout; and unquestionably also he had a very strong bias against us; but, at the same time, I really think that it was his intention, and his endeavour, to act with fairness and impartiality; and I feel it my duty to state this to you, because, as, from the beginning to the close of the contest, I was constantly present while he was, perhaps I had a better opportunity of judging of his conduct in this respect than those of our friends who were actively engaged in other departments of the common cause."

Earl Grey to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 18. Howick.—"I congratulate you most sincerely on your success at Oxford, which I will confess has exceeded my hopes. Such a triumph over the misrepresentation of your enemies, and such a victory over all the powers of the Court, will not be less gratifying to you personally than it is important at the present moment in its public effects. Even in the University itself I hope it will

be found to be the commencement of an era of greater liberality of opinion than has hitherto prevailed there.

"Lady Grey's health has not been good lately, and it is possible I may be detained here longer than I expected (I am not making excuses) on that account; but if no obstacle of that kind occurs, I hope to be in London about this day fortnight."

Lord Glastonbury to The Same.

1809, December 18. Conduit Street.—"As I am writing to the Chancellor of one of our Universities, it may be more respectful to address him in Latin; I must, however, have recourse to plain English to assure you of the gratification which I derive from the success of an election, so very interesting and important in various points of view, and so very honourable to you in all. I congratulate you most sincerely on this occasion, and you will not suspect me of flattery, if I likewise congratulate *alma mater* herself on her good sense and taste. I will not add farther to the folios of letters, with which you must have been assailed in consequence of this event; mine requires no answer."

Lord Clifden to The Same.

1809, December 18. Grove House.—"Allow me to congratulate you on your success at Oxford. I do so with great sincerity; and as the no-popery yell has so completely recoiled on the heads of those who raised it, I hope we shall hear no more of it."

Phineas Pett to The Same.

1809, December 18. Oxford.—"With the most cordial joy I avail myself of the opportunity afforded me in acknowledging the honour of your lordship's very obliging letter, to offer my warmest congratulations upon the issue of the contest. It is not flattery to express my persuasion that when the animosities of the moment shall have subsided, every real and considerate friend to the University will discover the futility of the subsisting misconceptions, and will partake of the same sentiments of satisfaction.

"For myself (whatever had been the event), I profess it to be my pride and happiness that my situation here has happened to be such, as to give propriety to the public avowal of those feelings of respect and attachment towards your lordship's high character, which, as a private individual, I have from early years never ceased to entertain. My humble though most willing services are appreciated by your partiality infinitely beyond their merit. If they have had any effect in the particular line in which they have been chiefly directed, it is but justice to my Christ Church friends, and above all to Mr. Corne, that I should attribute that effect to their zealous and judicious co-operation.

"I ought not to conclude my letter without acknowledging very thankfully your kind solicitude on account of my ill-health, which I wish that I could attribute to the fatigue of the occasion. It is of very long standing, and it has been very materially alleviated by the satisfaction naturally attending the success which has so justly terminated the late struggle."

Reverend F. Hodson, Principal of Brasen Nose College, Oxford, to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 18. Brasen Nose College.—"I enclose, for your information, the Vice Chancellor's answer, and though I continue to think that his eagerness to show his respect has been less manifest than his hostility, with your lordship's approbation, I will leave all that remains to himself.

"I have seen the Bishop of Oxford since I returned, and am happy to say that he is quite well."

Enclosing.

(1) The Principal of Brasen Nose to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford University.

1809, December 16. Brasen Nose College.—"The Principal of Brasen Nose College presents compliments to the Vice Chancellor, and deeply regrets to find that he is suffering under increased indisposition.

"The object of the Principal's call was to have paid his respects to the Vice-Chancellor, and to have availed himself of the opportunity of enquiring whether it had not been the usage of the University to confer by diploma the degree of LL.D. on the new Chancellor.

"Perhaps the arrangements necessary for such an act of Convocation, as well as for the private installation of Lord Grenville, cannot be fixed in a manner satisfactory to the Vice-Chancellor without those personal exertions, which are of course dependent upon the Vice-Chancellor's recovery; and if so, as indeed in any case, the Principal hopes he shall not be soliciting what may subject the Vice Chancellor to a degree of trouble that can retard his recovery, if he requests the Vice-Chancellor to have the goodness to inform him whether he has been able to give his attention to the further honour of the degree, which Lord Grenville's friends trust it is not presumptuous in them to hope for; or to the time at which it may appear to the Vice Chancellor most proper that his lordship should be invested with the honour already conferred."

(2) The Vice-Chancellor to the Principal of Brasen Nose College.

1809, December 17. Balliol College.—"The Vice-Chancellor presents compliments to the Principal of Brasen Nose, and

returns thanks for his obliging enquiries after his health. The Vice-Chancellor has experienced a very considerable aggravation of his indisposition, under which he still labours; he is very sorry that this circumstance rendered it inconvenient to him either to see the Principal of Brasen Nose when he called yesterday, or to answer his note.

"The Vice-Chancellor, most assuredly, has never been inattentive to the subjects which the Principal has been so good as to place before him. He has been, and he ever will be, sincerely anxious that the University should testify its respect for its Chancellor by every testimony of its favour which has been usual on such occasions. But he ventures to think that no delay has yet taken place, which might not have been easily and satisfactory accounted for, even without any reference to the state of his health; and he certainly feels that no admonition can be necessary to induce him to bring forward, for the consideration of the University, the particular measures above alluded to, as soon as circumstances will permit him to do so, in such a manner as he conceives to be most fit and proper."

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 19. Cleveland Square.—"I return you Ponsonby's letter which is pretty much what I expected him to write, as I had told Tierney ever since the death of Lord Lansdowne. I see no difficulty in your answer, because I take for granted that you will not wish to express to him any decided opinion till you have talked it over with Lord Grey, whose arrival in London will probably precede that of Ponsonby. As I did not see the House of Commons last year I can form no opinion worth the giving; but under all the present difficulties as between Tierney and Whitbread, I do not know but that Ponsonby may offer the best solution in the moment; but then he will never do in a change of Government to be the Minister in the House of Commons, at least if the same opinion continues to prevail among all our friends; and I know not how Lord Grey and you can propose to him to take this *new lease of the lead* for the purpose of dislodging him in case of a change of Government. If he will go on, and can go on, as he did, with the previous explanation of his taking the Irish seals in case of a change, that might be the best upon the whole for the present and the future; but it cannot be proposed to him now to take or to continue the lead without a distinct explanation of what that lead is to lead him to. Do not think by this that I am more of a believer in a change of Government; inasmuch as the public expectation of it is increased, the King's resistance to it becomes something more difficult, but not a whit less decided. But though I personally do not expect a change, it would be quite childish not to consider the question of Ponsonby as it bears upon that matter; and for every reason that question must, as

I think, be reserved for full preliminary discussion with Lord Grey, and till that is obtained it must stand still. I am so much persuaded of this that I am more than half inclined to invite Tierney to put off his journey and his conversation with you, and to wait till after Lord Grey's arrival in London.

"I am surprised to hear that you must have any grandees about you to receive the Oxford deputation; if so I should advise you to receive them in London, for I know not how you can have any chance of getting any down to Dropmore. The Duke of Somerset is out of town; Morpeth is more than half gouty at Chiswick; the Chief Baron could, as I think, hardly find time for a second departure from his sittings; and I do not believe in Lord Stafford's going."

THE REVEREND CHARLES HENRY HALL, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 19. Christ Church.—"I beg you will permit me to congratulate you upon the successful termination of your contest for the Chancellorship of the University. I am myself thoroughly persuaded that our real interests and welfare cannot be placed in better hands; and in my present situation as head of this society, it is a circumstance of peculiar gratification to me, that the choice has fallen upon one of our own body, whose distinguished talents, and learning, have always reflected the highest honour upon the place of his education."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 20. Cleveland Square.—"Tierney agrees with me in thinking that it is of no use for us to go to Dropmore to talk to you of what you can do nothing in till you shall have seen Lord Grey; Elliot concurs in this opinion, and is quite as much impressed as I am with the persuasion that in fairness to Ponsonby he must be told *now* if he is not to be the Minister in the House of Commons; for to give him *now* a new lease will in all fairness entitle him to expect to be the Minister of the House of Commons in case you are called upon to make a new Government. How he can fill that situation I do not guess; and therefore I incline to think that, whether he now takes the lead or not, he ought to be invited (in case of change) to take the Irish seals with a peerage, an arrangement which I think he cannot complain of if it be *previously* announced to him.

"Tierney to-day expressed a hope that Abercrombie might succeed to Secretary of Treasury, and upon my observing that Fremantle had a sort of possession, he answered that he had reason to believe that Fremantle would like anything else better, and that as late as a week ago, when Fremantle assisted him with the anonymous circular letters, Fremantle said to him 'do not think I do this in reference to any desire to resume my former office; I do not wish to give any positive

opinion as to my resuming it or not ; but I do this because I have the means of assisting you about these letters. Of course I could only say that if Fremantle was not, I did not know of any objection to Abercrombie, to whom I perceived many of our friends to be well inclined.

"I enclose to you a letter from Sir H. Englefield, which I have answered.

"Tierney writes again to-night to Lord Grey to press his coming up before the rest of his family. Lord P[onsonby] tells Tierney that he can swear to G[eorge] P[onsonby's] having said 'he only wished to retain his seat to vindicate himself about the *Veto*' ; but Lord P[onsonby] tells Tierney that Lord Lansdown's death has changed his uncle's mind, and has led him to a different determination."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, December 20. Roehampton.—"As you mention in yours that you have been occupied in letters of thanks, I send a minute from my writing box of some names to whom I have thought it desirable to transmit some expressions of our thanks ; and perhaps there are several in the list who ought to have a line in your name ; such particularly as Mr. Bleckston, whose steadiness was material and made a most useful impression ; and Mr. Vansittart, who came under circumstances of great inconvenience ; and Mr. Richardson who travelled nearly 700 miles ; and Lord Henry Seymour to whom it was a most extraordinary exertion ; and William Vansittart who brought us two votes besides his own ; and Robert Moore, whose Windsor connection naturally might have turned him against us.

"In truth your committee should have told you of all these details in respect to the whole 406.

"We must have had many shabby deserters ; but on the whole the result is as good as could be wished, and makes a great impression of the most useful kind.

"I understand from good authority that the Treasury people do not expect a considerable majority. What is called the Circular Note of Opposition is criticised for saying that 'an amendment will certainly be moved' (to an unknown address) and that 'a division will certainly take place' (though the amendment may possibly be accepted).

"Lord Sidmouth told me that when it was proposed to Robert Dundas to come into the War Department, Lord Melville was at the same time offered an earldom, and was invited to town (I presume to superintend). He declined the offer, and said that under the circumstances he could not pledge himself.

"The great hope of the Ministers is in the chaotic state of the House of Commons, and in the driving the expeditions into the Serbonian bog of a Parliamentary enquiry.

"We resettle to-morrow at Eden Farm."

The Earl of Bristol to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 20. Wenham.—"Now that the number of letters which you must have been daily receiving is likely to be diminishing, I must trouble you with a few lines to express the very great and sincere satisfaction which I have derived from the happy result of the late contest at Oxford.

"Before I left home I had ascertained that my express had reached Bury in time to secure Mr. Davenport's attendance at Oxford, and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving you an account of the zeal which Mr. Kedington showed on this occasion, as it in some degree compensated to me for the cold reception which my application had met with in another quarter. When my servant reached Mr. Kedington's on the Sunday previous to the election, he was unfortunately just gone to Norwich. This made so great a delay that it was 7 o'clock on *Tuesday evening* before he could get Mr. Davenport and Mr. Gooch into his post-chaise at Bury; and lest Mr. Davenport should loiter on the road, and so defeat the object of the journey, he went with them himself, and by travelling all night just arrived in time to vote for you.

"I have been so much hurt by Mr. Clare's conduct that you must forgive my troubling you with this anecdote of a kind and perfectly independent country neighbour."

C. W. W. Wynn to The Same.

1809, December 20. Acton.—"The events of last week seems so like a dream that I can hardly yet believe that the object of so much anxiety is really attained. My uncle Tom has desired that I will mention to you the names of those who appear particularly deserving of your personal thanks. Probably I have already stated the claims of most of them in other letters, but those who now particularly occur to me are the following:—

Mr. Franklin.
,, Wheatley.
,, Phillimore.
,, D'Oyley of All Souls, very active both in London and Oxford.
,, Wrottesley.
Sir Charles Saxton.
Lord Yarborough.
Marquis of Townshend.

"I do not mention the long list of those whose successful exertions will appear from our fly lists and folio book, as I conclude that you have already written to them, as well as to Lord Thanet, whose endeavours, though unsuccessful, I told you of when at Dropmore. Lord Kinnaird and Sir G. Warrander appeared also to be very active.

"Charles Saxton returned to Dublin, on Sunday. I scarcely can think that they will venture on accepting his resignation,

though I have no doubt from his former letters and conduct that Pole will strain every nerve to get rid of him.

"I regret much that your installation must take place before I am within reach of Dropmore, as Crowe's speech and your answer, together with the placid countenances of the Vice-Chancellor and Brickenden, would be well worth a moderate journey.

"We agreed in Christ Church Common Room that among other reasons why your success was necessary for the credit of the University was the array of *all the talents* on your side, and that it would be impossible for either of the other candidates to find any poets to furnish tolerable productions for the *encœnia*. Crowe, Heber, Copplestone, Herbert, and Simmonds, are infinitely above all other performers in the University to sing your triumph.

"Is it true that the Eldonites were sanguine enough of success to have printed letters ready to announce their majority, and to have offered the High Stewardship to Lord Radnor. Charles Saxton was the first who undeceived them at University, and found several of those who as victors were willing enough to shake hands with him, so much mortified by their defeat as scarcely to speak to him afterwards. Coker, I hear, on the declaration of the numbers, stood forth in the convocation house and declared the university to be ruined.

"I am now sitting in Mary's room, who is going on delightfully well, as well as the babe. She begs to send her best love to Lady Grenville, and to inform her that we judged it expedient to prefix another name to *Victoria*, lest the portion of Welsh blood which runs in the young lady's veins should procure her the elegant abbreviation of *Vixen* or Vic.

"I add an extract from a letter from Madras, dated July 12, though the fact it mentions may probably have already reached you. 'The army here are but one step from open mutiny, one regiment has gone so far as to confine it's commander, and place a person from among themselves at it's head. This principle is not confined to one regiment, but *rages throughout the whole army*.'

"Phillimore informs me that both our antagonists' inspectors told him towards the close of the poll that there had been a defection from the Duke of Beaufort to Lord Eldon. Have you at all heard it's amount?"

Earl Grey to The Same.

1809, December 21. Howick.—"By the last post I received the letters, copies of which accompany this, from George Ponsonby. The embarrassment with respect to him certainly is not diminished by the manner in which Tierney's letter to Lord Ponsonby has been communicated to him. It was not to be wondered at that he should be very much struck by the demand of a decisive answer upon a point on which, as it appears, he had no reason to believe that any previous

doubt existed. And perhaps there may appear to him so much difference in the tone of Tierney's letters to Lord Ponsonby and to himself as may excite some unpleasant feelings.

"I really never felt so much perplexed in my life as with respect to the answer that I must write to him; and I shall put it off till to-morrow. But I probably shall avoid saying anything very explicit; accounting for Tierney's letter by the different understanding of Lord Ponsonby and yourself with respect to his communication with you at the end of the last session, and deferring every thing else till I can have an opportunity of discussing personally with him and with you all the circumstances of our present situation. I will send you a copy of my letter when I have written it.

"All this is extremely unpleasant, but I really do not know how to take a more direct course, till I know your opinion. The general opinion of Ponsonby's failure was undoubtedly very strong; but I don't know what means we have of supplying his place; and there might perhaps be less disadvantage in continuing to act with him as the leader in the House of Commons, than either at present to attempt to appoint a new one, or to leave the party there without an ostensible head, and consequently deprived of all the established means of general communication. The first object however must be to conduct ourselves with perfect fairness to George Ponsonby, who, whatever the disadvantages attending his situation in the House of Commons may have been, has always acted most honourably. I will thank you to send the letters as soon as you have read them to Tierney. I shall leave this place about this day sen'night, and shall hope to be in town on the Monday or Tuesday following."

The Rev. F. Hodson to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 21. Brasen Nose College.—"Our meeting passed off without any unpleasant occurrence but a spar between the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Tatham, and which turned rather upon the general unstatutableness of the mode of transacting public business than upon the particular object of the meeting. The result was, that it shall be proposed to convocation on Saturday at 12 o'clock to confer upon your lordship by diploma the degree of LL.D; that the Vice-Chancellor, by the post of that night, shall communicate the further honour conferred, and at the same time consult your lordship as to the time and place where you would wish to be installed. He said that he would have called our attention to these subjects sooner, if his health would have allowed him; and that, subject to the same contingency, he should wish to assist at the ceremony of installation, as the more respectful way of proceeding. Possibly in your reply you might think it not unfit to fix the earliest day that will be compatible with his personal attendance; the earliness of the day showing

the value you attach to it, and the consideration of his personal attendance respecting a wish to be introduced to one with whom you must have some hospitable, and much official intercourse.

"The meeting this morning was very fully attended, and the temper that prevailed, just what you would wish.

"I enclose an extract from an old Oxford paper, though I do not flatter myself that it can be in any respect useful."

Postscript.—"The names of the Heads of Houses who attended this morning; President of Corpus, Master of University, Rector of Exeter, Provost of Oriel, Provost of Queen's, Rector of Lincoln, Warden of All Souls, President of Trinity, Principal of Jesus, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Principal of Magdalen Hall."

Lord Grenville to The Earl of Fingall.

1809, December 22. Dropmore.—"I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter enclosing to me a copy of the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and informing me of the wish of the Petitioners that I should present it to the House of Lords. Previously to my taking any decision on a subject which involves so many important considerations, I feel it indispensably necessary to communicate with those persons with whom I have had the happiness to concur in all the steps which have hitherto been taken respecting it, and by whose judgment I must always be desirous of regulating my conduct in so far as may be consistent with my own sense of duty, and with the principles which I hold in common with them.

"The opportunity of such communication will probably not occur till a period near to the opening of the Session. If your Lordship is likely at that time to be in London I shall with great pleasure avail myself of the advantage of conversing with you upon the subject; if not, I take the liberty to request to be informed where I may address any further letters respecting it." *Copy.*

Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 22. Cleveland Square.—"I had no other hesitation about coming with Tierney to Dropmore than what arose from our apprehending that nothing could be done about what presses most in relation to G[eorge] P[onsonby] in the House of Commons, till Lord Grey comes in the first days of January; but if, nevertheless, you wish us to come to Dropmore, I will ask Tierney to go any day that you will fix in next week, unless you go to Stowe, which is perhaps a better use of your time. I think you have not rightly considered the whole of the question respecting the state in which G[eorge] P[onsonby] now stands, when you seem to describe his going on as the natural and ordinary state. In the first place you seem not aware that the first difficulty

as to G[eorge] P[onsonby] going on, is found in Tierney himself having formerly declared to G[eorge] P[onsonby] that he, for one, thought the party broken up by what passed last Session, and that he, for one, would not again engage in that firm ; and Tierney in his last letter to G[eorge] P[onsonby] referred to that declaration, and repeated that his sentiments continued to be the same. Tierney is also persuaded that many of the party have the same objection with himself to G[eorge] P[onsonby] continuing to take the lead. Here then is a new feature in the case which must either be braved by our telling Tierney we eare not what he does, or must be overeome by Tierney and the others being persuaded (I know not how) to withdraw their objections. Another new diffieulty which you seem equally to have overlooked is in the intention which G[eorge] P[onsonby] shows of not returning to the Irish seals in case of a ehange of government ; or, in other words, the evident project which he has of being the Minister in the House of Commons in case of any general change. Whether this ought or ought not to be tried, whether if tried there is any hope of its succeeding, whether our friends could be induced to make that experiment, or whether any other experiment eould be tried with any better hope, are all very important questions ; but they are quite new questions ; beeause up to this moment both Lord Grey and Lord Lansdowne and you had all agreed and understood that, in ease of a change, G[eorge] P[onsonby] was to go back to the seals with a peerage ; and, if you reeollect, Lord Grey had distinctly expressed his sense of the necessity of this arrangement, and his approbation of it whenever the case should arise. All that I wish you therefore to remark is that the new difficulty arises, not from any letter of Tierney's, but from the evidence of G[eorge] P[onsonby] now showing that he is by no means ready to go back to the Irish Seals ; and this appears, not from any correspondenee with Tierney, but from Lord Grey's correspondence with G[eorge] P[onsonby] when he sent to him to Ireland the aeeount of the overture, and asked to know his wishes in case of a change of government in respect to the Irish Seals ; a question whieh G[eorge] P[onsonby] declined to answer, and which manifested that he had other views than those of the Irish Seals.

"I have stated to you thus shortly what appears to me to be the two great difficulties of G[eorge] P[onsonby] continuing in the lead ; first the difficulty of Tierney having explicitly declared that he and many others will not so go on ; secondly, that G[eorge] P[onsonby] having been eonsidered as holding the lead now, to resume the Irish Seals, has shown pretty plainly that in case of a change he thinks he may continue the lead in Government in the House of Commons. These are each of them such important differences in his position, as make at least a new question as to the expediency and the possibility of his continuing leader ; and do not by any means

leave it as a matter of course, although I very readily admit that great difficulties will also be found in every other shape that I can think of.

"I am glad you have determined to receive your Deputation in town, because you can more easily dispose of them, and dine them, and have done with them in Camelford House than at Dropmore.

"I don't well see how to circulate your letter, if you object to the chance of it's getting into print; there is no way of circulating it but by multiplying copies, which at last always reach the columns of *The Morning Chronicle*. My notion was that your future correspondence with Lord Fingal respecting the *Veto* would not inconveniently be prefaced by your letter to Hogdson getting into print; but if you think your letter to Lord Fingal will, with better advantage, go by itself into public, there can be no objection to that course; but, of the necessity of adopting the *Veto*, I am every day more and more persuaded. No news beyond the increasing report of Wellesley making war upon Castlereagh, in order to invite Canning back into office."

The Same to The Same.

1809, December 23. Cleveland Square.—"The enclosed speaks for itself; Lord St. Vincent was so earnest in his exertions in the Oxford Election, to which he carried more than one voter at his own expense, that I am sure you will be glad to assist his friend Mr. Taylor if you can. A line from you to Lord St. Vincent would be handsomest, but if you prefer it, write me such a line as I can enclose to him. The reports of Wellesley bringing in Canning increase. I suppose it will end so, though I know not how soon or how late."

Postscript.—"Hester writes me word that some of her country neighbours, and those above par too, have 'taken the liberty to ask her ladyship whether it is not true that her ladyship's three brothers are Roman Catholics.' This is a pretty good proof that where a good deal of dirt is thrown, some always sticks. I was not aware that any of us need have made a protestant profession; but I suppose now it will not be believed if it be made. I have a great dislike to be thought a Roman; I suppose my brother and you don't care what you are thought."

The Reverend F. Hodson to The Same.

1809, December 23. Brasen Nose College.—"The degree of Doctor in Civil Law was conferred this morning with an unanimity which, I hope, is a pledge of future harmony. Dr. Hughes acted as Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Parsons being still confined; and one of the Pros for S. Proctor who has not been in the university this week. Considering that it is now vacation the convocation was well attended; I should

think not fewer than 50 ; and amongst them some that I was very glad to see ; the Master of the University College, the Dean of Christ Church, Canons Jackson, Hay, and Howley.

"The Vice-Chancellor's professions of respect, and of a desire to manifest it by his own attendance, may possibly induce your lordship to have the period at which you would receive the delegacy dependent in some measure upon his recovery. But still would it not be desirable that the investiture should take place *before* the meeting of Parliament ; and would not a range of three weeks for him to choose in imply sufficient consideration for the Vice-Chancellor ?

"Has it occurred to you to consider whether, in the event of the ceremony taking place in town, it might not be right that the Lord High Steward and the members for the University should be invited ?

"As the three Esquire Bedels are graduates, it is usual to allow them a separate table ; the Yeomen Bedels will fancy themselves well off by dining with your lordship's steward.

"The newsman's address, which I take the liberty of enclosing for Lady Grenville, is supposed to be versified by Crowe, who tells me that the dialogue which is introduced actually passed."

Postscript.—"Dr. Gibbes left full practice at Bath for three days ; and it has been hinted to me that a line from your lordship would be valued as it ought ! "

Private. Sir Charles Saxton to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 24. Dublin Castle.—"At my return to Dublin I have the honour to receive your lordship's very kind and flattering letter of the 14th instant ; and, in reply, can with great sincerity assure you, that the satisfaction I have felt in testifying the sense I entertain of your kindness to me, and claims upon the University, has been greatly enhanced by the manner in which your lordship has condescended to receive what was, on my part, but an act of duty and gratitude."

Lord Auckland to The Same.

1809, December 26. Eden Farm.—"We are re-settled here till about the 1st February, and shall then go to town till the beginning of May ; three months sacrificed to the purposes of education. That consideration alone prevents me from selling my house in Palace Yard.

"I this morning received a letter from Lord Gwydir, in which he says, 'I give you joy of Lord Grenville's success, to which I was delighted to have contributed my mite ; but as I am a Cambridge man, my means were not equal to my wishes.' Perhaps it would be worth while to write a line of thanks to him.

"Mr. Blechston writes a *private* line to me to say that 'Lord Francis Spencer is *visibly* turning against the present Government.' I trust that you will have the public support of that whole family and connections; for though it is in some degree divided against itself, there is no reason why it should not unite under your banners. I have just written to Lord Francis to recommend to him to insist on the issuing of a new India Commission; it is a sort of swindling proceeding to keep him under false colours.

"You will hardly decide on the words of the amendment till after a conference with Lord Grey and others (including perhaps Lord Sidmouth); but I conceive that it should be generally worded in terms 'expressive of regret and indignation respecting the calamities and councils which have brought such loss, danger, and disgrace on the interests and character of the British empire.' Those terms to be so managed as to evince a withdrawing of confidence from the present Government, and yet not to compromise the consistency or prejudices of individuals who hitherto had given their support, and are now satisfied that there must be a change.

"The ministers are clearly wrecked, but beyond that wreck I see nothing satisfactory."

Confidential.—"It is most desirable, if it can be done with your strictest sense and conviction of what is due to character, that you and Lord Grey should find some mode of declared postponement of the Irish question; such a postponement (which may be conjectured, but should never be admitted, to be limited to the present reign) would eventually best secure your ultimate objects respecting Ireland, and in the meantime rescue the country from the miseries and mischiefs of weak Ministries.

"The next point is the alarming wildness of the House of Commons. It might perhaps be in some degree remedied by a proper explanation and understanding with Mr. Whitbread, who, if in office with men of right principles, might see that he is pursuing ideas very dangerous to the country."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 26. Cleveland Square.—"If upon similar occasion it has been usual to invite the Lord H[igh] St[eward] of the University, that invitation should not be withheld because he was a rival candidate for the Chancellorship; but if custom does not prescribe it, one should naturally avoid it, because there is a necessary awkwardness in your inviting him to meet the University, when there is nothing for him to do but to be a witness of his defeat and your triumph over him; this appears to me to be so natural and obvious an objection, that nothing short of indispensible usuage would induce me under similar circumstances to invite him. If custom so much requires this invitation from you, as that the omission of it could be construed into wilful neglect, then

and only in such a case would I invite him. Is it quite sure that, before you have received the Deputation and have been invested by them, you can in your card of invitation designate yourself chancellor and give yourself that title in your proposed card?

"With respect to Homer, I believe Dr. Hodgson will look for very different acknowledgments from you, and will not give you a receipt in full for the L. P. Adelphi edition; but whatever he will take as an act of kindness from you I shall be too glad to concur in, and whenever you will send me a warrant countersigned Buckingham I will execute your commission; I should in that case be tempted perhaps to let him have my copy, which is too much decorated to please me, and I would then have one bound with more classical simplicity to suit my fancy.

"By the bye it has struck me that perhaps poor Kidd, whom you have more than once been good to, may from his gratitude have put himself to the expense of a journey to vote for you; if that be so (and you can easily learn it) the Adelphi could not do better than renew their joint mite to make him a little purse of 50*l.* at Coutts's, of which he has perhaps at least as much need as usual.

"I hear no news—I am going to show your letter to the Primate! which is a high trial of it."

Earl St. Vincent to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 26. Rachetts.—"Many thanks for your obliging letter; and I beg leave to assure your lordship that few events of a long and chequered life have gratified me so much as your well-merited success at Oxford."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 27.—"I had scarce read your letter when Tierney arrived with the papers which you had transmitted to him from Grey. He is not surprised at the tone of irritation in which G[eorge] P[onsonby] writes concerning him, for he now for the first time discovers that Lord P[onsonby] has never told G[eorge] P[onsonby] a word of his having himself quoted G[eorge] P[onsonby] to Tierney, for having himself declared to Lord P[onsonby] 'that he did not mean to continue the lead next session, but should be sorry to give up his seat, as he thought he ought to be in Parliament to defend himself upon the *Veto*.' When Tierney wrote to Lord P[onsonby] Tierney reminded Lord P[onsonby] of his having used these words, as having heard them from his Uncle, and desired him to write to his uncle to know if he still retained that intention, or if you had better understood him when you described his conversation to you as conveying no such idea; a week after this Tierney wrote a second note to Lord P[onsonby] to remind him that the time pressed for obtaining an answer

to his former letter; but Tierney had not the smallest suspicion that Lord P[onsonby] would send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] either of his, Tierney's, notes; least of all did he suspect that Lord P[onsonby] would send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] the *second note only* which expresses an impatience to hear upon the subject, without sending to G[eorge] P[onsonby] any of the grounds on which this enquiry was made. Tierney therefore is not surprised that, in this state, G[eorge] P[onsonby] should be displeased at an enquiry the grounds of which he could not understand; but he is very justly surprised and displeased with Lord P[onsonby] that he should be potatoe-headed enough to send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] only the offensive part of Tierney's correspondence, without ever explaining to G[eorge] P[onsonby] that the enquiry had been produced by Lord P[onsonby's] own declaration to Tierney of what he Lord P[onsonby] had heard from his uncle.

" It is clear to me that Lord P[onsonby's] wish to remove his uncle has made him exaggerate the report of his conversation beyond what he could venture to describe to his uncle; and, on the other hand, I suppose G[eorge] P[onsonby] to have hesitated originally about resuming the lead, and to have recently decided for it in consequence of Petty being withdrawn, and of thinking his own pretensions better that Tierney's or Whitbread's. If the party will accept of G[eorge] P[onsonby] that is certainly the easiest and the best; but if they will not follow him as leader he cannot lead them as followers. Certainly however I should incline to think that you would do best in agreeing with Lord Grey for the actual continuance of G[eorge] P[onsonby], with the reserve of the necessary reconsideration of that subject, if a new government should be required; a chance which you cannot think more remote than I do, because all that I see confirms me in the belief that out of our weakness, disunion, and distraction, this weak and contemptible government will find a strength and consistency which their own means alone could never have supplied to them. I return you Holland's letter with the copy of your answer, which latter is, as I think, quite unobjectionable. I cannot say that I equally approve of Holland's letter; his absence from England the whole of last session has prevented him from observing the direct hostility which Whitbred carried on against us, both in his peace amendment, and in his support of the still coarser hostilities of Madocks and of Creevey. But after Holland has been informed of the extent to which this was carried, he has no right to *claim* for Whitbread the same course of confidential intercourse, as arises naturally between those who are politically agreed and confidentially connected. Holland forgets that, while he is maintaining this claim of unlimited confidence to be reposed in Whitbread, Lord Grey thinks that Whitbread has politically separated himself from

us, and has very recently told Whitbread that he did so consider him. I am not stating this as a reason why all fair means should not be taken to render union practicable, nor is there anybody who desires it more than I do ; but I object to the whole of the tone and view which is to be traced in Holland's letter upon this subject, because in the whole of that letter he urges the reasons of complaint which we afford to Whitbread by not consulting him about the amendment, and by presuming to suggest a mover without his previous approbation. If Whitbread will join the party in the fair and ordinary interpretation of that word, he would be entitled to these marks of confidence, and to every other fair consideration from the party ; but it is a little too much to *claim* that confidence for him, in his state of more than half hostility, which belongs only to staunch and approved friends.

"I have not shown to Tierney the letter from Holland, or the answer.—Lady H[olland] is hard at work to obtain proper concessions from us to Whitbread, from her imagination being haunted by the dread of union with Canning.

"Report increases daily of Wellesley Premier—Percival Chancellor—Canning Minister of House of Commons—Huskisson Chancellor of Exchequer—but I know not how to believe it."

The Duke of Somerset to Lord Grenville.

1809, December 27. Bradley House.—"It will give me very great pleasure to be present at your installation, and I look forward with much expectation to the satisfaction which I promise myself from re-visiting Oxford on that occasion. That indeed I already anticipate in the very general expression of those sentiments which the result of the contest has called forth ; and in the persuasion I feel, considering the circumstances under which it took place, of the decided preference which was marked by its termination."

Lord Foley to The Same.

1809, December 28. London.—"I had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter, and in reply beg leave to assure you that the result of the Oxford contest afforded me the highest satisfaction ; and that I esteem myself extremely fortunate in having had it in my power to contribute (although in so small a degree) to that which I firmly believe was the anxious wish of the greatest part of the kingdom."

Thomas Grenville to The Same.

1809, December 30. Cleveland Square.—"I had observed the *Times* beginning to take an eager part in defence of Jackson, and in question of Erskine ; I therefore got my friend to say a word of caution upon this subject of America, and I have not seen it renewed. But by what I hear to-day I think

there is very little chance left, if any, of avoiding war. Tierney saw Pinkney yesterday, whose language to him was that of some blame of Jackson, still more of Maddison, but a most undisguised apprehension of very immediate war. Tierney has this day seen his *confidential friend* who talked of American war as a thing quite decided; and Tierney almost suspects, more from his manner than from his words, that the first blow will be struck by us. To me this conduct appears like absolute insanity, because American war was the only remaining evil that was left to us to apprehend in the present state of the world; and our real greatness and superiority enabled us to endure more from America in avoiding war than we could have done with respect to a power of more established naval and military force. We shall now lose all that remains to our commerce through the neutral flag of America; a few of our navy captains will make some prize money; and France will renew and confirm her connection with America, whose seamen mixed with many of our own will man the ships and fight the battles of France. Tierney's friend spoke of our retaining Canada and Halifax as quite hopeless from the total deficiency of sufficient military force to defend them; but with all this I see that Tierney thinks American war will be popular in the city, and that the Government will derive strength from an event which, as I think, should make a first article of impeachment against them. From the same quarter I learn that Percival and Wellesley are still pressing Huskisson to be Chancellor of Exchequer, Percival still continuing first Lord, which is at least a new *Dramatis Personæ* in the House of Commons; and, it is added, that the hope of Wellesley prevailing upon Canning to take the Admiralty is not thought desperate.

"The *runners* of Government look wise and mysterious when they name the word *Peace*. Pinkney told Tierney he believed there had been some general overture; and Bonaparte's gracious admission of South American independence is, by some, looked upon as connected with this supposed overture of peace."

APPENDIX.

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.*

1806, August 5. India Board.—"I have just called in Downing Street to give you the enclosed letter which I found last night from Lord Carysfort. You will see in it that the bishop in the most explicit manner assured Lord Carysfort that he *was authorised to answer for the persons he named;* and, further, Lord Castlereagh has since been down there with the bishop. I cannot help thinking that, in this shape, what was said by the bishop must be considered as a distinct proposal, and must be treated as such; how far it can be entertained is another question, and not an unimportant one. For myself I confess that I incline to think it so desirable as to make me still wish for your pursuing it; and I cannot help thinking, in that view, that my suggestion is well worth the adopting. Why should you not *in the present moment* (without waiting the precarious state of poor Fox) consider the India Board and a seat in the Cabinet as disposable either to Canning or to Castlereagh, with the Mint for the other of them, and a promise to Rose? I should thus still remain in the Cabinet, for the present without office; and when any arose in which I could be useful, I might then take it, whether Admiralty which is bad, or Home seals instead of Lord Spencer, which is best.

"This seems to me to offer such great advantages that, if you agree with me, you will write a line to Lord Carysfort to say that, as he describes this to be a communication which the bishop was *authorised* to make, you are ready and desirous to talk it over with him. Less than this you cannot well say in answer, unless you are determined to *bar the door.* The only real embarrassment that I see is with respect to Tierney and Whitbread, and perhaps those difficulties are not to be easily surmounted; but still my advice to you is to entertain the discussion proposed by Lord Carysfort, and I think that my furnishing this facility in *the present moment through the office which I hold*, will give us a better right to the disposition of it in this shape, than if we waited first for another opening for me; to me it will be no inconvenience, for I can equally remain in the Cabinet without India. Pray reflect upon this."

* This letter, and the following one of Lord Carysfort, were found among Lord Grenville's correspondence for the year 1809, after the publication of Volume VIII to which they properly belong. The displacement is to be regretted as they throw a little more light on the somewhat obscure negotiation between Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning in 1806. See Introduction to Volume VIII, page 36.

Postscript.—"Do not forget Sir G. Barlow's red ribbon to-morrow. You have not returned me Lady Stafford's letter, nor told me what to say to her. If you write to Lord Carysfort it must be at Hinchingbrook, in his way to the bishop."

Enclosing:—

LORD CARYSFORT to THE SAME.

1806, July 27. Elton.—"I dined at Buckden on Wednesday, and as the bishop talked to me before I left him on Thursday night, upon general, as well as upon Huntingdonshire politics, you must not remain unapprized of what passed. The details of our conversation are of no consequence. The result is that Lord Castlereagh, Canning, and Rose are to be had, if you think it worth while to buy them. The bishop says it would attach to you the whole body of Pitt's friends. What number, and what description of persons this denomination may be now supposed to include you know better than I can. In my estimation none of these men are of sufficient calibre to lead the House of Commons, and Tom's accession to the Cabinet has, I think, considerably lessened your difficulties in that respect; but the reconciling them would certainly break completely the *present* Opposition. I collect from the bishop that Lord Castlereagh would expect the Cabinet, and that Canning would be satisfied with less. A consciousness of the difficulty of making immediate openings for them, or, perhaps, that they are not likely to keep anybody long in opposition, would make them satisfied with hope for the present. The bishop professed his readiness to go to you if you should wish to see him. The uncertain state of Fox's health, and the recess of Parliament, makes it not necessary to do anything in the matter at present. Lord Castlereagh appeared to me in Ireland a man of application, and showed a good deal of firmness and discretion in his management of the union, but I never could consider him as a great statesman, or a powerful speaker.

"I hear that Lord Althorpe declared himself a candidate for Northamptonshire at the assizes, and that Sir William Langham also starts. I know very little of that county, but I hear Lord Westmorland is hostile to Lord Althorpe; and I doubt the Duke of Buccleuch and his connections will be so too. Lord St. Helens should be applied to for Lord Exeter's interest, which must be considerable. I think Huntingdonshire promises well."

Expedition to Constantinople.

Most Secret. [W. WINDHAM] to GENERAL HENRY EDWARD FOX, Commanding His Majesty's troops in the Mediterranean.

1806, November 20. Downing Street.—"Some late proceedings on the part of the Porte having rendered it indispensably

necessary that measures of a prompt and decisive nature should be adopted towards that Government, I have it in command to inform you that orders have been sent to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood to detach a squadron of five ships of the line under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth and Rear-Admiral Sidney Smith with directions to the former to proceed without a moment's loss of time to the Straits of Constantinople, and there to take such a hostile position as will enable him, should representations suitable to the occasion which Mr. Arbuthnot has been directed to make to the Turkish Government fail of the effect, to act offensively against Constantinople.

"I have it further in command to inform you that orders have been sent to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood to direct Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, in the event of strong measures becoming necessary, immediately on the commencement of hostilities to despatch a fast sailing vessel with intelligence to you of the same; and I am to convey to you his Majesty's pleasure that, without waiting even for such communication, you make all necessary arrangements and preparations for the transporting of a corps consisting of 5,000 men under a suitable convoy to Egypt.

"On the completion of these arrangements and preparations you are to instruct the officer whom you may appoint to command the expedition, to proceed to Alexandria, (that is, provided you shall at the time have received information from Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth of hostilities having commenced) and on his arrival there, to use his utmost endeavours to effect the capture of that fortress. Should he succeed, he is to occupy and hold it on the part of His Majesty until he shall receive orders for his further proceedings. The object of His Majesty's Government in determining upon this measure is not the conquest of Egypt, but merely the capture of Alexandria; and this for the sole purpose of preventing the French from regaining a footing in that country. Indeed, the views of His Majesty's Government do not even extend to the permanent occupation of Alexandria, it being in contemplation to make over the possession of that fortress to some friendly power, as soon as it can be made over consistently with a due attention to the object which I state.

"In choosing an officer to command this expedition, attention should be paid not only to military talents, but to those qualities which may fit such officer for a civil or political trust of very considerable importance. His interference in those party dissensions by which Egypt is generally agitated, or in those contests for power which are generally maintained amongst the Beys, will probably be unavoidable, and yet the precise line he ought to take in the exercise of such interference is difficult at this time and at this distance to point out; but on such points it will be advisable that he should communicate with Major Misset, and that he should

pay due attention to the opinion of that officer, in all cases to which the local information he must necessarily possess may be supposed to extend." *Copy.*

Removal to England of Count de Provence, *afterwards* Louis XVIII. of France.

Copie du Pouvoir, que sa Majesté Louis XVIII. a remis au Comte de la Chapelle, au moment où il partait, par ses ordres, pour l'Angleterre.

" Je prie les personnes qui liront ce billet, d'accorder toute confiance à ce que le Comte de la Chapelle leur dira en mon nom, sur l'objet important des intèrêts qui me sont communs avec sa Majesté Britannique."

Mittau, ce 22 Novembre, 1805.

Signé, Louis.

Certifié conforme à la minute écrite et signée de la main du roi, et restée entre mes mains.

Londres, le 20 Fevrier, 1806.

Signé, le Comte de la Chapelle.

Délivré par moi, soussigné, a son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Due d'Orléans.

Londres, ce 20 Fevrier, 1806.

Signé, Le Comte de la Chapelle.

Secret. No. 1. Le Comte de la Chapelle à le Duc d'Orléans.

1806, Fevrier 20.—" J'ai l'honneur de transmettre à votre Altesse Sérénissime la notte par laquelle elle verra le desir que le Roi a de se fixer en Angleterre avec sa famille. Sa Majesté réclame par cette notte, les bons offices de Monseigneur pour suivre cette négociation, au succès de laquelle il est facile de voir qu'elle attache une grande importance, par le choix même d'un négociateur tel que votre Altesse Sérénissime.

"Je ne doute pas que dans le tems nécessaire pour avoir une réponse de Mittau, Sa Majesté n'adresse à votre Altesse Sérénissime un pouvoir légal, signé de sa main, pour lui servir de titre, comme quoi c'est en son nom qu'elle agit et agira. Mais comme il est important que cette affaire ne souffre aucun retard, le pouvoir général et spécial que j'ai de sa Majesté (et donc je puis donner copie certifiée à votre Altesse Sérénissime) m'autorise suffisamment pour ne laisser aucun doute à quelque Ministre que ce puisse être, que c'est par l' exprès commandement du Roi mon maître, que j'ai communiqué à Monseigneur la notte chiffrée qui contient le desir de sa Majesté et sa volonté expresse que ce fut votre Altesse Sérénissime qui fut uniquement, et exclusivement, chargée de cette négociation, qui exige le plus profond secret, jusqu'à ce que son succès ne laisse plus aucun moyen de la traverser.

" J' ajoûterai, à votre Altesse Sérénissime, que cette intention de Sa Majesté de se fixer en Angleterre avec sa famille, est tout à fait conforme à ce qu'elle m'a exprimé, avant que je me séparasse d'elle par ses ordres ; et qu'elle est en outre absolument concordante avec la confiance que sa Majesté prend dans la loyauté de sa Majesté Britannique, de son Ministère, et de sa nation, ainsi que je suis specialement chargé de le faire connaître." *Copy.*

No. 2. Notte du Comte de la Chapelle à son altesse sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans.

1806, Fevrier 22. Londres.—" Les ménagemens que le roi doit à l'Empereur de Russie ne lui permettent pas de manifester à ce souverain aucun désir de quitter ses états. Très reconnaissant de l'asile qu'il lui a donné, et surtout de ne l'avoir pas obligé d'aller à Kiow, sa Majesté sent cependant que le résidence de Mittau, qui lui a été accordée jusqu' à présent, le place dans un trop grand éloignement de ses véritables intérêts, et principalement de l'Angleterre, où le Roi a depuis longtems le désir de fixer sa résidence.

" Le Comte de la Chapelle est expressement chargé par sa Majesté de communiquer à son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans ce désir et ces intentions du Roi, et, en même tems, que c'est au zèle de son Altesse Sérénissime que le Roi confie le soin d'entamer, et de suivre vis-à-vis de sa Majesté Britannique et de son gouvernement, une négociation tendante à assurer la résidence du roi en Angleterre.

" L' Intention ne sa Majesté est que son Altesse Sérénissime soit uniquement et exclusivement chargée de cette négociation ; et après avoir exprimé son désir, ses craintes, et les ménagemens auxquels sa position le soumet, le roi, dans sa dépêche chiffrée au Comte de la Chapelle, sous la datte de Mittau, le 18 Janvier 1806, dit textuellement ;

" 'Ni Monsieur, frère du roi lui-même, ni aucune personnes que le roi ait jusques ici employées, ne peut l'être dans cette délicate négociation. Il faut une personne considérée par elle-même, écoutée du Cabinet de St. James, d'une discrétion à toute épreuve, et qui n'ait jamais reçu du roi aucune mission : ces différentes qualités se trouvent réunies dans M. le Duc d'Orléans, et le roi ne balance pas à la charger de cette importante affaire.

" ' M. de la Chapelle lui en fera donc la proposition au nom de sa Majesté. Il lui donnera à cet égard les détails que les bornes d'une notte ne sauraient comporter, et ajoûtera une grande verité ; c'est que le roi saisit avec empressement cette occasion de donner à M. le Duc d'Orléans une marque de sa véritable confiance, et de mettre à l'éprcuve son zèle et son habileté ; car pour son attachement, le roi en est bien sûr.'

" Son Altesse Sérénissime sentira parfaitement que ce désir du roi est fondé sur des motifs bien importants.

" 1°. Sur la confiance de sa Majesté dans sa Majesté Britannique et son gouvernment.

" 2°. Sur la conviction dans laquelle est le roi, de parer, par sa présence, aux très graves inconvéniens qui résultent (*peut-être* pour le gouvernement Britannique, et sûrement pour le service du Roi) *de cette multitude d'agens non-avoués, et d'agences non-commandées,* qui obsèdent ici le gouvernement Britannique, par des projêts incohérens, dont le moins funeste effet est de gêner et d'entraver les propres mesures de sa Majesté.

" Le désir du roi est de resserrer de plus en plus les liens d'un intérêt commun entre le gouvernement Britannique et lui, et de mettre fin à un ordre de choses aussi nuisible.

" Le Comte de la Chapelle n'entre pas dans de plus grands détails vis-à-vis de son Altesse Sérénissime ; s'en référant absolument, bien moins encore aux conversations qu'il a eu l'honneur d'avoir avec elle, qu'à ses propres lumières, dont il connait l' étendue." *Copy.*

Correspondence on the subject of the Conduct of H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, 1806—1807.

(1) *Report of Lords Grenville, Spencer, Ellenborough, and Erskine, on the charges brought by the Prince of Wales against the Princess, his wife.*

1806, July 14th. Camelford House.—" Your Majesty having been graciously pleased by an instrument under your Majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to authorise, empower, and direct us to enquire into the truth of certain written declarations touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your Majesty, and to examine, upon oath, such persons as we should see fit touching and concerning the same, and to report to your Majesty the result of such examinations, we have, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions are hereunto annexed ; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your Majesty the result of these examinations as it has appeared to us. But we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your Majesty for more complete information to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this most important and delicate business.

" On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales respecting

the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess. That these statements not only imputed to her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts; namely, that her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802 in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness in her own house and under her immediate inspection. These allegations thus made had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or the delivery of her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

"In the painful situation in which his Royal Highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could in our judgment with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence applying to other points of the same nature though going to a far less extent, one line only could be pursued. Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty and of concern for the public welfare required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more peculiarly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession to your Majesty's crown.

"Your Majesty had been pleased on your part to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which on every account demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining in the first instance what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them.

"On this review therefore of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper in the first place to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

"We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed

the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

"The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to enquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our indispensable duty to follow up the enquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question.

"We thought it beyond all doubt that in this course of enquiry many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy, so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof either in the affirmative or negative on this part of the subject.

"This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has anything appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our enquiries.

"The identity of the child now with the Princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, and the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her Royal Highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was beyond all doubt born in the Brownlow Street Hospital, on the 11th of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austen; and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following.

"Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess as stated in the original declarations, a fact so fully contradicted and by so many witnesses to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially extracted them in this report, lest by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but

we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole enquiry.

"We do not however feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to enquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

"From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses who cannot be, in our judgment, suspected of any unfavourable bias; and whose veracity in this respect we have seen no ground to question.

"On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom. But we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the enquiry as distinctly as on the former parts, that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so, on the other hand, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between Her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited, until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

"We cannot close this report without humbly assuring your Majesty that it was on every account our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case could possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty's permission to express our full persuasion that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to anything unnecessarily said or done by us.

"All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty."

(2) Cabinet Minute.

1806, July 29. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.	Lord Henry Petty.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Windham.
Earl Spencer.	Mr. Grenville.
Earl of Moira.	Lord Grenville.

"Your Majesty having been pleased to refer to the consideration of your Majesty's confidential servants a report made to your Majesty by the lords whom your Majesty was

pleased to direct to enquire into the truth of certain facts contained in certain written examinations, the abstract whereof had been laid before your Majesty, and which relate to the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and your Majesty having laid your commands upon your confidential servants to submit to your Majesty their advice as to the steps which it may be proper for your Majesty to take in consequence of the said report;

"It is humbly submitted to your Majesty that it would be proper in the first instance for your Majesty to direct that the Lord Chancellor should write to the Prince and to the Princess of Wales and transmit to each of their Royal Highnesses a copy of the said Report." *Copy.*

(3) Lord Grenville to The Prince of Wales.

1806, November 10. Downing Street.—"I have felt so much uneasiness at the appearance of delay in the business which your Royal Highness adverts to in the letter of the 30th *ultimo*, which I have had the honour to receive a few days back, that I cannot help troubling your Royal Highness with a few lines on the subject. When the answer, which the Princess of Wales has been advised to make to the report of the Privy Councillors appointed to investigate the charges against her, was laid before the King by the Lord Chancellor, His Majesty gave orders to the Chancellor that a copy should be made of it, and that the original book should be returned to him. This has caused a great and unavoidable delay. The book is a moderate sized folio, pretty closely written; and as only one person could write from it at once, the copying it has taken up much time. Owing to this circumstance it was not till the middle of last week that I received it, though I have frequently enquired for it before. I lost no time in reading it through, not waiting even to make the continual references it requires to the report, and to the previous examinations; and I immediately sent it in circulation to my colleagues, and particularly to Lord Ellenborough, to whom I spoke on the subject, and who promised me that he would devote the whole of yesterday to a careful and studied perusal of it.

"The paper is of such a nature as to require a very careful consideration of it before any step is decided on; and I am sure I need not remark to your Royal Highness that the consequence of any false step in this stage of the business would be in the highest degree prejudicial both to our own characters and to the still more important consideration which is involved in this business.

"I think nobody can doubt who reads the defence that it is drawn with a view to publication. The question as to the nature of the answer, and particularly what degree of detail should be entered into for repelling any of the inferences it contains, is one of very great delicacy and importance;

and which I certainly should not wish to take upon myself to decide without the full benefit of the assistance of my colleagues.

"I earnestly entreat your Royal Highness to believe that in a matter which cannot but be so anxious to your feelings, my own are deeply interested. It would be the utmost gratification to me if I could, by any step that could now be taken, relieve your Royal Highness's mind from the anxiety under which it necessarily labours on this subject. But where there has been so much industry used to excite misapprehension and clamour, and where we may almost reckon upon the certainty of some attempt to bring the matter into Parliamentary discussion, I should ill discharge my duty to your Royal Highness if I omitted to urge the necessity of acting with the utmost circumspection and caution.

"Lord Wellesley was in the highest degree sensible of your Royal Highness's condescension and goodness to him. He had already received too many proofs of them to have suffered any impression whatever to be made upon his mind by the shameful publication in question, except that of indignation at the manner in which your Royal Highness's name had been brought forward." *Copy.*

(4) Cabinet Minute.

1806, December 23. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.	The Viscount Howick.
The Lord President.	The Lord Henry Petty.
The Lord Privy Seal.	The Lord Grenville.
The Earl Fitzwilliam.	Lord Ellenborough.
The Earl Spencer.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
The Earl of Moira.	Mr. Grenville.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants, in humble obedience to your Majesty's pleasure communicated to them through the Lord Chancellor that they should take into their consideration the whole of the proceedings connected with the inquiry which had been in the first instance entrusted to the Lord Chancellor, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville and Lord Ellenborough, and with the most dutiful regard to the intimation which your Majesty at the same time condescended to make them of the necessity of acting with the utmost care and caution in a matter of so delicate a nature, have perused and weighed with the most serious attention every part of the proceedings connected with that enquiry; and however deeply they may regret the pain which any degree of delay on this subject may have occasioned to the feelings of her Royal Highness, it is humbly submitted that they might have incurred the blame of inattention to those feelings in other respects if, under the succession of distressing events which have lately occurred to her Royal Highness, anything like precipitation had been shown on their part, even if the

grave and important nature of the subject under their consideration, and your Majesty's express commands, had not demanded the most careful deliberation.

"Your Majesty's servants feel themselves called upon to express to your Majesty that they find no ground to question the legal competence and sufficiency of the authority under which the oath taken by the several witnesses examined in the course of that investigation was administered to them. That they cannot discover any just cause of complaint against the four lords to whom this enquiry was entrusted, because, in a proceeding which from its nature was necessarily carried on merely *ex parte*, they did not think fit to call upon her Royal Highness to suggest anything in explanation or contradiction of the matter into which your Majesty had directed them to make such preliminary enquiries as were necessary in order to enable your Majesty to decide whether any, and what further steps, should be taken upon it. Nor do they understand upon what pretence the law advisers of her Royal Highness have thought fit to state that those lords when they had, as it is alleged, satisfied themselves of the falsehood of the principal charge, and of the absence of all legal and substantive offence, had considered themselves empowered to proceed in the examination of the particulars of private life, and to report upon the proprieties of domestic conduct, and the decorum of private behaviour; it appearing on the very face of the papers that no such distinct enquiry was ever instituted, but that the enquiry carried on by those lords proceeded throughout, from its commencement to its close, upon the whole of the matter still depending before them, as that which might eventually be made the subject of legal trial; and that all the points to which their examinations were at any time directed were immediately connected either with the substantive charges then under their consideration, or with the credit of the testimony upon which the accusation rested.

"Those of your Majesty's confidential servants who were not parties to that enquiry feel it their duty to represent to your Majesty that they concur with the four lords abovementioned in the several conclusions which they drew from the evidence before them. And your Majesty's confidential servants, after the fullest consideration of the observations and affidavits brought forward by her Royal Highness's legal advisers, agree in the opinions submitted to your Majesty in the original report of the four lords. In the present stage of the business they feel it their duty humbly to submit to your Majesty that, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion that the facts of the case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by your Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as your Majesty's

law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her evidence which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

"Your Majesty's servants observe that the statement which has been offered to your Majesty on behalf of her Royal Highness concludes with a prayer that your Majesty would 'restore to her Royal Highness the blessings of your gracious presence, and confirm to her by your own gracious words your Majesty's satisfactory conviction of her innocence.'

"Your Majesty's servants humbly submit that whatever personal declarations your Majesty may be pleased to make to her Royal Highness, must be considered as depending solely on your Majesty's own feelings and persuasion on the result of all that has passed in a matter so immediately connected with the honour, comfort, and decorum of your Majesty's royal family in the more private relations of domestic life.

"The degree of intercourse and access to your Majesty's person, to which your Majesty may be graciously pleased to admit any member of your royal house is also a point on which your Majesty's servants feel themselves not properly competent to advise; and therefore they think themselves bound with dutiful humility to forebear to offer any opinion or recommendation thereupon."

(5) Cabinet Minute.

1807, January 25. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.	Lord Henry Petty.
Lord President.	Viscount Howick.
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Grenville.
Earl Spencer.	Lord Ellenborough.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
	Mr. Grenville.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants have given the most diligent and attentive consideration to the matters on which your Majesty has been pleased to require their opinion and advice. They trust your Majesty will not think that any apology is necessary on their part for the delay which has attended their deliberations on a subject of such extreme importance, and which they have found to be of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment.

"They are fully convinced that it never can have been your Majesty's intention to require from them that they should lay before your Majesty a detailed and circumstantial examination and discussion of the various arguments and allegations contained in the letter submitted to your Majesty by the law advisers of the Princess of Wales. And they beg leave with all humility to represent to your Majesty that the laws and constitution of their country have not placed them in a situation in which they can conclusively pronounce on

any question of guilt or innocence affecting any of your Majesty's subjects, much less one of your Majesty's Royal Family. They have indeed no power or authority whatever to enter on such a course of enquiry as could alone lead to any final results of such a nature.

"The main question on which they had conceived themselves called upon by their duty to submit their advice to your Majesty was this; whether the circumstances which had by your Majesty's commands been brought before them were of a nature to induce your Majesty to order any further steps to be taken upon them by your Majesty's Government, and on this point they humbly submit to your Majesty that the advice which they offered was clear and unequivocal.

"Your Majesty has since been pleased further to require that they should submit to your Majesty their opinions as to the answer to be given by your Majesty to the request contained in the Princess's letter, and as to the manner in which that answer should be communicated to her Royal Highness.

"They have therefore in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands proceeded to reconsider the whole of the subject in this new view of it. And after much deliberation they have agreed humbly to recommend to your Majesty the draft of a message which, if approved by your Majesty, they would humbly suggest your Majesty might send to her Royal Highness through the Lord Chancellor.

"Having before humbly submitted to your Majesty their opinion that the facts of the case did not warrant their advising that any further steps should be taken upon it by your Majesty's Government, they have not thought it necessary to advise your Majesty any longer to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence. But the result of the whole case does, in their judgment, render it indispensable that your Majesty should by a serious admonition convey to her Royal Highness your Majesty's expectation that her Royal Highness should be more circumspect in her future conduct; and they trust that in the terms in which they have advised that such admonition should be conveyed, your Majesty will not be of opinion, on a full consideration of the evidence and answer, that they can be considered as having at all exceeded the necessity of the case as arising out of the last reference which your Majesty has been pleased to make to them."

Enclosing :—

ANSWER FROM THE KING TO H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

"The King having referred to his confidential servants the proceedings and papers relative to the written declarations which had been laid before his Majesty respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprized by them that, after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken

on that subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the Princess's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions submitted to his Majesty in the original report of the four lords by whom his Majesty directed that the matter should, in the first instance, be enquired into. And that in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his Majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

"In this situation his Majesty is advised that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his royal presence.

"The King sees with great satisfaction the agreement of his confidential servants in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery brought forward against the Princess by Lady Douglas. On the other matters produced in the course of the enquiry the King is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations carried on in the absence of the parties interested can be considered as legally or conclusively established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the Princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the Princess which his Majesty never could regard but with concern and disapprobation. The elevated rank which the Princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his Majesty and his royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the State, and the personal feelings of his Majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his Majesty cannot therefore forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation that such a conduct may in future be observed by the Princess as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the King always wishes to show to every part of his Royal Family.

"His Majesty has directed that his message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales by his Lord Chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings which have taken place on the subject should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales."

(6) George III to The Lord Chancellor.

1807, January 27. Windsor Castle.—"The King has received from the Lord Chancellor the minute of Cabinet

upon the matters referred for their advice upon the subject of the Princess of Wales, and, with it, the draft of a message which, it is therein submitted, should be sent by his Majesty to the Princess through the Chancellor. Upon full consideration of the contents of that message, the King has thought proper to make one alteration by erasing the words '*and disapprobation*' and inserting the word '*serious*' as prefacing '*concern*'; as it has appeared to his Majesty that the former sentiment is sufficiently implied by the general expression and sense of the message, without having recourse to any harsh terms, which are repugnant to his Majesty's feelings upon all occasions, but more particularly so when addressing a woman. The King approves of the message thus altered, and of the suggested mode of communication; and he desires that the Chancellor will return the draft to him, after conveying the message to the Princess." *Copy.*

(7) Cabinet Minute.

1807, April 21st. Downing Street.

Present :

The Lord Chancellor.	The Earl Bathurst.
The Lord President.	Viscount Castlereagh.
The Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Mulgrave.
The Duke of Portland.	Mr. Secretary Canning.
The Earl of Chatham.	Lord Hawkesbury.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants have in obedience to your Majesty's commands most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your Majesty on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

"In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your Majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your Majesty their conviction that his Royal Highness could not under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your Majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

"After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your Majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged

against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved. And they further submit to your Majesty their unanimous opinion that all the other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, are either satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty that it is essentially necessary in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interests of your Majesty's illustrious family, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales should be admitted with as little delay as possible into your Majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station in your Majesty's court and family.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants likewise beg leave to submit to your Majesty that, considering that it may be necessary that your Majesty's Government should possess the means of referring to the true state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that those documents demonstrating the ground on which your Majesty has proceeded should be preserved in safe custody, and that for that purpose the originals or authentic copies of all these papers should be sealed up and deposited in the Office of your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State."

(8) Cabinet Minute.

1807, April 21. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.	The Earl Bathurst.
The Lord President.	Viscount Castlereagh.
The Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Mulgrave.
The Duke of Portland.	Mr. Secretary Canning.
The Earl of Chatham.	Lord Hawksbury.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants think it necessary to notice in a separate minute the request of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that, for her more convenient attendance at your Majesty's court, some apartments should be allotted to her in one of the royal palaces. Although it appears to your Majesty's confidential servants that some arrangement in this respect may be supposed naturally to arise out of the present state of this transaction, yet they humbly conceive that this is a subject so purely of a private and domestic nature, that your Majesty would not expect from them any particular advice respecting it." *Copy.*

Letters from Gentz to Lord Grenville, September and October, 1806.

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, September 7, Dresden.—" Je supplie Votre Excellence d'accorder à cette lettre, consacrée à des objets de la plus haute importance, sa gracieuse attention.

" Un nouvel ordre de choses a commencé. Un mouvement prodigieux a tout-à-coup saisi tout le nord de l'Allemagne. J'ai consigné dans l'apperçu ci-joint* les principaux faits, qui composent le tableau de la situation présente de la Prusse. Vous pouvez compter sur l'autenticité, sur l'exactitude de cet apperçu ; chaque donnée a été puisée dans des sources d'une autorité incontestable. Sachant que Votre Excellence ne peut pas avoir beaucoup de notions sur ce qui se passe aujourd'hui à Berlin, où, pour autant qu'il m'est connu, il n'existe dans ce moment personne qui puisse en fournir directement, j'ai cru remplir un devoir toujours également sacré pour moi, en Lui offrant le résultat de mes observations et de mes recherches.

" J'avois justement fini cette pièce, lorsque le Prince Louis de Prusse est arrivé hier dans l'après-midi, et m'a communiqué sur l'état des choses à Berlin des renseignemens d'une autre nature encore, lesquels, en expliquant ce qu'il y a de surprenant de merveilleux dans cette révolution subite de système et de disposition, m'ont fait voir le fond du tableau, et les véritables ressorts du mouvement. Je ne puis pas confier à cette lettre ce que je posséde maintenant de données importantes à cet égard ; mais j'attends le premier courier qui passera, pour faire parvenir a Votre Excellence la totalité de ces données, et tout ce qui peut servir à éclaircir les événemens du moment actuel.

" Je ne le dis pas, par aucun motif personnel ; au contraire la disgrace complète dans laquelle je suis tombé en Angleterre (d'où, depuis six mois, on n'a pas daigné répondre à trente ou quarante lettres, que j'ai successivement adressées à différentes personnes) devroit à-jamais me dégoûter de cette carrière ; mais l'idée de ce que je dois aux plus grands intérêts de mon tems, m'engage à l'observer : voici l'époque où je pourrois rendre les services les plus positifs, si on vouloit m' employer, ou seulement m' encourager. Personne de ceux qui écrivent à Londres, ne peut savoir la moitié des choses qui me reviennent, à moi, de toutes parts. Il est question dans ce moment de former des nouveaux liens entre le Nord et le Midi de l'Allemagne ; placé comme je le suis, pas un mouvement qui se fait dans ce sens ne peut m'échapper ; il existe encore d'autres circonstances que je ne puis pas mentionner ici. Enfin, je demande seulement, non pas une lettre directe, mais que Vous autorisiez qui que ce soit à me dire, que je ne suis pas rayé à-tout-jamais de la liste de ceux qui peuvent travailler pour le bien-public. Votre

* [This document has not been found among Lord Grenville's papers.]

Excellence excusera ma liberté ; le tems presse ; je ne puis pas péser et limer les expressions ; mais j'ose dire, que vous vous prépareriez des regrets si, pour quelque raison que ce fut, vous négligiez ces avis, dictés pa le zèle le plus pur et par le dévouement le plus invariable."

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, September 10. Dresden.—" À la suite de la lettre que j'ai osé addresser à Votre Excellence le 7 de ci mois, j'ai voulu Lui soumettre un récit détaillé de ce qui s'est passé à Berlin depuis quatre semaines, pour amener la révolution étonnante dans le système de cette Cour, dont nous voyons aujourd'hui les effets. Le courier qui me surprend, ne peut s'arrêter qu'un quart d'heure ; je me contente donc de vous communiquer ce qu'il a de plus essentiel à dire à ce sujet ; en garantissant à Votre Excellence l'autenticité des sources de mes données.

" Depuis trois ou quatre mois déjà, l'opposition au Cabinet actuel du Roi de Prusse, opposition composée de tout ce qu'il y a de grand et d'illustre dans ce pays, en fait de naissance, de rang, de lumières, et de talens, avoit pris une consistance redoutable. Son but bien prononcé étoit, de substituer à ce que l'on appelle à Berlin le *régime-de-cabinet*, un *gouvernement ministeriel*, qui auroit sur celui qui existe les deux avantages majeurs, d'abord de réunir les hommes les plus dignes de conseiller le Roi, et puis d'être composé de personnes *responsables*. Le Cabinet actuel, exclusivement formé par M.M. *Beyme* et *Lombard*, simples Secrétaires en apparence, mais premiers Ministres de fait, et de plus du Comte Haugwitz, qui depuis long-tems n'avoit été considéré que comme l'instrument avcugle, et comme le premier serviteur de ces Secrétaires, faisoit depuis long-tems le fléau et la honte de la Prusse. Le plan de culbuter ce cabinet avoit été continuellement agitée dans les réunions des principaux personnages qui fesoient la force de l'opposition ; plusieurs de ces personnages avoient présenté individuellement au Roi des mémoires et des représentations redigées avec une énergie sans exemple. Enfin, il ne falloit qu'une secousse, pour développer les germes de ce grand changement.

" Au moment où arriverent à Berlin les rapports alarmans de M. de Luchesini, qui avoit appris par des canaux secrets, mais infaillibles, que le projet de subjuguer la Prusse étoit mûr pour son exécution, et que ce projet s' exécuteroit, soit sous le prétexte de forcer la Prusse à faire cause commune contre la Russie, si l'Empereur ne ratifioit pas la paix, soit en lui déclarant qu'il devoit rendre la plus grande partie de ses provinces Westphaliennes, si la Russie avoit sanctionné la paix—la voix de cette même opposition s'éleva d'une manière si irrésistible, que les trois coryphés du Cabinet se voyoient obligés de plier sur-le-champ. Ils se trouvioent tout-à-coup dans une espèce de minorité effrayante ; seuls contre toute

la Cour, tout le public, la plupart des généraux et des Ministres. Si le Roi étoit secrètement de leur avis, Il jugea convenable de plier avec eux. C'est alors que l'ordre fût donné de mettre toute l'armée sur le pied de guerre ; c'est alors que fut résolue la déclaration vigoureuse, par laquelle on annonçoit à Bonaparte que le départ de ses troupes de tous les points de l'Allemagne, et sa renonciation à toute démarche par laquelle il voudroit prendre part aux affaires intérieures de l'Allemagne, étoit la seule condition sous laquelle la Prusse pouvoit rester en paix avec lui. Le Cabinet se détermina d'autant plus facilement à ces mesures, qu'il étoit en effet abandonné de tout-le-monde, et même de ses propres partisans. Car Lucchesini, jusqu'ici des plus actifs parmi ces partisans, avoit enfin voté lui-même pour la nécessité urgente d'un système de vigueur ; et le Duc de Brunswic, soit par une conviction tardive, soit par calcul politique (puisqu'il s'appercevoit de la chute prochaine de l'ancien système) écrivit au Roi qu'il approuvoit complètement les nouvelles mesures, qu'il les trouvoit sages et indispensables, et qu'il prioit seulement, en égard à son age et à ses infirmités, de le dispenser de concourir à l'exécution.

" L'immense majorité des adversaires de ce cabinet odieux et méprisé se convainçut, tout-de-suite, qu'il ne falloit pas s'endormir sur cette première victoire. Ils croyoient voir distinctement, qu'avant que ce cabinet ne fut entièrement mis de côté, il n'étoit pas possible ni de compter sur la stabilité d'une conduite honorable, ni, sur-tout, d'inspirer la moindre confiance aux puissances étrangères. Ils prirent donc le parti d'aller plus loin. Les deux chefs de cette opposition étoient proprement M. de *Stein*, Ministre d'État et des Finances, homme à grandes vues, de lumières éminentes, d'un caractère extrêmement élevé, et qui je ne crains pas de désigner à Votre Excellence comme le premier homme d'état de l'Allemagne ; et pour le militaire le Général de Phull, Quartier-Maitre-Général, reconnu comme un des premiers officiers de la Prusse, et dont le Roi a tellement besoin que son accession seul à un plan quelconque rendoit ce plan excessivement fort. Le centre, et l'ame de tous les projets étoit le Prince *Louis* de Prusse, auxquel aboutissoient tous les rayons de cette vaste entreprise, et qui en dirigeoit secrètement tous les fils. Le Général *Rüchel*, le Général *Blücher*, le Comte *Goetzen* (quoiqu'ami personnel du Roi, et chargé de la commission importante de négocier avec la Cour de Dresde) tous les aides-de-camp actifs (à la seule exception de *Koeckritz*, que sa bêtise sans bornes permettoit de regarder comme zéro) presque tous les Ministres étoient absolument gagnés pour ces projets. Enfin, la *Reine*, quoique très réservée et prudente dans sa conduite, avoit cependant tellement embrassé ce parti, qu'on pouvoit compter sur toute espèce d'appui qu'elle seroit en état de lui donner. Après beaucoup de tentatives particulières, on se détermina enfin à présenter au Roi une requête en forme,

signée par les Princes *Henri* et *Guillaume* frères du Roi, les Princes *Louis* et *Auguste*, fils du Prince *Ferdinand*, le Prince d'*Orange*, et la Princesse son épouse ; et rédigée par M. de *Stein*. Dans cette requête on demanda au Roi d'une manière aussi respectueuse qu'énergique, de céder au voeu de toute sa famille, et de tout son pays ; de sacrifier le Cabinet actuel, objet de l'indignation et du mépris public ; et de composer un véritable conseil, pour diriger les affaires de la monarchie. Cette pièce fut présentée la veille du jour où tous les Princes partirent pour les armées ; on ne connoit pas encore avec précision l'effet qu'elle a pu produire ; mais ceux qui ont présidé à cette démarche sont invariablement résolus de ne pas se désister de leur plan, et de travailler sans relâche jusqu' à cc qu'il soit pleinement accompli. Si la guerre éclate, le succès en est presqu' infaillible ; et dans tous les cas, il est vraisemblable que le *triumvirat*, craignant pour sa sureté *personnelle* (et à ce que je crois, non pas sans raison) anticipera le résultat final, et quittera lui-même le timon de l'état.

" Il m'a paru fort intéressant de vous faire connoitre ces détails, puisqu'ils pouvent puissamment influer sur la conduite future des cours étrangères relativement à la Prusse. Quelque grand et redoutable que soit l'obstacle que présentera toujours à un système de vigueur et de persévérance le caractère personnel, et l'extrême incapacité du Roi, il est cependant à présumer que ce qui se passe à présent amenera par force un changement complet de principes et de mesures ; et que ce changement une fois effectué, comme l'opinion publique l'entourera de tout son pouvoir, il ne sera plus en celui d'aucun individu de faire renaitre les anciens erremens."

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, September 14. Dresden.—" Le Prince de Hohenlohe est de retour de Berlin depuis avant hier ; et les nouvelles qu'il a apportées sont telles, que la guerre peut de plus en plus être regardée comme inévitable. Le Cabinet Prussien est allé si loin, qu'il ne peut plus maintenant se rétracter. Le chefs de ce Cabinet paroissent avoir pris leur parti. Si la guerre va mal, ils diront que ce n'est pas eux qui l'ont voulue ; si elle va bien, ils s'en attribueront un peu de mérite. Ils auroient peut-être tout fait pour paralyser les démarches décisives que (par les raisons que jai eu l'honneur d'expliquer à Votre Excellence dans ma lettre du 10) ils ont été obligés de faire envers Bonaparte ; et si Bonaparte avoit entendu ses interêts et avoit pu maîtriser ses passions, il n'auroit eu qu'à leur tendre la main ; et l'orage auroit été dissipé. Mais la violence, (cette fois peut-être heureuse) de Bonaparte, nc lui a pas permis de les seconder ; ct toutc autre retraite leur est coupée.

" Le Prince de Hohenlohe, pensant absolument comme tout ce qu'il y a aujourd'hui d'hommes-de-bien et d'honneur en Prusse, et marchant sur la ligne dont j'ai déja rendu compte

à Votre Excellence, n'a pas voulu quitter Berlin avant qu'il ne fut complètement sûr des intentions du Cabinet. Il en a donc demandé une déclaration franche et positive ; et elle lui a été donnée dans les termes les plus satisfaisans. Cette déclaration a même été rédigée par écrit (en forme d'un avis) et signée par le Comte Haugwitz. Elle porte que si le Gouvernement Français ne s'explique pas d'une manière tout-à-fait suffisante sur les points qui font le contenu des dépêches dont M. de Knobelsdorff étoit chargé :—éclaircissemens sur les négociations avec l'Electeur de Hesse, pour lui faire accepter une partie des provinces Prussiennes en Westphalie—renonciation à toute intervention dans les affaires des villes Anséatiques—départ de *toutes* les troupes Françaises de l'Allemagne—renonciation ou modification au protectorat de le ligue du Midi—la Prusse ne discontinuera pas ses armemens et mouvemens militaires, et, plutôt que de se désister de ces points, en viendra aux mesures offensives. Voilà la substance de l'avis du Comte Haugwitz, et l'espèce de garantie sur la foi de laquelle le Prince Hohenlohe est parti de Berlin, pour se mettre à la tête de l'aile gauche de l'armée Prussienne. On lui a dit, en outre, que Knobelsdorff n'avoit été envoyé à Paris que pour gagner du tems, et qu'il n'avoit pas le pouvoir d'entrer dans aucune négociation ; qu'une armée Prusse de 60,000 hommes étoit effectivement en marche, et qu'on feroit, ou qu'on avoit déjà fait des démarches vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre, dont la base seroit d'abord l'ouverture des ports de l'Allemagne, et puis la proposition préalable de rendre l'Electorat de Hanovre, sous condition de rentrer dans les Provinces Prussiennes cédées. Votre Excellence pourra apprecier la vérité de cette dernière promesse ; car, si on a été de bonne foi, le Gouvernement Anglois doit en être instruit avant que cette lettre arrive à Londres.

" Nous apprenons dans ce moment que celles des troupes Françaises qui avoient eu ordre de rétrograder, ont reçu celui de s'arrêter ; que 20,000 Français se sont de nouveau portés sur la rive droite entre Bingen et Oppenheim, et que *le Moniteur* du 5 Septembre (qui malheureusement ne nous est pas encore arrivé ici) contient des articles presque décisifs. Le mouvement des troupes Prussiennes continue sans relâche ; l'armée est animée d'un esprit qui promet tout ce qu'il est possible de désirer."

The Same to The Same.

1806, September 17. Dresden.—" Les préparatifs de guerre continuent sans relâche, et prennent chaque jour une consistence plus déterminée. L'armée du Centre, qui a été formée près de Magdebourg, s'est avancée sur la *Sale ;* l'avant garde du Duc de Brunsvic a du arriver à *Naumbourg* le 15 au soir. L'aile droite, commandée par le Général Rüchel, se rapproche par sa droite du pays de Hesse, où une armée de

30,000 hommes se réunit, par sa gauche, des petites principautés de Saxe. L'aile gauche, commandée par le Prince Hohenlohe et le Prince Louis, ayant passé l'Elbe ces jours-ci, se portera en avant sur Chemnitz, Plauen, aussitôt que la tête de l'armée du centre sera établie sur la Sale ; le Roi de Prusse prendra son premier quartier-général à Weissenfels, entre Naumbourg et Leipzig. Toute l'armée Prussienne fera face vers le midi ; car c'est en Bavière, en Souabe, en Franconie, que les Français ont la presque totalité de leurs forces, et leur grande ligne d'opération s'étend de *Mayence*, par *Wurtzbourg* jusqu'à la frontière d'Egra. La ligne d'opérations des Prussiens commence aujourd'hui à *Munster*, où se trouve le corps du Général *Blücher*, et finit aussi près d' Egra, C'est sur le théâtre que comprennent ces deux lignes, *Wurtzburg* au centre de la première, *Magdebourg* au centre de la seconde, que doit se jouer la première scène des grands événemens que se préparent. Les deux principaux dangers qui menaçeront l'armée Prussienne seront d'un côté, une diversion faite par la Hollonde, par laquelle les Français menaçeront l'aile droite des Prussiens ; et d'un autre côté, l'entrée des Français en Bohème, qui leur faciliteroit extrêmement leurs opérations contre l'aile gauche des Prussiens. Il est singulier que l'idée de cette dernière opération soit si fort imprimée dans la tête des principaux personnages de l'armée Prussienne, qu'ils sont tous convaincus qu'elle aura lieu ; et que leurs opinions ne sont partagées que sur l'étendue du mal ; les uns se bornant à croire que l'armée de Bernadotte entrera par Egra, pour se jetter sur Plauen, et pour s'emparer de l'Elbe au-dessus de Dresde ; tandis que d'autres présument que les Français entreront en Bohème par Pilsen avec des forces considérables, tâcheront de tourner de cette manière toute la position des Prussiens, et se jetteront avec 30 à 40,000 hommes sur la Silésie, aujourd'hui dégarnie de troupes. Cette opinion, fondée sur des renseignemens secrets auxquels les Prussiens attachent une grande confiance, mais que, pour ma part, je ne trouve point coneluans, suppose deux choses, dont ni l'une ni l'autre peut facilement être admise. Elle suppose d'abord que la Bohème seroit plus ou moins sans défense, et que l'une ou l'autre des places fortes de ce pays, soit Prague, soit Konigsgratz ou Theresienstadt, tomberoit par un coup-de-main. Elle suppose ensuite, que Bonaparte braveroit l'Autriche dans un moment où toutes les forces du nord de l'Allemange sont dirigées contre lui. Je dis, que ni l'une ni l'autre de ces suppositions est vraisemblable. Quant à la première, je sais à présent, à ne pas pouvoir en douter, que les places de la Bohème sont toutes dans un tel état de défense, qu'aucune ne sera prise par un coup-de-main ; et je sais de plus que l'Autriche fait rassembler à *Tabor* un corps de 40,000 hommes, qui en imposera assez aux Français pour les détourner de toute cette opération. Quant à la seconde, il est vrai que l'expérience

de l'année dernière a prouvé que lorsqu'il s'agit d'un grand avantage militaire, Bonaparte est capable d'exposer au hazard les plus grands intérêts politiques, puisqu'il a risqué alors une guerre avec la Prusse plutôt que de se refuser le passage par le pays d'Anspach. Il *peut* faire la même chose cette fois-ci ; mais en considérant l'ensemble de sa position, il me paroit infiniment peu croyable qu'il provoquera l'Autriche, à moins d'avoir la certitude qu'elle se levera contre lui dans tous les cas. Toutefois ce raisonnement ne s'applique qu' à la probabilité de ce que j'appelle la *grande* expédition de Bohème ; car quant à la *petite*, c'est-à-dire, l'entrée par Waldsassen et Egra pour abréger et faciliter la marche sur Plauen, elle pourroit se faire dans tous les cas, puisque les Autrichiens sont incapables de l'empêcher, et que Bonaparte se flatteroit de la couvrir de quelque prétexte ou excuse qui, pour le moment, seroit avalée par l'Autriche.

"Je ne puis pas entrer ici (cette lettre n'étant confiée qu' aux voies ordinaires) dans la discussion de ce qui se passe à Berlin. Je me contente de certifier à votre Excellence, que d'après les dernières nouvelles arrivées aux personnes de marque que se trouvent actuellement à Dresde, aucun changement réel ne s'est opéré ni dans les mesures ni dans les dispositions. Ils sont tous ici également et fortement persuadés que, quoiqu'on fasse à Berlin, on ne peut plus détourner la guerre, à moins que Bonaparte ne se soumette à des conditions, auxquelles personne ne sauroit imaginer qu'il se soumettra. On est étonné à la verité de l'avantage incalculable qu'il a accordé à la Prusse, en lui laissant le tems de faire tous ses préparatifs ; mais on attribue ce délai (sans lequel la position de la Prusse auroit pu devenir excessivement critique) d'un côté à l'incrédulité de Bonaparte sur les véritables intentions du cabinet de Berlin ; d'un autre côté à la nécessité de préparer de son part des mesures auxquelles il n'avoit pas cru devoir recourir de si-tôt, vu le système pacifique de ce cabinet, que Bonaparte a cru imperturbable, puisqu'il ne *pouvoit* pas calculer la force des circonstances majeures qui l'ont subitement dérangé. Au reste, d'après les avis du Général Blücher, arrivés hier, l'explosion prochaine dévenoit chaque jour plus vraisemblable, et les mouvemens de l'armée de Bernadotte dans le Haut Palatinat sont tels que dans huit jours il peut ouvrir la campagne. Dans le même espace de tems, l'armée Saxonne sera prête à agir ; et alors les Prussiens, pleinement organisés, pourront leur tenir tête sur tous les points. Il est décidé qu'ils prendront l'offensive aussitôt que leurs préparatifs seront achevés."

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, September 18. Dresden.—"J'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'exposer à votre Excellence quelques-unes des raisons qui m'engagoient à croire que le Cabinet de Berlin s'étoit trop avancé cette fois-ci pour reculer autrement que par quelque

perfidie secrète de ceux que dirigent les affaires, ou bien par quelque démarche rétrograde bien décidée de la part de la France. Cette opinion s'affermit chaque jour; et chaque jour aussi diminue la probabilité de l'une et de l'autre des deux seules chances en faveur du système pacifique.

" Quant aux chefs du Cabinet de Berlin, il est indubitablement sûr qu'ils n'auroient jamais pris le parti que nous les avons vu prendre, s'ils n'y avoient pas été forcés par la révolution qui s'étoit opérée dans l'opinion de toute la monarchie Prussienne. Cette révolution s'étoit annoncée d'une manière vraiment effrayante. Depuis plusieurs mois le Roi étoit chaque jour assiégé par des réprésentations et des mémoires de la part de ce qu'il y avoit de plus éclairé, et de plus estimable autour de lui. Dans toutes ces pièces la première et la dernière proposition étoit toujours de renvoyer les deux Sécrétaires du Cabinet, et le Comte de Haugwitz. J'en ai vu et lu une quantité, dans lesquelles la nécessité de ce changement étoit réprésenté avec une force prodigieuse, quelquefois dans des expressions presque menaçantes. On y recapituloit tout ce que ce Cabinet avoit fait depuis huit ans pour déshonorer la Prusse, et pour ruiner l'Europe ; la conduite qu'il a tenue en 1799, où il auroit dépendu de La Prusse de délivrer la Hollande du joug François, et de sauver la rive gauche du Rhin ; en 1800, et 1801, où Sa Majesté l'Empereur auroit été sauvée du malheur de signer une paix funeste, si la Prusse avoit voulu se mettre en avant ; en 1802, où on accuse les Conseillers du Roi d'avoir achéve la déstruction de l'Empire par l'appui qu'ils ont prété à la France dans l'affaire des indemnités ; en 1803, où ils ont lâchement consenti à l'occupation de l'Electorat de Hanovre ; enfin, en 1805 et 1806, où en abandonnant d'une manière scandaleuse les intérêts de la maison d'Autriche, ils ont conduit l'Europe au bord du dernier abime ; et, pour empêcher ensuite que la Prusse y fut engloutie avec la reste, ont eu recours aux mesures les plus désespérées et les plus honteuses, en s'emparant des possessions du Roi d'Angleterre, en vendant les leurs, en signant des traités d'amitié et presque d'alliance avec l'ennemi commun.

" Voila le sens dans lequel étoient rédigés tous les mémoires qu'on présentoit au Roi ; voilà entr'autres le sens de celui qui lui fut remis, le 2 Septembre, signés par les deux Princes ses frères, par les deux Princes fils du Prince Ferdinand, par le Prince d'Orange et son épouse. Mais ce n'étoit pas là encore les seules démarches auxquelles on se borna. Le Comte Haugwitz et les deux Conseillers du Cabinet reçurent continuellement des avis secrets, mais dont ils connoissoient la source, portant que s'ils ne se déterminoient pas à céder leur places, et à réparer par là le mal affreux qu'ils avoient fait, on ne s'en tiendroit plus aux réprésentations, et que la honte de la Prusse pourroit être finalement lavée dans leur sang !

"Ces tentatives, qui se reproduisirent sans interruption, n'ont pas, à la vérité, atteint le but que ceux qui les imaginoient s'étoient proprement proposé. Elles n'ont point culbuté le Cabinet; et il est même très douteux si, sous certains points-de-vue, il eut été désirable qu'elles réusissent. Si le Roi avoit directement cédé à ces instances, à ces menaces, il auroit gravement compromis son autorité; et, quelques bonnes que pussent être les intentions qui avoient dicté ces démarches téméraires, on auroit pu, en cas de succès, en faire l'instrument des entreprises les plus pernicieuses. Plusieurs de ces projets paroissent même avoir été formés avec une imprudence frappante; et il ne me sera pas bien difficile de convaincre Votre Excellence que, notamment, tous ceux auxquels le Prince Louis a participé, se trouvent dans cette catégorie. Son esprit et ses talens sont connus; ses principes et ses intentions sont aujourd'hui tout ce qu'il y a de plus noble et plus élevé; il est considéré par tous ceux, qui s'intéressent au bien-public, comme le chef du bon parti, et comme un des hommes les plus précieux pour l'affranchissement et pour le rétablissement de l'Allemagne. Mais sa chaleur, sa précipitation, quelquefois sa légereté l'ont entrainé au delà du but; et au lieu de renverser un parti justement odieux, il l'a plutot fortifié, puisqu'il a fait craindre au Roi qu'en se soumettant cette-fois-ci aux demandes qu'on lui faisoit, il pourroit bien arriver à un point, où il ne seroit plus le maitre de rien refuser. Cette réflexion, très naturelle, et au fond très vraie, a été soigneusement mise en avant par les chefs du Cabinet eux-mêmes. Ils l'ont même employée en dernier lieu pour se procurer de nouveaux alliés, et il est certain qu'ils ont réussi à détacher complétement la Reine de ses liaisons avec leurs adversaires. Dans une conférence de plusieurs heures M. de Haugwitz a réprésenté à la Reine toute l'étendue du danger auquel le Roi se trouvoit exposé aujourd'hui; il l'a pressée, il l'a conjurée, de ne pas augmenter ce danger en s'associant aux projets de l'opposition; et en lui fesant sa profession de foi, en lui jurant que désormais il ne cesseroit plus d'agir d'après les principes les plus honorables et les plus conformes à l'intérêt général de l'Europe, il a fait sa paix avec Elle. Immédiatement après, il a proposé au Roi d'admettre la Reine à tous les conseils qu'ils se tiendroient sur les grandes affaires du moment. La Reine a déclaré elle-même à plusieurs Princes et Princesses de la maison, qu'Elle ne vouloit plus prendre part à rien qui put compromettre l'autorité du Roi; et Elle a dit à M. le Prince de Hohenlohe, le jour qu'il est parti de Berlin, 'que, quoique bien persuadée que le Comte Haugwitz n'avoit mérité la confiance de personne par sa conduite passée, Elle jugeoit sa conservation nécessaire dans les circonstances présentes, et étoit intimement convaincue, qu'il ne s'éloigneroit plus de la bonne route.' Quelques jours après ces évènemens M. de Hardenberg est arrivé à Berlin; il a fait l'impossible

pour voir le Roi ou la Reine ; mais il a été refusé partout, et on lui a fait dire qu'il n'avoit qu' à communiquer au Comte Haugwitz tout ce qu'il pouvoit avoir à observer ou à proposer.

" Mais quoique le coup principal ait manqué, il n'en est pas moins sûr que tous ces mouvemens ont produit un très grand et très salutaire effet. Le triumvirat du Cabinet a compris sa situation ; il a vu que la tems des tergiversations, des menées sourdes, et des mesures équivoques étoit passé ; que, s'il ne changeoit pas de système et de conduite, il lui étoit impossible de se soutenir ; et qu'au premier malheur qui arriveroit, l'indignation publique, dirigée par des chefs redoutables, se tourneroit toute entière contre lui, et lui feroit payer bien cher le crédit dont il avoit joui jusqu'ici.

" Ce sont ces réflexions-là bien que les évènemens politiques par eux-mêmes, bien plus que les avis de M. de Lucchesini, les propositions faites à l'Electeur de Hesse, les confidences du Roi de Wurtemberg, et une quantité d'avertissemens particuliers arrivés en même tems à la Cour de Berlin, qui ont amené le changement de système ; et c'est la peur, peut-être aussi un dernier reste d'espoir de se relever dans l'opinion, qui soutiendra ce changement. Votre Excellence connoit le Comte Haugwitz. Un petit amour-propre, et un grand fond de paresse, sont les bases de son caractère. Il n'a jamais été attaché au système Français, ni par principe (il n'en a aucun) ni par conviction de sa bonté, ni par corruption, (il ne se soucie pas d'argent) ni même par gout, puisqu'il a plutôt ambitionné d'être envisagé comme un homme bien-pensant. De fausses mesures, et un manque d'élévation et de force pour juger à-tems les effets de ce système funeste, l'ont entrainé dans une route dont il a plus d'une fois senti lui-même les dangers et les écueils. Mais une fois entrainé, il a vu qu'en convenant de ses erreurs, il donnoit gain de cause à ses adversaires ; et son amour-propre l'a retenu. Son aversion pour le travail, son horreur pour tout ce qui exige des efforts soutenus, son penchant pour le repos et les amusemens obscurs, enfin, l'idée de plaire au Roi en flattant le malheureux gout de ce Prince pour les partis foibles et timides, ont fait le reste. Il s'apperçoit, peut-être trop tard, de l'abime qu'il a creusé sous ses pas ; il s'apperçoit que toutes ses bassesses et tous ses petits moyens n'ont fait que reculer le moment décisif, et que son prétendu système est dévenu l'horreur ou la risée de l' Europe. Je suis loin de croire qu'un homme comme lui puisse être radicalement converti ; je le regarderai toujours comme le plus grand des obstacles dans tous les projets de rétablissement et de salut ; il ne peut, et il ne doit jamais inspirer une véritable confiance à ceux qui agiront de concert avec la Prusse ; et aucun moyen sage et discret pour le faire disparoitre de la scène ne doit être négligé. Mais ce que j'ai l'honneur d'exposer ici expliquera, du moins, comment ce même homme a pu participer aux démarches vigoureuses que la Cour de Berlin

a faites depuis un mois, et comment il a pu être dans un certain sens l'auteur et l'instrument de ces démarches.

" J'ai lieu de croire, que Votre Excellence a été directement instruite des dernières déclarations de la Prusse, et des instructions qui ont été données à M. de Knobelsdorff. Si les avis que j'avois pris la liberté d'en présenter à Votre Excellence ont precédé cette communication, celle-ci l'aura convainçue que je n'avois pas exagéré. Il y a encore une circonstance particulière dont je ne sais pais si elle est venue à sa connoissance ; c'est, que le dernier article des instructions de M. de Knobelsdorff, celui où il est dit que toute tentative qui pourroit être faite pour mcnacer de nouveau la maison d'Autriche seroit ressentie par la Prusse comme ayant été faite contr'elle-même, a été ajouté par le Roi en personne, et écrit de sa propre main. Lorsque M. de Goetzen est parti de Berlin la dernière fois pour communiquer ces instructions à la Cour de Dresde, et négocier avec elle, il a demandé au Roi (avec lequel il a été élevé, et qui lui accorde une confiance particulière) ' si, outre ces instructions, M. de Knobelsdorff en avoit encore de secrètes' ; ajoutant, que ce n'étoit que sous la condition que rien de pareil n'existat qu'il s'engageoit à obtenir dans trois jours le consentement de l'Electeur de Saxe ; le Roi lui a répondu, que Knobelsdorff n'étoit chargé que de ce qu'il connoissoit, et que rien au monde ne l'engageroit à la moindre modification.

" Je sais bien, qu'en dépit de cette assurance, les chefs du Cabinet ont pu faire, et à l'insu même du Roi, des démarches secrètes en sens contraire ; et je ne suis rien moins que guéri des soupçons que j'ai développés là-dessus dans ma lettre du 12,* et que tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre de la conduite et des propos de M. Laforêt ont plutôt renforcés que diminués. Mais les cas est dévenu si critique et si périlleux, qu'à-moins de quelque révolution extraordinaire dans la façon de penser et d'agir de Bonaparte, ceux qui se seroient servi de ces moyens, en seroient probablement pour la honte de les avoir employés. Leurs mesures publiques, leurs déclarations, leurs protestations, leurs engagemens sont tous dans le sens opposé ; et ce qui est arrivé à M. le Prince de Hohenlohe, en fournira à vous une preuve remarquable.

" Lorsque le Prince de Hohenlohe est arrivé ici, il a trouvé une invitation de se rendre à Berlin. Il a d'abord décliné le voyage ; une invitation plus pressante l'a obligé de partir. Arrivé à Berlin, il a eu avec le Roi, en présence de la Reine, une longue conversation, dans laquelle il a dit tout ce qu'il pensoit sur M. de Haugwitz et ses coopérateurs, et sur l'impossibilité de compter sur aucune autre puissance tant que ces hommes seroient en place. Le Roi lui a expliqué pourquoi il ne pouvoit pas se rendre à ses argumens, soutenant que ces hommes étoient jugés avec trop de sévérité, et que, pour à présent, il n'y avoit plus aucun reproche à leur faire.

* This letter has not been found.

Après cela M. de Haugwitz a eu ordre de communiquer au Prince de Hohenlohe toute la suite de ses négociations et correspondances avec le Gouvernement Français depuis le mois de Decembre dernier ; le Prince a employé plusieurs jours à étudier ces pieces ; il y a vu parfaitement comment l'opinion du Roi sur la loyauté de la conduite du Comte Haugwitz a pu se soutenir jusqu' ici ; il y a trouvé une très grande addresse à donner à toutes les mesures un air de nécessité absolue, et à en jetter toujours sur les autres la faute ou la responsabilité ; mais il y a trouvé aussi, puisqu' il faut être juste envers tout le monde, des choses qui prouvoient que le Comte Haugwitz se doutoit depuis long-tems de l'impossibilité de suivre son système, et qu'il avoit déclaré plus d'une fois que la paix avec Bonaparte étoit une chimère. Après avoir fini ce travail, le Prince a été appelé à un conseil chez le Roi, où le Comte Haugwitz, pour lui donner une espèce de garantie formelle de sa conduite, a présenté un avis, écrit et signé de sa main, par lequel il a déclaré ' que les instructions remises au Général Knobelsdorff seroient la base de toutes les démarches futures du Cabinet ; qu'on ne s'en écarteroit dans aucun point, et sous aucune condition ; *et que le Roi se regardoit dès-à-présent comme en état de guerre avec la France.*' C'est après ce conseil, et muni de ces assurances positives, que le Prince de Hohenlohe est retourné à Dresde.

" Tous ces détails m'ont été communiqués et certifiés par lui-même ; et tout en avouant qu'il partageoit mon opinion sur le Comte Haugwitz, il m'a déclaré qu'il croyoit désormais toute rétractation ou tergiversation impossible. Il y a ajouté une circonstance qui m'a paru particulièrement intéressante ; que, dans les cas que les Français tentassent la moindre chose contre les possessions de S. M. l' Empereur, il avoit l'ordre positif du Roi de prendre sur le champ les mesures nécessaires pour agir contr' eux ; et il m'a même pleinement autorisé à faire de cette circonstance tel usage qui me paroitroit convenable.

" En refléchissant sur ces communications, en voyant des hommes aussi solides et aussi respectables parfaitement convaincus de la réalité des démarches actuelles ; en pensant combien il seroit difficile et même dangereux pour les Ministres de tromper cette fois-ci l'attente publique, et de se jouer de la bonne foi des principaux chefs de l' armée ; en combinant de plus une quantité de données accessoires—les déclarations réitérées, insérées dans les gazettes, ' que le Roi nc cédéra plus un seul village de son territoire '—la paix avec la Suède a une condition qui compromet une partie essentielle de l'ancien système de la Cour de Berlin ; les démarches faites envers l'Angleterre en levant tous les obstacles à l'entrée des ports de l'Elbe et du Weser, et en envoyant M. de Jacobi à Hambourg, pour être prêt à se rendre en Anglcterre ; il est certain que les probabilités les plus puissantes se réunissent en faveur de la guerre, et d'un système d'énergie et de fermeté ; et il n'en

faut pas moins qu'une méfiance sans bornes, comme celle qu'inspire malheureusement le Cabinet de Berlin, pour se livrer encore aux doutes et aux soupçons. Aussi, en me plaçant dans l'hypothèse que je fusse aujourd'hui obligé à me déterminer à un parti quelconque fondé sur la conduite probable de la Prusse, je prendrois celui de la confiance, puisque les argumens les plus raisonnables sont de ce côté-là ; mais je le prendrois en tremblant, et préparé chaque instant à la nouvelle de quelque récidive funeste, de quelque grande et horrible contrariété.

"Aucune donnée positive n'est arrivée ici jusqu'à présent pour former des conjectures solides sur les résolutions du governement Français. Avant hier un courier du Duc de Brunswic annonça au Prince de Hohenlohe que, d'après les avis du Général Blücher, la guerre seroit déclarée incessament ; hier un autre courier du Duc apporta (probablement sur la même autorité) le bruit que le camp de Jeyst se formoit de nouveau, et que les hostilités prochaines contre la Prusse étoient déjà annoncées à l'armée Française en Hollande. Mais aucune de ces nouvelles ne s'est confirmée. Ce matin on apprit de Berlin que, d'après un courier arrivé de Paris, M. de Knobelsdorff n'avoit été admis à aucune audience ou conférence jusqu'au 6. Ce soir les feuilles publiques annoncent qu'il a été présenté à Bonaparte le 7. Il me paroit peu vraisemblable que jusqu'au 16, on n'ait encore eu à Berlin aucun renseignement ultérieur sur une mission d'aussi haute importance que celle de M. de Knobelsdorff ; ce silence, ou cette dissimulation, ne me paroissent pas d'un très bon augure. Au reste, non seulement M. de Haugwitz, mais le Roi lui-même a dit à plusieurs personnes qu'on n'avoit choisi M. de Knobelsdorff que pour gagner du tems, et que son incapacité connue étoit la meilleure preuve de l'intention invariable du Cabinet de n'entrer dans aucune négociation.

"En attendant, les mesures militaires continuent à s'exécuter avec une vigueur et une rapidité extrême. Les avant-postes de l'armée du Duc de Brunswic sont arrivés à Naumbourg le 15, aujourd'hui ils doivent déjà avoir passé Erfurt, pour se porter sur Rudelstadt. L'armée du Prince Hohenlohe est sur la rive gauche de l'Elbe ; les troupes Saxonnes se forment de toutes parts ; l' Electeur de Saxe est, à la fin, complètement persuadé de la sincérité des intentions de la Prusse. Le Duc de Brunswic, dont la vie entière ne paroit être qu'un passage perpétuel d'un principe et d'une opinion à l'autre, a de nouveau embrassé le parti des mesures énergiques avec une ardeur qu'on ne lui avoit jamais connue. Il a voté pour l'offensive ; et on m'assure qu'il a tout-à-fait entrainé le Roi, malgré sa repugnance pour un système qui, dans les circonstances données, est cependant le seul raisonnable. L'armée de Bernadotte n'a fait jusqu'ici aucun mouvement positif. Les Généraux Prussiens croient toujours encore que la première opération des Français sera d'entrer en Bohème. Mais je ne

suis point converti à cette opinion ; et tout en applaudissant au projet d'une armée d'observation que, d'après les nouvelles arrivées ici, Sa Majesté l' Empereur fait rassembler dans les environs de Tabor, je ne puis absolument pas imaginer que Bonaparte provoqueroit l'Autriche, de propos délibéré, dans un moment où tout le nord de l'Allemagne est armé contre lui.

" L'armée Prussienne est animée du meilleur esprit possible. Parmi cette quantité de généraux et d'officiers que je vois chaque jour chez Monseigneur le Prince Louis, je n'en ai pas rencontré un seul qui ne palisse au moindre soupçon que la guerre pourroit ne pas éclater. Ils n'en sentent pas moins la gravité de la tâche qui les attend ; et l'intrepidité avec laquelle ils s'y préparent n'a aucune tiente d'aveuglement ou de jactance.

" Madame la Princesse de Solms, soeur de la Reine de Prusse, a fait ici un sejour d'une semaine ; elle part demain pour Berlin. Elle m'a honoré de plusieurs conversations très-remarquables, qui m'ont bien convaincu que la Reine, en faisant sa paix avec M. de Haugwitz, l'a cru absolument et irrévocablement prononcé pour les meilleurs principes ; mais qui m'ont prouvé, en même tems, combien on doit regretter qu'Elle ait pris la résolution de renforcer le parti de ce Ministre. Comme la Princesse de Solms ignore encore, à l'heure qu'il est, le changement qui a eu lieu à cet égard, et que je me suis bien gardé de lui annoncer, Elle s'est exprimée sur l'état actuel des choses avec la plus grande franchise ; et j'aurois appris par ses conversations, si je ne l'avois pas su d'avance, que le Roi et ses trois conseillers confidentiels, s'ils vouloient cette fois-ci marcher dans un sens contraire à celui qu'on leur suppose aujourd'hui, seroient certainement seuls de leur côté dans toute la monarchie Prussienne.

Du 19 Septembre.

" M. de Brokhausen, revenu à son poste, a porté à l'Electeur une lettre du Roi de Prusse, dans laquelle le Roi temoigne sa reconnoissance à l'Electeur de l'empressement qu'il a montré à seconder les armemens de la Prusse. Il ajoute que, n'ayant d'autre but que de faire cesser les maux qui affligent l'Allemagne, il ne fermera pas son oreille à des propositions pacifiques tendantes au même but ; mais que l'évacuation entière de l'Allemagne par les troupes Françaises étant la seule condition sous laquelle il seroit possible de lui restituer son ancienne indépendance, le Roi regardoit une guerre prochaine comme inévitable. M. de Brokhausen assure que le Roi est pleinement convaincu que la *federation du Rhin* est incompatible avec le repos et la sureté de l'Allemagne. Le même auteur prétend que, depuis peu de jours, le crédit de M. de Haugwitz avoit été de nouveau à la baisse, qu'il avoit annoncé sa démission, qu'il avoit encore une fois proposé M. de Hardenberg. Ces nouvelles

sont d'abord équivoques, puisque M. de Brokhausen, personnellement enragé contre le Comte Haugwitz, peut très bien confondre ses voeux avec ses espérances ; et elles seroient même vraies à un certain point que rien au monde n'y seroit gagné. Il est malheureusement certain, que M. de Hardenberg ne *peut* pas diriger les affaires dans une crise comme celli-ci ; l'histoire de l'année dernière et des trois premiers mois de cette année-ci, l'a prouvé jusqu'à l'évidence complète. Ce seroit donc toujours M. de Haugwitz qui régneroit sous son nom, et qui attendroit le premier embarras notable pour reparoitre avec un nouvel éclat. La nomination de M. de Hardenberg n'équivaudroit à un changement réel, qu'autant qu'elle seroit précédée ou suivie du renvoi des trois chefs du Cabinet à une distance d'au-moins cinquante lieues d'Allemagne de la capitale ; dans ce cas-là elle seroit une mesure *décisive ;* mais vû le caractère de l'homme, et la mesure de sa capacité, elle n'en seroit pas moins une mesure *insuffisante.*

" Les derniers avis du Comte Tauenzien, de 17, portent que les Français rassemblent à Bamberg un corps de 40,000 hommes, dont les généraux ont des ordres cachetés, qui devoient être ouverts le 16. Ce qui se passe dans le Haut-Palatinat est caché avec tant de soin que le Comte Tauenzien ne pouvoit rien pénétrer depuis plusieurs jours.

Le Comte de Goetzen a reçu ce matin une lettre, par laquelle on lui annonce que le Roi a le projet de l'envoyer à Vienne avec une commission extraordinaire. Si cela se réalise, j'ose prevenir Votre Eminence que jamais un meilleur choix ne pouvoit être fait dans une occasion pareille.

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, September 21. Dresden.—" La guerre est enfin décidée. Un courier arrivé de M. de Knobelsdorff le 17 a porté à Berlin des réponses tellement inacceptables et outrageantes que le Roi a sur le champ déclaré qu'il n'y avoit plus lieu à délibérer ; il part aujourd'hui de Berlin. Je ne crois pas que dans ce moment-ci il existe encore aucune chance contraire à l'explosion.

" Dans une lettre dont je prends la liberté de joindre une copie* à la présente, j'avois fidèlement exposé l'état des choses, tel qu'il étoit jusqu'au moment où Bonaparte a décidé la question. Plusieurs articles de cette lettre étoient déjà connus à Votre Excellence ; mais je me flatte que l'ensemble et la liaison dans laquelle ils se trouvent ici, les rendront dignes de vous être présentés, sous cette forme plus achevée. Le seul mérite que j'ose attribuer à cette lettre, c'est que Votre Excellence pourra regarder comme parfaitement authentique chaque mot qu'elle contient.

" On aura rendu compte à Votre Excellence de la scène touchante qui a eu lieu chez le vieux Prince Ferdinand,

* Copy not found.

lorsque le Roi de Prusse y est venu dire adieu. Mr. Wynne étoit présent, quand la lettre de Madame la Princesse Louise qui en a donné les détails, est arrivée hier. Le Roi paroit dévenu un autre homme. Dans une conversation qu'il a eue le 18, avec Monseigneur le Prince héréditaire de Cobourg, qui étoit allé à Berlin pour s' instruire du sort qui attendoit son pays, il a dit qu'il s'étoit *trop tard* convaincu que la guerre, et une guerre vigoureuse, étoit les seul moyen qui fut resté pour mettre un terme aux malheurs de l'humanité. Il lui a fait part des communications qui lui ont été faites par l'Empereur le Russie, relativement aux articles secrets que le Gouvernement Français vouloit ajouter au traité de M. Oubril; et d'après lesquels on auroit ôté à la Prusse tout ce qu'elle posséde au delà du Weser, et en outre le Barent, en permettant à l'Empereur de Russie de prendre ce qui lui conviendroit du côté de la Pologne. Je n'ai pas voulu parler jusqu'ici de cette circonstance, puisqu'elle ne me paroissoit pas assez certaine ; mais je ne puis plus en douter après ce que le Roi lui-même a dit au Prince de Cobourg.

"À présent, qu'une communication directe est rétablie entre l'Angleterre et la Prusse, mes avis auront nécessairement un intérêt moindre qu'ils ne peuvent en avoir eu jusqu'à présent. Pour peu cependant que Votre Excellence m'autorise à les continuer, je ferai toujours ce qui sera humainement possible, pour répondre à sa haute confiance. Je me flatte d'avoir été un des premiers qui ont présenté à Votre Excellence dans son vrai jour les grands événemens qui se preparent ; et je serois les plus heureux des hommes, si j'avois pu par-là fournir une foible preuve de mon zèle et de mon dévouement."

M. Gentz to Lord Grenville.

1806, October 26. Teplitz.—"Les bontés que vous avez eues anciennement pour moi et ma conviction intime que j'ai continué à les mériter tant par ma façon de penser et d'agir, que par mon dévouement invariable à votre personne, me font espérer que vous accueillerez avec quelqu' intérêt la lettre que j'ose vous adresser aujourd'hui, et dont une partie se rapporte aux grands et tristes événemens publics, l'autre à ma situation particulière.

"J'avois été à Dresde depuis la malheureuse guerre de 1805. Le Gouvernement Autrichien avoit reconnu que dans l'état où il se trouvoit réduit par la paix de Pressbourg, je pouvois lui être plus utile à Dresde, qu' à Vienne, où, controlé et surveillé à chaque pas, il n'auroit pas même pu m'employer sans danger. Le Comte Stadion, mon ancien protecteur et ami, jugea d'ailleurs que, placé sur un point central entre Vienne et le Nord de l'Allemagne, et conservant toujours une quantité de relations avec Berlin et d'autres points principaux, ma correspondance seroit nécessairement une source d' instruction assez intéressante. Je crois avoir

répondu à son attente. J'ai entretenu une correspondance extrêmement suivie et active ; j'ai fait parvenir au Comte Stadion une quantité de données essentielles qu'il ne pouvoit guères recevoir que par moi ; j'ai, en outre, publié quelques écrits qui ont prodigieusemeot contribué à ranimer et à remonter l'esprit public.

" Lorsque dans les premiers jours d'août un grand changement de système s'est développé à Berlin, j'ai été le premier à en informer la cour de Vienne avec tous les détails. Autant que les nouvelles dispositions du Cabinet de Berlin m'auroient enchanté dans d'autres conjonctures, autant elles me firent trembler dans un moment où je vis les armées Françaises établies au coeur de l'Allemagne, et la Prusse prête à se précipiter dans une guerre terrible, sans alliés, et sans ressource en cas de revers. L'année dernière j'avois désespéré du succès aussitôt que je m'étois apperçu qu'on le crut possible sans le concours positif de la *Prusse ;* cette fois-ci les mêmes inquiétudes devoient nécessairement me tourmenter, puisqu'on préparoit une expédition décisive sans pouvoir raisonnablement compter sur l'*Autriche ;* dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas l'assistance de la *Russie* ne me rassuroit, et ne me dédommageoit que foiblement, puisque j'étois trop convaincu que la Russie ne seroit jamais ni l'équivalent de la Prusse pour l'Autriche, ni l'équivalent de l'Autriche pour la Prusse. Il y eut même des conjonctures particulièrement funestes dans le cas actuel. La Prusse brouillée avec *l'Angleterre* par ses propes fautes, avoit encore à regagner sa faveur, et ignoroit, par conséquent, si elle pouvoit compter sur ses secours, et à quelles conditions elle les lui accorderoit. Je vis clairement que l'Autriche ne s'engageroit pas tout-de-suite dans cette guerre, qu'elle ne *pouvoit* pas même s'y engager ; mais je crus du moins indispensablement nécessaire qu'elle y attachat sa bonne volonté, et surtout sa confiance. Ce fut-là pendant six semaines l'objet de toutes mes sollicitudes ; et cette époque, si le succès avoit couronné l' enterprise, auroit été celle de ma vie dont je me féliciterois le plus.

" Le Roi de Prusse avoit appris dans quel sens j'avois travaillé depuis le moment que je fus convaincu de la réalité du nouveau système qu'll avoit adopté. Je reçus le 1 d'Octobre une invitation infiniment obligeante et flatteuse de me rendre à son quartier-général. Je savois que, loin de désapprouver cette démarche, la Cour de Vienne en seroit plus que contente. Je me rendis à Naumbourg, où j'arrivai le 3 Octobre ; le lendemain je suivis le Roi à Erfurt, où je restai jusqu'au 11 ; je passai encore à Weimar le 11 et le 12 ; et ce ne fut que le 13, veille d'une des plus funestes journées que l'histoire moderne consignera, que je retournai à Dresde.

" Traité pendant ce séjour intéressant avec une confiance illimitée, instruit de tout, initié dans tous les secrets puisqu'ils s'étoient proposé de gagner toute ma confiance, je fus en état de juger les événemens qui se préparoient, sous tous leurs

différens rapports. Le changement complet qui s'étoit opéré dans les principes de ce cabinet, les regrets sincères sur les fautes passées, l'intention fortement prononcée du Roi et de ses Ministres de les expier par des victoires qui devoient tourner à l'affranchisement final de l'Allemagne, au rétablissement de l' ordre, au bien commun de l' Europe ; le zèle et l'enthousiasme avec lequel l'Empereur de Russie concouroit à cette grande entreprise ; la manière noble, généreuse, magnanime, dont l' Angleterre, oubliant ses griefs particuliers, avoit consenti à envoyer un négociateur ; la tenue superbe des troupes Prussiennes, l'esprit qui animoit les officiers, la fermeté du Roi, le grand caractère que la Reine déploya dans cette occasion ; enfin, les besoins et les dispositions de toute l'Allemagne qui secondoit cette expédition de tous ses voeux—une pareille réunion de circonstances étoit faite pour m'inspirer de l'espoir. De l'autre côté, indépendamment des mes justes inquiétudes sur le choix du moment, sur l'impossibilité de s' attendre à la coopération de l'Autriche, sur la lenteur inévitable des secours Russes, une seule considération contre-balancoit presque l'effet de tous les motifs d'espérance ; l'opinion de toute l'armée étoit contraire au Duc *de Brunswic ;* les généraux les plus estimables voyoient dans sa nomination au commandement suprême un présage certain du mauvais succès de l'opération ; quelques-uns, entr'autres le Général *Kalkreut,* m'annoncoient même sans voile, qu'ils regardoient l'armée comme perdue, et qu'une seconde bataille d'Austerlitz seroit le résultat infaillible, si on ne revenoit pas sur ce choix.

" C'est ainsi que je flottois sans cesse entre l'espérance et la crainte, entre l'élévation et le découragement jusqu'au jour où je quittai Erfurt. Le journal de ce voyage et de mon séjour au quartier-général, que je me propose de vous communiquer, et que je vous communiquerois dès à présent si je n'étois pas absolument dénué de tout moyen de le faire copier, vous paroitra, j'en suis sûr, une des choses les plus curieuses de ce tems ; mes observations continuelles sur tant de personnes et sur tant de rapports intéressantes, mes entretiens réitérés avec le Comte *Haugwitz,* avec M. de *Lucchesini,* avec M. *Lombard,* avec le *Duc* de *Brunswic,* avec la *Reine,* avec cette quantité de Princes, de généraux, et d'officiers, qui s'y trouvoient réunis ; les renseignemens, les éclaircissemens de toute espèce, que je recueillis dans ces dix jours ne seront certainement pas d'un prix médiocre pour comprendre et pour juger un jour la vraie marche de cet événement.

" Plusieurs des meilleures têtes de l'armée avoient voulu qu'on donnat, tout-de-suite, à cette guerre un caractère *offensif,* et qu'on se hatat d'en établir le théâtre sur le Meyn, ou au-delà. L'irrésolution du Roi et du Duc de Brunswic s'opposa à ce projet ; ils volurent aussi, au fond, une guerre offensive, et ils en parlerent sans cesse; mais leurs

mesures n'étoient pas assez promtes pour la réaliser. L'armée étoit encore placée, et assez concentrée, le long de la forêt de Thuringe entre Eisenach et la Sale—la gauche commandée par le Prince Hohenlohe, et sous lui par le Prince Louis, Tauenzien, Gravert ; le centre par le Duc de Brunswic, et sous lui par Möllendorff, Kalkreut, le Prince d'Orange. . . . Wartenslaben, le Duc de Weimar ; la droite par Rüchel et Blücher—lorsque les Français, ayant d'abord fait semblant de se rassembler près de Wurtzbourg, réunirent toutes leurs forces du côté de Bamberg, et entrerent par Hof, Lobenstein, dans la vallée de la Sale.

" Deux combats malheureux ouvrirent la campagne. Le Comte Tauenzien se trouva à Hof avec un corps avancé de tout au plus 6,000 ou 7,000 hommes. Il fut attaqué ; il se défendit avec une bravoure extraordinaire ; le troisième jour, qui fut le 9, il fut obligé de se replier sur le Prince Hohenlohe ; ceci avoit été prevu ; mais on ne s'étoit pas attendu à ce que la retraite se feroit avec une perte considérable en hommes, et même en pièces d'artillerie.

" Le 10, le Prince Louis de Prusse posté à Rudelstadt avec un autre corps de 7,000 hommes, moitié Saxons, moitié Prussiens, qui fut proprement l'avant garde du Prince de Hohenlohe, s'engagea par une impétuosité funeste, et contre toutes les règles de la guerre, avec l'avant garde des Français, placée au delà de Saalfeld dans une position extrêmement forte, au milieu de gorges et de défilés inattaquables. Il fit pendant six heures des prodiges de valeur, dignes d'un meilleur sort, mais sur-tout d'une entreprise plus sage ; mais il fut battu, comme il devoit l'être ; il périt lui-même, victime d'une ardeur exagerée ; tout son corps fut dispersé.

" Ce jour même le Roi étoit parti d'Erfurt, pour se rendre à Blankenhayn ; toute son armée devoit marcher sur la Sale ; on arrive à Blankenhayn ; on apprend l'affaire de Salfeldt ; et au lieu de presser, d'accélérer la marche de l'armée pour la faire arriver sur la Sale avant les Français, le Duc de Brunswic prend la funeste résolution de reporter le quartier-général à Weimar, d'y former un camp, d'y laisser l'armée du Roi pendant trois jours. Je n'oublierai jamais ces deux journées du 11 et du 12 que jai passées à Weimar. Je ne recontrai pas un homme qui ne fut désolé, bien moins du revers de la veille, que de l'effet qu'il avoit produit sur le Général-en-Chef ; je vis le mécontentement et la mefiance peinte sur toutes les figures ; une agitation sourde régne par tout. Le 12, les murmures contre ce camp, contre cette indécision, contre l'incapacitée à chaque moment plus manifeste de Duc de Brunswic, menacèrent de prendre le caractère d'une véritable insurrection ; je fus témoin des scènes les plus effrayantes. Comme depuis le malheureux combat de Schleitz et de Salfeld, le Prince de Hohenlohe s'étoit absolument concentré sur la rive gauche de la Sale, et ne dépassoit plus Orlamunde et Kahla, le chemin de Gera et Zeitz fut libre et ouvert ; c'est

par là que l'ennemi introduisit ses colonnes. Le 12 au soir, un détachement Français entra à Naumbourg, pour y prendre ou brûler les magazins ; un autre osa même paroitre devant Leipzig dans la nuit du 12 au 13. Mes amis m'avoient presque forcé de partir les 13 au matin ; le danger étoit déjà si grand, que je cherchois en vain un passage sûr de la Sale ; je fus obligé de descendre jusqu'à Bernburg pour la passer, et de prendre ensuite la route de Dessau pour arriver à Dresde. Sur toute cette dernière route de fausses nouvelles d'une grande victoire remportée sur les Français me reçurent, et me ranimerent d'un endroit à l'autre ; mais en entrant à Dresde le 17, il y arriva au même moment un officier Saxon qui portoit à ces nouvelles le dementi le plus affreux que j'aurois jamais pu imaginer.

"Les Français, peu incommodés pendant quatre jours, et s'augmentant chaqu'instant avec leur rapidité ordinaire, avoient pris une excellente position entre Jena et Dornburg. Tout ce pays est coupé par de petities montagnes ; la cavallerie Prussienne, qui seule eut pu fixer le succès, ne pouvoit presque pas se déployer. Cependant le danger étoit incalculable ; une division Française arriva après l'autre ; on vit bien que les momens étoient devenus plus que précieux. On se décida à l'attaque. Le 14 Octobre fut le jour sans nom, qui devoit éclairer la plus épouvantable catastrophe. Le corps du Prince de Hohenlohe, fut d'abord, comme le plus près, conduit contre la position des Franèçais ; un bataillon aprèz l'autre fut battu, et mis hors de combat. Alors arriva le corps du Général Rüchel, qui originairement avoit fait la droite de l' armée. Il attaqua à son tour ; il eut le même sort ; le Général lui-même fut grièvement blessé ; le corps dispersé. Dans ces entrefaites le Roi s'étoit aussi porté en avant avec le centre, et la reserve du centre ; les Français s'étoient déjà établi entre la Sale et lui ; il rencontra sur le chemin de Weimar à Auerstedt la division de Davoust, forte de 25 mille hommes ; la bataille s'engagea de ce côté-ci ; le Duc de Brunswic fut mortellement blessé avant même qu'on en fut aux mains ; cette circonstance augmenta le désordre et la consternation ; la bataille fut terrible ; plusieurs parties de l'armée Prussienne, tous les généraux et officiers sans exception firent leur devoir ; mais une grande partie des troupes se conduisit lâchement ; et l'avantage resta aux Français. Dans ce moment cruel deux immenses colonnes Françaises déscendirent des montagnes des deux côtés de Jena ; et comme rien n'étoit plus réuni, elles balayerent tout devant elles. La déroute dévint complète ; plus de commandement, plus de liaison, plus de but connu ; chacun fit sa retraite par tel chemin qu'il jugea le plus convenable. Tous les baggages de l'armée, plus de 200 pièces de canon, toutes les avenues, tout le pays tomba entre les mains des vainqueur. La retraite devoit naturellement se faire sur Ahlstedt, Sangerhausen, Magdebourg ; violà aussi la route que prit la plus grande partie de l'armée

battue ; mais soit par méprise, soit par embarras, un corps de 10 à 12 mille hommes préféra malheureusement celle d'Erfurt. Il y fut fait prisonnier le lendemain avec le vieux Maréchal de Mollendorff, le Prince d'Orange, et une quantité d'autres généraux.

" Il existoit encore un corps intact, qui fut celui de Prince Eugène de Wurtemberg fort d'à peu près 13 mille hommes, qu'on avoit fait venir à marches forcées de Magdebourg, et qui se trouva à Halle. Dieu sait par quel aveuglément, par quelle démence, ce corps ne fit pas sur le champ sa retraite en apprenant le résultat de la bataille ; il fut attaqué le 17 par Bernadotte tout près de la ville de Halle ; il fut battu complètement, perdit beaucoup de monde, et tous ses canons.

" Le lendemain du 14, Bonaparte, qui, à ce qui paroit, n'avoit pas été présent à la bataille, fit venir tous les officiers Saxons prisonniers, pour leur annoncer qu'il n'étoit pas en guerre avec l'Electeur, et qu'il vouloit ménager son pays. La cour de Saxe, aux abois, fut la dupe de cette ouverture perfide ; elle s'imagina pouvoir être neutre ; le malheureux Electeur se détermina à ne pas partir de Dresde. Le sort de Leipzig, où, sous prétexte de confisquer les propriétés Angloises, on pilla et saccagea tout, le sort de 14 villes qui furent pillées ou incendiées alentour ; enfin de Dresde même, où les Français ont mis une forte garnison, et où Jérome Bonaparte va élever quelque nouveau trône à son exécrable famille, lui apprit bientôt ce que c'étoit que la magnanimité d'un tel vainqueur.

" Le Roi de Prusse se livra à un découragement total. La Reine, qui étoit restée à Weimar jusqu'au jour de bataille, obligée enfin de fuir, parut emporter tout ce qui lui resta de force et de tête. Il quitta l'armée ; il se rendit à Berlin et de là à Custrin. Depuis ce moment on ne sait absolument plus ce qu'est dévenue son armée. En évaluant au maximum la perte qu'elle avoit faite en tués, blessés, et prisonniers, et en y ajoutant la désertion énorme qui suit toujours ces grandes catastrophes, il n'est pas possible qu'elle n'ait pas pu rassembler 60 mille hommes. Mais qui aura pris le commandement, quelles auront été les mesures, si les troupes seront restées réunies ou non ; quel nombre se sera jetté dans Magdebourg, et ce que les autres auront fait—voilà ce que nous ignorons complètement ; et après tout ce qui s'est passé, je crains bien que l'incertitude actuelle ne soit moins terrible encore que le moment qui nous apprendra le dénoument.

" La monarchie Prussienne est un pays de peu de ressources. Elle ne pouvroit être sauvé que par le génie d'un très grand homme, de quelque Frédéric II, qui sortiroit tout-à-coup de son tombeau. Comme le tems des miracles est passé, il est difficile d'entrevoir la moindre chance de salut. On assure que Lucchesini est resté à Potsdam, pour négocier, ou plutôt pour demander les conditions de la paix. Les Russes étoient fort loin encore ; et graces à la longue indécision du

Roi qui, au lieu de donner quatre semaines plutôt le signal que l'Empereur de Russie paroissoit attendre avec impatience, n'a fait partir Krusemark que le 18 Septembre, ils ne pouvoient pas être plus avancés. Je ne serois pas même fort étonné si le Roi ne Prusse eut déjà, à l'heure qu'il est, conjuré l'Empereur de ne pas s'exposer en pure perte ; du moins ce sera là une des premières conditions de toute cessation d'hostilités.

" Je me suis retiré ici, avec tout le corps diplomatique de Dresde ; et tout ce qui ne pouvoit pas hazarder de rencontrer les Français. Nous sommes ici à portée d' apprendre ce qui se passe, et nous nous flattons qu'ils respecteront assez la neutralité de l' Autriche pour ne pas nous troubler. Vous concevez ma position. Ma carrière, recommencée encore une fois sous des auspices qui parurent favorables, est de nouveau finie ; et je me vois placé sur les ruines de l'Allemagne. Je sens que dans cet état des choses je suis un être assez nul aux yeux du gouvernement Anglais. L'Angleterre, en général doit maintenant se soutenir par ses propres moyens, et par sa propre énergie. Elle ne succombera point ; j'en suis plus que jamais persuadé. C'est une idée ravissante de voir votre pays, non seulement se conserver, mais se fortifier et s'aggrandir au milieu des ruines. Les vains efforts d'un tyran pour vous exclure du commerce du monde ne font tous que retomber sur sa tête ; il s'appauvrit à travers toutes ses victoires, et il appauvrit et détruit tout autour de lui. Votre prospérité au contraire augmente chaque jour ; chacune de vos conquêtes est un gain réel et solide ; les richesses de tout l'univers, opprimé et déchiré par une main de fer, doivent naturellement se porter chez vous ; votre pays est inattaquable, et la mer est hors de sa domination. Vous survivrez à toutes ses victoires, et vous survivrez aussi au terme de ces victoires, et à l'affranchissement de l'Europe, qui, tôt ou tard, s'opérera en dépit de la triste incapacité de ceux qui président à ses destinées.

" Je le repete : dans une situation pareille tout ce qu'un étranger peut faire pour une cause, qu'on appeloit autrefois commune, mais dont bientôt il ne restera que des souvenirs, ne peut plus vous intéresser beaucoup. Mais vous êtes aussi généreux et nobles ; et vous l'avez toujours été vis-à-vis de moi. Ne m'abandonnez pas, dans la plus horrible époque de mon existence. Peu d'hommes, j'ose le dire, ont plus travaillé pour le bien général, qué moi ; en passant en revue ce que j'ai fait depuis quinze ans, mais surtout tout ce quc j'ai fait dans les trois dernières années malheureuses, je suis autorisé à croire quelqu' orgeuilleux que paroisse l'assertion, que s'il y avoit eu une vingtaine de personnes en Europe doués du zèle et de l'activité qui ne m'ont pas quitté un instant, nous ne serions pas tombés das l'abîme qui nous engloutit aujourd'hui. Cependant permettez que je vous présente un apperçu de ce qui m'est arrivé depuis six mois de la part de votre pays.

"Jusqu'au moment de la mort de M. Pitt, j'avois été traité avec une faveur et distinction toujours égale par ceux qui ont tenu chez vous les rênes du gouvernement. Après le changement de Ministère, je crus qe la marche la plus convenable, étoit de m'adresser à ceux."*

Confidential Memorandum of Sir Arthur Wellesley in regard to the re-capture of Buenos Ayres.

1807, January 29. London.

"From an attentive consideration of all the circumstances attending the re-capture of Buenos Ayres and the arrival and subsequent proceedings of the re-inforcement under Lieut. Colonel Backhouse, the following conclusion appears to me to be a reasonable ground on which further proceedings may be projected and acted upon.

Lieut. Colonel Backhouse.

20 Lt. Dgns. ..	191
21 Do.	140
Rl. Artillery ..	6
38 Foot	811
47 ,, ...	685
54 ,, ...	103
	1,936

"The force under Lieut. Colonel Backhouse consists of 1,900 men, with which having reconnoitred (and given up the plan of attacking) Monte Viedo, he, had made himself master of the town and dependencies of Maldonado, where supplies could be obtained for the troops and the fleet.

"I think therefore that no further attempt will be made against Monte Video (which the Spaniards will do their utmost to strengthen) and that we shall remain in full possession of Maldonado, which is reported to be tenable, until the re-inforcement under Achmuty arrives in the river.

Sir S. Auchmuty.

17 Lt. Dgns. ..	628
Rl. Artillery ..	111
40 Foot 1 Bn. ..	1,000
87 ,, ...	801
95 ,, (360 rs) ..	230
	2,770

"His forces consist of 2,770, and 9 Light Dragoons as detailed in the margin, which united with that under Backhouse, will form an effective force of 5,338 men.

"I should imagine (taking everything into consideration) that with this force he would immediately invest, and possess himself of Monte Video, but that he would not attempt anything further, at least that he would not proceed against Buenos Ayres.

The 9 Lt. Dgns. 632 sailed afterwards for Buenos Ayres to join Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

* The remainder of this letter does not appear to have been preserved.

B. General Craufurd.

6 Dgn. Gds.	..	299
Rl. Artillery	..	242
5 Foot 1 Bn.	..	836
36 „ „	.. ..	822
45 „ „	.. ..	850
88 „ „	.. ..	798
95 „ (560 rs)	..	364
		4,211

9,549 R. and F.

"In this situation therefore, I suppose our affairs to be on the arrival of Brigadier General Craufurd, whose force consists of 4,211 men, when the whole British force in the River Plate, under the command of Brigadier Achmuty would amount to 9,549 men.

"With this force it is reasonable to conclude that measures would be immediately adopted to re-take Buenos Ayres and to secure the possession of it until further orders from England, as to the future disposition of the forces employed against it.

"On full consideration of the secret instructions of Craufurd, I am of opinion that he will not think himself warranted in quitting the River Plate, leaving the territory of Buenos Ayres to the insecure possession of Achmuty with the former force of 5,338 men. I am pretty confident that Achmuty from *his* instructions would feel himself warranted in detaining Craufurd.

"It therefore seems advisable that no time should be lost in sending out two general officers of rank and ability to take upon themselves the command, and direct the further operations in that quarter; the administration of the Government will afford ample occupation for the senior of these officers, and his second in command should be a man accustomed to troops, and to military operations.

"It is now necessary to consider the *quantum* of force which it may be proper to station in the vice-kingdom of Buenos Ayres, with a view to preserve the sovereignty of it to Great Britain.

"In the first instance the present military state of that territory must be ascertained; which from the best authority (indeed I have it from undoubted authority) is as per margin 18,889 men; and this was estimated prior to the late events which may be considered in some respects as revolutionary, and therefore to have added to the increase of the military force.

Regulars	.. ..	1,350
Militia	Artillery	961
	Cavalry	12,200
	Infantry	2,088
Light Volunteer Cavalry	.. ..	2,290
Total	.. ..	18,889

"I cannot think therefore that the undermentioned estimate of the force required is rated at too high a proportion.

"Estimate of the force required for the conquest and possession of Buenos Ayres.

	Infantry.	*Cavalry.*
"Monte Video, Maldonado, and for the necessary detachments on the left bank of the River Plate in the vicinity of the above ports.	1,200	400
"For the possession and garrison of Buenos Ayres and the necessary detachments in the neighbourhood.	2,500	1,000
"For the occupation of the town of Cordova, and the intermediate posts between Cordova and Buenos Ayres.	1,500	700
Total	5,200	2,100

"This calculation must be considered as the garrison of the whole territory westward of the Cordilleras."

Reports of Sir Arthur Wellesley on the subject of Lord Grenville's project for the conquest of New Spain.

Sir Arthur Wellesley to Lord Grenville.

1806, November 2. Thomas's Hotel.—"I send you two memorandums, one upon the general plan proposed in the paper which your lordship communicated to me; No. 2 upon points on which orders should be sent to India if you should determine to adopt the plan as originally proposed, or as proposed by me to be modified in No. 1 on account of the state of the seasons in the China seas and in Luconia [Luzon ?]. I will wait upon you to-morrow morning after you will return to town."

Memorandum, November 2, 1806.

"Before reviewing the plan for attacking New Spain, connected with an attack upon Manilla, I find that the state of the seasons will render it impracticable.

"In order to be able to make the direct voyage from Manilla to the coast of America in any reasonable period of time, it is necessary to depart from Manilla in the beginning of August. The attack therefore upon Manilla must be made in July.

"In the months of May, June, July, and August, the south-west winds prevail in the China seas, and blow with great violence into Manilla Bay. In order to secure the shipping the first operation would necessarily be to obtain possession

of Cavité, which would consume more time than is allotted by the plan for the operations in Luconia. But this is not the great objection to this part of the plan. The south-west winds occasion rains upon the south and west coasts of Luconia in the season in which those winds prevail ; and supposing that it should be practicable to carry on the operations against Cavité and Manilla during the rains, the troops would suffer materially in their health, and would be very unfit to undertake the long voyage what would follow those operations.

" The best season for an attack upon Manilla directed from India, is in the middle of September. The troops should sail from Madras on the 1st of August, and they would enjoy the advantage of the south-west winds for their voyage, and would arrive at Manilla towards the middle or end of the month of September, when the rains on the south and west coasts of Luconia begin to cease.

" If an attack should be made at any other time, the troops would be exposed either to the rains in Luconia, as I have pointed out, in the proposed attack, or they would suffer the inconvenience of a long voyage of three months in the season of the north-east monsoon in the China seas. The track in this case would be after leaving the Straits of Malacca, by the south end of Borneo, and through Sooloo [Sulu] and Mindoro seas.

" If it is still thought desirable to attack Manilla, and to connect the attack upon that place with the operations in new Spain, the best mode of proceeding would be that the expedition should sail from Madras on the 1st of August ; make the attack upon Manilla at the proper period, and be in a situation to embark from Manilla on the 15th of October. The track for the fleet would then be down the China seas with the north-east monsoon, till they would fall in with the track which the China tradesmen always take to the southward of Borneo, when they are too late for the south-west monsoon in the China seas. I should imagine that this voyage would require three months, which would bring them upon the coast of Panama in the middle of January. This would be too late for any thing more than a mere communication with the proposed Jamaica force of the fact that they were arrived ; there could be no concerted co-operation formed upon a view of the state of affairs in America.

" The plan for both divisions must be fixed in this country, and must be carried into execution by each independently of the other. This communication would be the only benefit which in this stage of the operations would be derived, from the possession of Panama, and of the Isthmus of Darien.

" Before I proceed further to the consideration of this part of the subject I must point out that 1,000 men will not be a sufficient garrison for Manilla if that place should be taken. Roper was very nearly driven out after he had captured the fort, and was obliged to fortify himself, and was confined

within a very narrow space in the neighbourhood of Manilla. The population of Luconia [Luzon] has been estimated at 2,000,000 of people ; but there is no doubt that there are 1,000,000 at least. The people, like all those in the Spanish dominions, are under the influence of the priests ; and if the Spanish governor was to adopt the measures adopted by his predecessor after the former siege, he would soon reduce the garrison to great distress, and would retake the place. I think that 600 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys would be a sufficient garrison for the island of Luconia, and the latter could be sent from Bengal without inconvenience, either with the expedition, or after it would have sailed from India.

" Thus far I have considered this plan on the ground of its being absolutely necessary that troops from India should co-operate in an attack upon New Spain, after having captured Manilla. Although I consider the capture of Manilla to be a necessary consequence of the possession of New Spain for reasons which it is not necessary to detail at present, it does not appear possible to carry the plan into execution in all its parts and enjoy all its advantages in an attack upon New Spain. As that attack must be considered the principal object, and the circuitous voyage after the late attack upon Manilla must be exposed to great risks and delays, probably the best thing to do would be to give up the attack upon Manilla entirely at the present moment.

" A question then arises upon the disposition of the force allotted for the attack of New Spain, consisting of 5,000 European troops, 5,000 negroes, and 3,000 Sepoys ; to replace the latter of which 1,000 Europeans, according to the plan, would be sent to India.

" This would take from the Atlantic 4,000 disposable European troops, with a view to collect a force upon the west side of New Spain ; and I will now consider whether that is the best mode of disposing of those troops with a view to the attack of New Spain.

" This attack upon the *two* sides of the country at the same moment is intended to distract the Viceroy and to oblige him to divide his force. But considering the nature of the operations which we shall have to carry on, and the natural difficulties which will oppose our early advance, the enemy may without much danger leave one of the divisions to itself, and turn all his efforts against that division what either from its numbers or its composition or any other cause he may think the weakest. The operation will be dangerous in proportion to the strength of the enemy's army in New Spain, and I am convinced that no adequate advantage will be gained by it ; supposing that no accident should happen to either division.

" But it is useless to point out all the reasons against making a double attack upon New Spain, as from the state of the seasons I really believe an attack of that nature cannot be

made. I believe that when the fair season will commence in the Gulf of Mexico in the months of December and January, the rains will commence on the western coast of New Spain, and, if that should be the case, there can be no doubt that it would not be advisable to send 4,000 European troops for the purpose of obtaining possession of Panama and the Isthmus of Darien, in order that they may endeavour from thence to penetrate into New Spain by land. The chance of success in this operation is not very promising ; and as I think there is reason to believe that the rains on the Isthmus of Darien are constant, I apprehend that we should lose many men by sickness while stationed there.

" Upon the whole therefore I believe that with a view to the conquest of New Spain the best mode of disposing of the 4,000 men (3,000 now at Buenos Ayres and 1,000 destined to go to India) would be to send them to the general rendezvous at Jamaica in the proper season. The Sepoys from India would then come in as a reinforcement, according to the original plan when the season would permit.

MEMORANDUM UPON THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS AS PROPOSED NOVEMBER 2, 1806.

1. This part of the plan is practicable. The orders by the *Saracen* will reach India sufficiently early to have the preparations at Madras completed by the time the China Indiamen will arrive there. The embarkation can certainly be made by the 15th of June.

" I conclude that it is intended that the China Indiamen shall perform the whole service. If this should not be intended it will be necessary to order the Government of India to prepare tonnage for the troops, which tonnage might follow the expedition to Manilla. Any quantity that can be required can be got in the ports of Bombay or Calcutta by giving timely notice.

" Whether the China Indiamen are to perform the whole service or not, it may be necessary to order tonnage to be prepared in India, and sent to Prince of Wales' Island for the detachment from Buenos Ayres ; as it may be expected that their transports will be in bad order ; and, at all events, heavy sailers in comparison with the China Indiamen.

" The government of India should likewise be desired to prepare a train of ordnance and artillery for the Madras and Buenos Ayres detachments, with stores for a siege, a detachment from the corps of pioneers, of 200 men with officers in proportion, likewise a commissariat and pay department. Upon this part of the subject a question will arise, namely, are the troops which will proceed from Buenos Ayres to be placed on Indian pay and allowances ? The difference will affect the officers principally ; the soldiers not at all in their pay, and but little in their provisions. But it will be difficult to convince them that being the efficient part of the Indian

army, and being fed and paid by the same officers, they ought not to receive the same pay.

"If the Buenos Ayres troops should receive this Indian pay and provision, the same may be expected thereafter possibly by the whole army serving in Mexico. I mention this now as it may influence the decision upon the claim of the Buenos Ayres troops, which must be made immediately, in order that the Indian government may provide accordingly.

II. "This is practicable. I should recommend that the troops from Buenos Ayres should not go to the Cape, unless absolutely necessary, to receive a supply of provisions, but should proceed at once to Prince of Wales' island; where they will get every thing they want, and will join the Madras detachment."

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 21. Deal.—"I send you with this some papers on all the points to which you have desired me to turn my attention; and I shall be ready to attend you in London whenever you will desire that I should come up.

"Since I saw you I have received a letter from Mr. Frazer in which he announces to me his determination to devote himself to the service of the government; and to give up his other pursuits. I propose therefore to make an arrangement with him, according to the directions which I before received from your lordship."

Postscript.—"Your lordship will observe that I have made the demand upon India for only 3,000 sepoys, instead of 4,000, as put down in your letter. I think that the government of Bengal will find it difficult to procure more than 3,000 volunteers for this service; and I don't think that the sepoys of any of the other establishments would answer so well. Besides I think that 3,000 will be as many as we should require."

MEMORANDUM AS TO THE PLAN FOR COLLECTING TROOPS, NOVEMBER 20th, 1806.

"After the fullest consideration of the subject it appears decided that the principal attack upon New Spain must be made by one corps on its eastern coast; that the operations of this corps should be concentrated as much as possible in the first instance; and that the assistance to be looked for from the East Indies should be more in the nature of a reinforcement to the troops who should have made the conquest of New Spain, than of a corps to co-operate in the conquest. The best season for an attack upon New Spain, for reasons which will appear hereafter, is the month of December, and the rendezvous for the troops ought to be the island of Jamaica. The troops for this attack should be 6,000 European infantry, 3,000 negro infantry, 2,000 artillery, two regiments or 1,400 European cavalry, 200 pioneers, 4 brigades or 24 pieces of

field ordnance, of which six howitzers, 4 pieces of battering ordnance on travelling carriages, 2 10 inch and light mortars upon beds which can be moved by hand, with stores in proportion. To this ought to be added 400 horses of the artillery or waggon corps with their drivers ; and 400 mules with their saddles and equipments and drivers, and, if possible, a corps of rangers.

" This corps ought to sail from Jamaica in the middle of November so as to arrive on the coast of New Spain early, in December. It ought to be collected as follows. The troops ought to arrive in Jamaica by the 20th of October, 3,000 European infantry and 400 mules with their drivers and equipments to be sent from Buenos Ayres. They should sail from Buenos Ayres in the middle of September. The orders for the sailing of the troops should be sent from England in the end of June ; and those for the purchase of the mules, and the hire of their attendants, and the preparations for their transport and their food on the passage, as early as April. They ought to be trained mules. 3,000 European infantry, 200 artillery, 1,400 cavalry, 400 horses of the waggon corps with their drivers, with the ordnance and stores abovementioned, and the provisions as stated hereafter, to be in readiness to sail from Falmouth by the 20th of August. The European infantry and the artillery to replace similar numbers to be taken from the Island of Jamaica.

" 3,000 negroes and 3,000 European infantry and 200 artillery to be prepared in the island of Jamaica to sail upon the proposed expedition in the middle of November. The 3,000 European infantry and the 200 artillery to be replaced by the troops of the same description and numbers which will sail from England in August.

" The troops to bring with them their camp equipage, 60 rounds of ammunition, and, if the troops in the West Indies and at Buenos Ayres have no camp equipage, or there should be none in the stores in the West Indies, a quantity for 6,000 men to be sent from England in August with the troops.

" Pioneers and rangers to be collected in the settlement of Honduras according to a plan which will be discussed in a separate memorandum.

" Vessels for the transport of the negroes from Jamaica to New Spain to be sent from England in August with the troops. These transports, and in general all those intended for this service ought to be of a small size, and of a light draught of water ; but well found in naval stores, and particularly in anchors and cables.

" The point of attack for this expedition will be discussed in a separate memorandum.

" In order to reinforce and support this corps which will have made its attack upon New Spain, 3,000 Sepoys and 500 Europeans are to be sent from Bengal in the month of October.

The native troops must be volunteers, and it will take three months to collect them at Calcutta from the different corps and stations of the army; and the orders respecting them ought to arrive in Calcutta in the beginning of July. Allowing 5 months for these orders to reach India from England, they ought to be despatched from England on the 1st of February. This corps ought to arrive upon the western coast of New Spain in the month of February. It may be expected that they will be 4 months on their passage; and one more is allowed for stopping at places of refreshment. These should be in the first instance for a few days at Prince of Wales' island, where they ought to fill up their water; and in the second at Botany Bay. There they ought to be landed and encamped in a healthy situation.

"Vessels loaded with rice and other articles used by the sepoys ought to be sent with this corps, for their consumption, particularly while they may be at Botany Bay. Measures ought to be taken also for the supply of fresh provisions to the Europeans during the same period.

"I cannot at present determine upon the landing place for this corps in New Spain. There is time for the consideration of this point, and at all events it will be possible to communicate to them their ulterior orders in New Holland."

Memorandum on the different points of attack, November 20th, 1806.

New Spain is accessible upon its eastern coast by the following points:

1st. In the Gulf of Mexico, on the whole coast to the northward of La Vera Cruz.

2ndly, at La Vera Cruz.

3rdly, by the river Avarado.

4thly, by the river Gujalva.

5thly, by the river Balleze.

6thly, by the Golfo Dolce into Guatimala.

7thly, by the river St. Juan into the Lake Nicaragua.

"The seasons throughout New Spain appear to prevail as in the Gulf of Mexico. The rains commence in April and cease in September and October. During this season the low countries upon the sea coasts and banks of rivers are, of course, unhealthy. This season is followed, in the months of October, November, December and January, by the northerly winds in the Gulf of Mexico. These at times blow with great violence; and at those times it is dangerous and indeed impossible for a ship to remain upon the coast, excepting under the shelter of the rock or island of St. Juan D'Ulloa. After this season, the weather becomes more moderate in the Gulf of Mexico, and the wind blows occasionally from the land. But during this season the low country upon the sea coast is more unhealthy than during the prevalence of the northerly

winds, owing, it is supposed, to the unwholesomeness of the land winds which blow over the lagunes and marshes.

"It would appear therefore that the most healthy season for an attack upon New Spain would be the months of December and January after the rains would have ceased, the country would have had some time to become dry, and before the unhealthy season occasioned by the wind blowing over the lagunes and marshes would have commenced.

"But this is the season in which the northerly winds are violent; and admitting that the attack from the eastward is that which promises most success, the question is upon what point shall it be made?

"Mr. Frazer says that those accustomed to the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico know, from the appearance of the weather, when the northerly gales are coming on; that the common mode adopted of placing the ships in safety is to go to sea, and remain at a distance from the coast till the gale is over; that a fleet obliged to adopt this measure for its safety would find good anchorage and security upon the bank on the north and west coasts of the peninsula of Yucatan; that these gales seldom last longer than two or three days; and that the interval of fine weather between each gale is from ten days to a fortnight, in which space of time it is supposed that a fleet might perform any operations required from it upon the coast. This plan might answer for a single ship well stored and manned, but not in my opinion for a fleet of transports. Supposing the whole statement to be true, namely that the gales can be foreseen, and that each gale is followed by an interval of one fortnight's fair weather, I cannot conceive that it is consistent with the deliberation and sobriety with which this whole plan is considered, and with which it is proposed to be conducted, to land an army of 10,000 men in the Gulf of Mexico, and take away from them all their transports immediately; or that any Admiral would undertake to keep up the communication with the army under such circumstances.

"I have not sufficient evidence to make me certain that there is a communication between the towns on the coast to the northward of La Vera Cruz, and the city of Mexico; but admitting that there is one, I doubt whether the considerations above referred to ought not to induce us to abandon altogether an attack upon those parts of the coast, as being impracticable in the months of December and January in which the climate in the low country upon the coast is supposed to be least unhealthy.

"The next point to be considered is the attack upon La Vera Cruz itself. There a fleet would be sheltered from the northerly winds after the army would have obtained possession of the fort, on the island, or rock of St. Juan D'Ulloa; and upon the chance of obtaining early possession of this fort there are two questions. First, is it true that in the

season of the northerly winds (that is in December) there is an interval of ten days or a fortnight of weather in which a fleet might anchor upon the coast? Mr. Frazer speaks positively to this point; and on the other hand I have to mention that every traveller whose voyage I have read, in whatever season he may have arrived at La Vera Cruz, experienced a gale from the northward; Gage particularly on the 11th of September; and Chappe D'Auteroche on the 8th of March.

2ndly. "Supposing the weather would allow of a fleet anchoring upon the coast in that season for ten days, would that period of time be sufficient to take the fort of St. Juan D'Ulloa? By all accounts the fort is not very strong. It is square, with a dry ditch, covert way, and glacis, with bastions at the four angles; is very small; contains about 70 pieces of cannon, and has no casemates or bomb-proof magazines. The garrison is supposed to be 2,000 men, commanded by a lieutenant. The fort is situated upon the island or rock of St. Juan D'Ulloa, the whole of which it does not occupy; but there is not room for a regular attack by the island. Gage says that the island is not more than the distance which a musket would carry from the continent, in which account other authorities nearly agree. If this be true, it might be practicable under cover of a fire from the opposite shore, from the shipping, and from batteries which we might be able to construct from the island, to carry the place by a *coup de main*.

"If St. Juan D'Ulloa cannot be taken in this manner, of which I entertain no doubt, I think it probable that the garrison in that fort has always depended for its supply of provisions upon the town of La Vera Cruz, immediately opposite to it. Of this we should certainly have possession; and by the distress which the garrison would suffer from the fire kept upon them, and from the want of provisions, it is more than probable they would surrender.

"From La Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico there is a road practicable for an army, through a plentiful country, and the distance about 100 leagues.

"If the attack by La Vera Cruz should be thought impracticable, the next to be considered is that by the river Alvarado. This river empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, to the southward of La Vera Cruz. It is navigable for small vessels to Ilapotecas and St. Ildefonso in the province of Guaxaca; at no great distance from the city of Guaxaca. This province is fertile, and abounds in every thing which an army would require; and the city of Guaxaca itself is only 80 leagues from Mexico, and the road excellent. Teguantefel and Guatuleo are harbours in this province upon the South Sea, each about 200 miles distant from Guaxaca. The question upon this attack turns upon the state of the navigation of the river Alvarado, upon which the government of Jamaica

ought to have information. But there appears no doubt that the Spaniards use this river for their commerce ; and I conclude that it is a weak point, as I understand that the Spanish government have established gun-boats on it.

" The next point of attack is the river Gujalva. The mouth of this river is likewise in the gulf of Mexico ; and it is said to be navigable to Chiapar de Los Indos in the province of Chiapas. But the same question arises about the navigation of this river ; and it is to be observed that the distance from Chiapas to the city of Mexico is more than 200 leagues ; and over the mountains Quelencs. I consider this attack therefore to be out of the question.

" The next attack is by the river Balleze. This empties itself into the sea, in the southern parts of the British settlements in Honduras. It is navigable for small vessels, as far as a point only 15 miles from the great road leading from Campeachy to Guatimala The distance from Guatimala to the city of Mexico in 300 leagues ; and part of the road leads through a very unhealthy country bordering upon the South Sea.

" The next attack is by the Golfo Dolce into Guatimala. The Golfo Dolce is navigable for small vessels to Bodegas Altas about 180 miles from Guatimala. The country from thence to the city of Guatimala is good and plentiful, excepting the first 15 leagues. The state of the road and distance from Guatimala to the city of Mexico have been above stated.

" The next attack is by the river St. Juan with the Lake Nicaragua. The river St. Juan is navigable during only a very short period of the year ; I believe not after the rains have ceased. The country upon the bank of Lake Nicaragua is fertile and healthy ; but the distance from the lake to the city of Mexico is not less than 1,500 miles. There is a good port, El Healeyo, on the South Sea at no great distance from the Lake Nicaragua.

" Upon a review of all the inlets with New Spain, I should prefer to make the attack by La Vera Cruz. It will be necessary that the army should be well supplied with mortars of different sizes ; and that the fleet should be attended by gun and bomb vessels, in order to have a capacity of attacking St. Juan D'Ulloa with a very heavy fire. These vessels ought to be of a very small size, and to draw but little water.

" If the attack cannot be made by La Vera Cruz we must try it by one of the rivers. Of course I should prefer the Alvarado, if its navigation will answer. In a view to this necessity I should recommend that the transports employed with the troops upon this occasion should be the smallest, and of the lightest draught of water that could be found ; and that early measures should be taken to insure their being well found in stores, particularly anchors and cables."

(No. 3.) Memorandum on the aid to be derived from Honduras, November 20th.

"I understand that the population of the settlement of Honduras is greater than the settlement requires or can employ, and that this excess amounts to nearly 2,000 upon a population of 5,000 persons, not includng the negro regiment stationed at Honduras, and calculated to have 1,200 men. There appears, no doubt consequently, that a number amounting to between 1,500 and 2,000 men might be taken away for the proposed service in New Spain without putting the colony to any inconvenience; and from the nature of the service there is reason to believe that the principal settlers would willingly lend their aid to the plan, and that this number of people would come forward voluntarily to give their service to government.

"The population of Honduras is, I understand, composed of some Europeans, some settlers born in the country, some free negroes, and the greatest proportion negro slaves. A proportion of all the classes might be induced to come forward in the service of government upon this occasion, and it is imagined that the masters of the slaves in partieular would give the service of their slaves, in the hope that they should have a share of the plunder, in the same manner as they had during the American war at Fort Omoa.

"The whole population of Honduras, whether slaves or not, are trained, and are in the habits of performing military service; but although service by slaves might answer well enough for the defence of such a settlement of Honduras, considering the eircumstances in which it is placed and the people by whom it is likely to be attacked, I should doubt whether it would be expedient to employ a very large number of these slaves in the attack and conquest of New Spain.

"The plan therefore which I would propose would be to endeavour to raise a corps of 5 or 600 free negro rangers, and another of from 2 to 300 free negro pioneers, to be officered in part by the European and native settlers at Honduras, and in part by the officers of the line, to be taken from the establishment in the West Indies. If this number of free negroes could not be procured or could not be taken from the settlement of Honduras without distressing it for that description of population, the deficiency might be made up by the purchase of slaves at Honduras on his Majesty's account, in the same manner as the slaves are purchased for the West India regiments; they might cost there about 80*l.* sterling a man. If the number cannot be made up in this manner, the corps of rangers might be free negroes and the pioneers slaves.

"If it should be necessary to employ the slave owners of Honduras and their slaves, whether as rangers or pioneers, government will be obliged to engage to pay 80*l.* sterling

for every man who will be lost on the serviee ; to give the slaves their pay and provisions in the same manner as other soldiers, and possibly to make some allowanee to the owner for the loss of the profit he would derive from the labour of his slave while the serviee would be going on. The advantage whieh the slave owner would propose to himself would be the share whieh he would expeet his slaves would have of any property that might be eaptured.

"These plans in Honduras must be earried into exeeution through the government of Jamaiea. Three months will be required to eolleet the men and make all the arrangements in Honduras ; therefore the government of Jamaica ought to eommenee them in July ; and the orders respeeting them ought to be sent from England on the 1st of May.

" The next point to be eonsidered is the arming of the eorps of rangers, and the transport of them and the pioneers from Honduras to the seene of aetion. If there are no arms in Honduras, arms and aeeoutrements ought to be sent from Jamaiea in August.

"Transports for 1,000 men must be provided in England for these troops. They might sail with the others from Falmouth in August. From Jamaica they would be sent down to Honduras in a few days ; and when the armament would sail from Jamaiea in the end of November, intelligenee might be sent to Honduras, and the whole fleet would rendezvous off Cape Catoehe. The eorps from Honduras would have a long and bad passage to Jamaiea, for whieh reason this mode is proposed."

(No. 4.) Memorandum in regard to ordnance for the service in New Spain, November 20th, 1806.

" A field train eonsisting of four brigades or 24 pieees of light ordnanee, of whieh 6 pieees to be howitzers, to be embarked, and in readiness to sail from Falmouth on the 20th of August next. The ear-brigades would answer best ; with the ammunition paeked in boxes of that size whieh would be most easily earried by hand.

" The following ordnanee and stores to be embarked and in readiness to sail at the same time :

20,000 muskets and bayonets.

Intrenehing tools for 8,000 men.

A double quantity of ammunition and stores for the field-train.

2,000,000 musket ball eartridges.

70,000 musket flints.

100,000 earbine and pistol ball eartridges.

5,000 pistol and earbine flints.

4 iron 18 pounders upon travelling carriages—stores for these guns.

4,000 loose 18 pound shots.

A proportionate quantity of powder in barrels.

2 10 inch mortars—stores for them.
4 small $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortars upon beds capable of being transported by hand ; stores for them.
Scaling ladders.
Sand bags."

(No. 5.) Memorandum for the Victualling Board, for the service in New Spain, November 20th.

"To be in readiness to sail from Falmouth on the 20th of August next :
Beef, pork, and spirits, for 11,000 men for two months.
Biscuit for the same number for three months.
Flour for the same number for one month.
Oats for 400 horses for two months.
Hay for 400 horses for one month."

Memorandum in regard to Transports for the service in New Spain, November 20th, 1806.

Transports to be prepared in La Plata bearing 3,000 European infantry, and 400 mules with their river and other equipments to Jamaica ; and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 400 horses of the artillery or waggon train with their river and other equipments from England to Jamaica, and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 200 artillery, 3,000 European infantry, 1,400 dismounted dragoons from England to Jamaica, and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 3,000 negroes from Jamaica to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 1,000 negroes from Honduras to New Spain.

Observations on the abolition of the Slave Trade by a Country Gentleman.

[1807, February.]—"I should be sorry it should be understood I stand up as an advocate for the inhumanity practised in the slave trade, as I presume I entertain as much abhorrence to slavery in every respect, and to the slavery of the West India negroes, as perhaps any gentleman or neighbour who intends to sign the petition offered for our consideration.

"And however I differ with them in opinion, I praise and admire the humanity of Mr. Wilberforce, and his coadjutors. Yet I cannot forbear to express my disapprobation of every method hitherto used to emancipate the slaves at one stroke. I feared from the first its dangerous consequences, and which are now alarming. And I verily believe (after every method is taken to restrict and regulate the trade from Guinea) every other effort to liberate the negroes all at the same time will incite them more and more to rebellion and massacre.

"The petition to Parliament now under your consideration is, I understand, to abolish the importation of slaves into our West India colonies. Suppose it be effected, is it not highly probable (I should think it beyond probability) that the negro at present in slavery will naturally say, the senators of Great Britain allow my being formerly purchased in Guinea to be unlawful; and if I was not purchased into slavery there, my parents were. The Parliament of Great Britain allow it to be unjustifiable, and against the laws of God and man; 'I will therefore be free, because I have a right to be free.' Horrid to reflect on what may ensue.

"We in this island sitting peaceably under our own vine and fig tree, ought most seriously to consider what may be the loss to the present owners of plantations and negroes, if they are deprived of the profit of their slaves. It is not in the power of the revenue of Great Britain to compensate them for what they and their forefathers esteemed lawful possessions. And what may be the dreadful consequences of the conflict for liberty which these humane (I was going to call them mistaken) applications encourage them to? And even that liberty, which is the idea of your wishes, I greatly fear from what I conceive of them, they would not be satisfied, quiet, and industrious with, after emancipation.

"With respect to bondage or slavery we all know our great law-giver was aware that it existed in his days upon earth. I presume he that knew all things, knew it must exist, until mankind should become more humane and civilized, and his doctrine better understood. Many of the good people, petitioners against the slave trade, I consider of this description; and I presume we all hope the time is approaching when the rights of man of all descriptions, will be better understood, not by annulling all subordination, destroying constitutions, and senates, but by improving them, liberating the negroes, and reforming their minds with our own in every Christian virtue.

"Nor would I be understood as one altogether ignorant of the people whom this petition is meant to befriend. I have been among them when a young man, nearly four years together, rather as a visitor than an inhabitant. Yet I have viewed them, their operations, and treatment, from the blowing of the conque to call them to their morning's work, through the day, at their different occupations, as well in the plantations, building of fortifications, as in their domestic employments, and I never observed that cruelty exercised over them so much as is generally complained of. I have viewed them to the evening, and declare I have seen in and about their villages of huts, pleasure, plenty, and every appearance of joy among them. The times of their festivity and dancing, I observed, were chiefly on Sundays; and in the island of Barbadoes, at a country place called the Fontibelle (the burying ground of the negroes of that part of the island towards

Bridge Town) their mirth was excessive, and no one to my knowledge ever interrupted them. (It may be remarked here, they are not allowed to make any associations in towns.)

"If then I am an advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, it may be expected I should mention some scheme or proposal in what manner and in what degree I would wish to see the negroes liberated. The petitioners on this subject have made great (and as I observed before) praiseworthy efforts, because they were founded in humanity. My scheme may be regarded as chimerical. If the Legislature of this kingdom have power to abolish the slave trade at one stroke, as they have been taught by all the petitions hitherto offered on the subject, it would be a less stretch of power to do it partially or by degrees, which may not distress the planters, and at the same time keep the slave in obedience; and therefore I would offer something like the following :—

"The negro who has attained his 40th year, and served his master 14, to be set at liberty.

"He between 35 and 40, having served his master 14 years, to be liberated at his attaining his 40th year.

"He between 20 and 30 having served his master 14 years to be liberated at his attaining his 30th year.

"And all those under 30 having served 14 years to be set free at attaining their 30th year (I might have said before, under proper restrictions) provided such negroe has neither done nor plotted anything enormous.

"Doubtless the humane heart will still wish for the liberation of those not freed by this scheme. Let the people of this country, and elsewhere, the numerous advocates for the abolition of the slave trade, open subscriptions for the liberation of West Indian negroes. I presume thousands who hitherto have not been advocates for them, would now become subscribers, and it is hardly to be doubted but the planter will release them at a reasonable price.

"By some such scheme the planter would be able to continue his work free from the present alarms; the negro would be stimulated to attain his freedom, and that when he has youth and strength to provide for his family. And by such lenient means each party, the planters and the negroes, would become more intersting to each other, and that diabolical trade between Guinea and the West Indies would soon abolish itself. And it is further to be expected that our laudable commercial intercourse between Africa and England, and the West Indies, would by this time be so well established, that if more assistance was necessary to the planters, I have not a doubt but numbers of negroes who are by nature better calculated to till the ground under the scorching heat of the torrid zone, will be adventurers to the Antilles islands as freemen and labourers.

"For I say again; it is my firm opinion; the negroes and people of colour, were they all immediately emancipated,

they would be so imperious, and so idle, they would not sufficiently cultivate the ground ; and I am as firmly of opinion Europeans cannot.

"If there are any gentlemen here, who may know more of the West Indies, or more of the people, the subject of the petition before you, than I do, I am ready to answer any questions they may be pleased to put to me.

"I have now only to thank this assembly for giving me this opportunity of declaring my sentiments upon the business ; they are entirely my own ; I have no party, nor no wish, but the good of mankind ; and being alone, I may remain the only one who cannot consistently with my own ideas sign this petition."

1807.

A review of the British interests in the eastern parts of India, as connected with the present aspect of politics in Europe :

Contributed by Sir John Macpherson, Bart.

"Admitting the position, that we do not possess the power of liberating Holland from the dominion of France, and that it is very much within the range of probabilities, that the Dutch possessions in India will ultimately enable France to annoy us in that quarter of the globe, it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be a politic measure for Great Britain, at the present juncture, to take possession of Java.

"The advantages of reducing Java are incalculable. It abounds with numerous forests of teak fit for our marine, rice equal to the effectual aid of India in cases of famine, coffee, spices, sugar, and all the most valuable articles of Eastern production. The extent and value of its produce may be estimated by the exclusive Dutch trade in former times, and by the combined Dutch and foreign trade with the ports of Java at the present day.

"As Java would yield to the British nation an immense revenue, great trading produce and resources in provisions, and a supply of timber equal to the demand of the largest navy, it would be worth retaining, even if its establishment should be in some degree expensive ; but in order to diminish that as much as possible, the liberal line of policy for Great Britain to adopt would be to demolish to their very foundation all the petty Dutch forts scattered throughout Java, and the other parts of the Eastern Archipelago, and to restore the territories attached to them (under certain stipulations) to their native sovereigns, securing only one or two strongholds on the eastern parts of Java, which posts it would be advisable, as promptly and effectually to preserve, as it is to guard and maintain India itself.*

* *See* note A.

"By following up the capture of Java by such a system of policy, we should not only increase our trade, our revenues, and our maritime resources to an incalculable extent, without much addition to our expense, but by moving those great resources out of the reach of France, we should place insurmountable obstacles in the way of any serious attack upon our power in India, which the French might with great ease and prospect of success attempt, should they turn their attention to the possession of the fruitful and opulent country of Java.

"It will be proper now to proceed to consider the objects more immediately connected with the expedition.

"If a choice of seasons could be commanded, a force destined to attack Java should rendezvous at Prince of Wales's Islands in October, and quit it about the 15th of November, so as to arrive at Batavia just when the rains cease, and to have the whole of the fine monsoon, or a period of five months, for the execution of the proposed plan. Twenty-four hours only should be allowed for treating, and such is the avarice of the Dutch, so hollow their patriotism, and so great their fear of their own slaves, that there is little doubt but safety to persons and property would command the keys. If these terms should be refused, the place should be stormed, the fortifications destroyed, treasury and warehouses emptied, and that spot relinquished with all practicable despatch. In the same rapid procedure, the British force might run along the coast of Javà, reducing all the other forts, which would be a work not difficult of execution; after the surrender of Batavia, they would fall of their own accord, as well as all the Dutch outposts in the Eastern archipelago, which it might be deemed advisable to summons.*

"As the time of the year, however, is already too late for an expedition quitting this country at present, to derive *all* the advantages of the favourable season, that is—to have the whole of the north-west monsoon, or from December to April inclusive, for its operations on the spot, it will be absolutely necessary, if the plan be considered a politic one, either for the expedition to sail from this country *immediately*, and to proceed direct to Java (by which means it might arrive there, and reduce the island before the setting in of the south-east monsoon, which generally blows violently by the first week in May); or to defer quitting England until May or June next, in which latter case it would be advisable to rendezvous at Prince of Wales's Island, as has been already noticed. But, it is submitted, that no time is to be lost, for the Dutch are at present unprepared, and the sooner the resources of Java are snatched from the grasp of France, the more certain the benefit to the great commercial interests of Great Britain, the more secure our present possessions

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* *See* note B.

in the East, and the less the danger that Bonaparte's favourite system of excluding us from the continental ports, even if successful, will prove injurious to the essential revenues of the state.

"The details connected with the most judicious mode of attacking Batavia are submitted in appendix No. I.; and as they were collected from the information of an intelligent traveller, and are founded on actual experience, they may be considered deserving of particular attention. Two thousand European troops would be fully adequate to the undertaking; and although it might be desirable that some of the native troops of India should co-operate in the reduction of the island, it would not be necessary to delay the measure solely for that purpose. Instructions might be sent for the native troops to assemble at Prince of Wales's Island, from whence they could be ordered to proceed to Java at so very short a notice, as to be there within five weeks after the expedition from this country. To ensure the co-operation of the native troops of India in the reduction of the island, the plan must necessarily be protracted until May or June next.*

"Should Java be occupied by the British, we need not be solicitous about Pegu, the extensive teak forests of which country have hitherto been considered of much importance to our maritime interests. More especially, if we continue to cultivate a firm friendship with the King of Siam, no other European power could maintain itself in the dominions of Pegu or Ava.

"To reduce the Mauritius would render us indolent in India, add nothing to our resources, increase our expenses, and in fact, relieve our enemy from a burden, which the point of honour more than any other consideration, induces him to support. The distance between the Mauritius and India is so great, and the supplies at the former place so *very scanty*, that I question much if an attack upon our possessions in India could be so easily effected from the Mauritius, as from some of the southern parts of old France.

"With respect to the Spanish settlement in the Philippine Islands, it has hitherto been a colony paid by others for our advantage, and on these grounds, the attack of it appears to be decidedly objectionable. The silver that is exported from thence annually, and finds its way into our possessions in India, only passes through Manilla from Mexico, and is given in exchange for the productions and manufactures of British India. Were the Philippines therefore in our hands, the sources would be stopped up, and we should have to send money there; while we should also lose a channel for the vent of our Indian manufactures. In case, however, of the subjugation of the Spanish power in Mexico by the British

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* *See* note C.

arms, or, as a measure having relation to the great link of connection between Europe, America and the East Indies, to which the existing state of affairs appears favourable, the capture of the Philippines may, perhaps, be thought worthy of consideration.

"I have deemed it proper to state the objections that have hitherto occurred to my mind upon general principles, but viewing the subject as connected with the present opening scene, it is not within my sphere, nor will I presume to appreciate the bearings and operations of such an event as the capture of the Philippines on the British interests.

"Should an attack upon Manilla be taken into consideration, I think I could furnish some particulars respecting that place which might be found in some degree useful.*

"Having taken this cursory review of some of the principal stations in the eastern parts of India, I shall now return to the more immediate subject of this paper, and conclude by observing that it appears to me that if we occupy Java, and should even be obliged to restore it at a general peace, the operation of the foregoing measures on the prosperity of the British trade would produce the most permanent and substantial advantages; that, should we retain Java at the peace, our liberal policy and freedom of trade (which would form a striking contrast to the narrow and self-destructive system of the Dutch) would not only ensure to us the predilection of the natives, but would very probably conciliate the other independent nations of Europe, and render them less jealous of that extension of our power; while, as the English are endowed with a daring spirit of adventure, have a great command of capital, perfect security of property, and the sovereignty over those territories which produce the manufactures that every part of India would demand, all Europe would be directly or indirectly under our agency, almost the whole of the trade would centre with us, and no competition, excepting with specie, would in reality exist. Finally, setting aside all speculative provisions of peace, while we possess India and Java, no naval attack can be made from Europe by France on our possessions in the East. With the resources of Java *at the command of France*, we may be annoyed from a near and convenient station, which will afford our enemy abundant supplies, independently of India; whereas, since the Mauritius can afford no supplies, and in fact cannot subsist without India or Java, we have little to dread from that quarter.

"Batavia ought therefore to be taken, its fortifications destroyed, its warehouses and treasuries emptied, and the capital transferred to the healthy towns of Sumaran and Gressey, or such other of the eastern ports as may, on scientific survey, be judged most advantageous."

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* *See* note D.

The Notes.

Note A.

This liberating system may startle some persons at first, but while we possess India, and command the produce and manufactures of that empire, our tonnage and capital combined with that peculiar spirit of adventure and local knowledge which we possess, must give us a decided superiority over every other nation in the trade of those ports that we might wish to restore to their native sovereigns. We should command the whole of the trade excepting what may be carried on with specie from Europe; but admitting, under these circumstances, that two-thirds only of the trade would centre with us, the point of decision in such case comes to be, is it better to secure two-thirds without charges, than all at a heavy expense? Indeed, I much doubt whether the Dutch have hitherto, with all their forts, armies, and cruisers, and by exercising the most arbitrary system of monopoly, been able to secure so great a proportion of the trade.

Note B.

It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that the unhealthiness of Batavia is the principal reason for my urging such great expedition in the demolition of it. All the other parts of the island of Java enjoy a most salubrious climate, at some of which, I have already observed, that I would permanently establish the British power.

Note C.

As all the European force which principally consists of Germans, as well as the native troops of Java, would enlist in the British service, the capture of that island would not occasion any diminution of our forces in India, excepting during the first year of the conquest. It is my opinion, indeed, that we should on the contrary acquire an accession of strength to our Indian possessions, as the number willing and eager to enlist at Java would far exceed the few sepoys that might in the first instance be required.

"The natives of Celebes make excellent soldiers, and may be *depended upon.*

Note D.

As connected with the plan of substituting Chinese labourers in the West Indies, in lieu of coffee slaves, the capture of the Philippines would afford prominent advantages from its proximity to China.

The capture of Java would also contribute great facilities for the prosecution of that object."

1809.

A poem of 42 stanzas—and selected notes.

1

Fill'd with the genius of his sire,
Pitt long attun'd Britannia's lyre,

To deeds of martial fame ;
Responsive to th' awakening strain,
Europe, throughout her wide domain,
Had caught the sacred flame.

2.*

But hark ! what harsh discordant sound !
From blood-staind Austerlitz rebound
The cries of vanquishd Kings !
The mighty master looks around,
*No kindred mind** is near him found,
To sooth his secret stings.

3.

As thus with public cares opprest
Pitt's pow'rful genius sunk to rest,
Untun'd the lyre uphung ;
Till Fox and Grenville once again
Renewd the bold impressive strain
And gave the wires a tongue.

4.†

True to their practis'd touch, the shell
With wider compass, louder swell,
Obeys their joint control ;
And now the master-key they find
To Pitt denyd, and now *unbind*
" Sweet music's hidden soul."

5.

Afric's sad sons have caught the sound ;
And soon her suff'ring race unbound,
Their shores from blood and rapine free ;
Shall raise to heav'n the grateful eye,
And as they view deliverance nigh
" Clank their rude chains in harmony."

6.

Ierne too with rapture hears
Strains fit to soothe her anxious fears
And wake a sister's love ;
Fain would she bid her harp conspire
In strict accord with Britain's lyre
A kindred sound to move.

7.

And tho' awhile th' harmonious wires
Have lost in death their wonted fires
Tun'd to their Fox's solemn knell ;

---

* See note A.
† *See* notes B. and C.

Yet still on Grenville's faithful ear
Vibrate those accents strong and clear
Which from the dying patriot fell!

8.*

But ah! those sounds are heard in vain
Mad *superstition* bursts her chain
And pours her savage moan;
Not now, as erst, to *mobs confin'd*
Her spells attempt a loftier mind,
She casts them round the throne.

9.†

First in her train, mild Sidmouth's form
Is seen, just scaping from the storm,
His breath conspir'd to raise;
Sidmouth, whose soft persuasive art
Condemn'd to play a second part
Aspires to Hawkesbury's praise!

10.‡

Next dark-brow'd metaphysic Scott
Well skilld to find, or make a plot,
On Windsor's heights is seen
But e'er in . . . s gracious ear
He pours the precious poison *dear*,
Grave Hawkesbury steps between.

11.

To him the golden lyre's assign'd,
Tis his to sooth the . . . mind
Hereditary station!
Strait at his call a motley throng
Of would-be statemen, old and young,
"Rise like an exhalation."

12.§

These oft with Pitt had borne a part,
Echos of his all-pow'rful art,
Or charmers of his vacant hour;
Now each, 'for madness rul'd the brain'
In diff'rent key and separate strain
'Would prove his own expressive pow'r.'

13.‖

But Hawkesbury first enjoys the prize;
And, as the '*Paris march*' he tries
His earlier strains renewing,

---

* *See* notes D and E.
† *See* note F.
‡ *See* note G.
§ *See* notes H and I.
‖ *See* notes K L, M, and N.

Again 'four French Departments' quake,
Again the 'golden' words of Drake
Charm 'Stratsburg' to her ruin.

14.

Soon, waking from his rapt'rous dream,
He chose a more *domestic* theme
To notes of sharp complaining,
Lest Bonaparté in his zeal
On half-drill'd Volunteers to steal
Should interrupt their training.

15.*

Thy numbers, Castlereagh, in vain
Court music's *just, unerring* strain
Nor suit th' *harmonious chorded* shell.
'*Two strings* at least *thy* bow' supplies;
Foil'd in finance, *war's* arduous prize
May suit thy various powrs as well.

16.†

Or if rich *India* still delight
Again her ivr'y's purest white
May prop thy *bed of roses;*
Thy *Stamen* there, slim Cas-tle-reagh
At ease recruit; while Britain's day
On thy unconscious slumber closes!

17.‡

Blest state! which 'scapes pert Canning's *pleas*
His quibbles, points, and repartees,
Where rhyme's at war with reason;
For still he treads the self-same round
And still he bids the lyre resound
To jokes long out of season.

18.

On Portland now th' assiduous art
Which gaind Pitt's open generous heart
With equal ease he tries;
No dread of pop'ry feels or feigns;
Enough for him, that to his strains
Is giv'n the wish'd-for prize.

19.

Last, superstition's genuine heir!
Whose narrow front, and bigot air
A zealot's fury's stampt on;

---

* *See note* O.
† *See note* P.
‡ *See note* Q.

With madd'ning hand he strikes the lyre
In hopes with kindred zeal to fire
  Th' electors of Northampton.

20.*

Self-calld, he *now* the church defends,
And *now* for state reform contends
  The foe of life-grants and reversions ! !
Nor spares the dead ; but 'gainst thy shade
Lov'd Fox, now low thy head is laid,
  He vents his splenetic aversions.

21.†

(Gaul's adverse coast repeats his song ;
Her *crafty priests* the notes prolong
  Skill'd in fanatic lore ;
By *Quimper's* art religion's rays
Diverted, lo ! a firebrand blaze
  Aim'd at Ierne's shore.)

22.‡

Tentie Dundas his hand forbears
(Himself for once overlook'd) he hears
  To other's notes the strings resound ;
And as in unison he plays
His native bagpipe's *pawkie* lays
  Sustains the lyre's *unequal* sound.

23.

Hush'd be the wild disheartn'ing blast !
Scenes of my country's glory past
  Beam on these joyless eyes ;
Heroes and patriots, forms rever'd !
To sad experience more endear'd
  In bright succession rise !

24.

In vain your deeds of bold emprize,
Your pious cares, your councils wise,
  The stately fabric raise ;
In vain, to grace our laurell'd chiefs
Swell the proud columns rich reliefs
  That prompt the deeds they praise.

25.§

If wisdom from the sacred shrine
No more exalt her voice divine
  Inform, inspire the mighty whole ;

---

* *See* notes R and S.
† *See* notes T and U.
‡ *See* notes V, W and X.
§ *See* note Y.

Heedless alike of friends and foes
The gauntlet headstrong valour throws,
Released from wisdom's firm control.

26.*

Great Chatham! with what alter'd mien
Had thy exalted spirit seen
This contrast to thy gen'rous sway;
The tow'ring eagle's high-built nest
By night's ill-omen'd birds possest
Of owls and bats *obscene* the prey!

27.†

And thou, to whose prophetic sight
(As now thy spirit took its flight)
To read our fate twas giv'n;
Well might'st thou, on thy failing knees,
(Foreseeing ministers like these)
Cry, 'save my country heavn.'

28.

Reversions, pensions, ribbands blue
May make opinion's native hue
Change with each varying hour;
But high, and just, and gen'rous views
Tis nature *only* can infuse
This passes K . . . . y powr.

29.‡

Whence rose the power that dares despoil
The globe? ensanguines evry soil?
And decimates our race?
Could bare-fac'd tyranny beguile?
Was there who trusted in the *smile*
That grimly lights the tyrant's face?

30.§

Weak, treacherous, councils fixd the fate
Of each dismay'd, disjointed state
That sunk, th' invader's easy prey;
Hence o'er the heads of crouching kings
Gaul's crimson'd eagle claps her wings
And mocks their mimic sway!

31.

As life-blood driv'n thro ev'ry vein
Returns to cheer the heart again

---

* *See* note Z.
† *See* note AA.
‡ *See* notes BB and CC.
§ *See* note DD.

True to th' impelling powr ;
As dews our parent earth bestows,
Repay the soil from whence they rose,
With many a kindly showr.

32.

A grateful, thus, and gen'rous land
Supports the firm, and fostering hand,
Whose wise and vig'rous rule *alone*
In one extensive scheme unites
A people's *duties*, with their *rights*,
And links them to the *throne*.

33.*

Distinguished Wellesley ! Yet beware ;
Thou, for thyself, an ample share
Of Pitt's *fam'd cloak* may'st justly claim ;
But oh ! disdain its *remnant* base
Nor let this shiv'ring half-cloth'd race
Bask in the sunshine of thy fame !

34.

With Grenville long in friendship join'd,
Can thy enlarg'd, capacious mind
Such diff'rent colleagues own ?
Can *these* thy lofty councils aid ?
Hopest thou the torrent may be stay'd,
By *thy* strong arm *alone ?*

35.

If yet thy hapless country's love,
Grenville, thy gen'rous bosom move
Resume thy noble toil ;
Nor let the noxious weeds that creep
O'er goodly W . . . . s fertile steep
Deform so fair a soil !

36.†

Tho Fox's rhet'rie fervid, strong,
No more in thunder roll along,
No more in vivid lightnings play ;
In thee his dauntless spirit lives
In thee the splendid hope survives
That *chear'd* great Fox's parting day.

37.‡

Tis thine each sword's just bounds to know ;
To bid the free-born spirit glow

* *See* notes EE and FF.
† *See* notes GG and HH.
‡ *See* note II.

With scorn of slav'rys reign ;
Whether o'er Afric's sands she low'r,
Or prostrate Europe own her pow'r
And cow'ring kiss the chain ;

38.*

And shall thy wisdom not unbind
Those deadliest fetters of the *mind*
'Neath which Ierne's hope expires ?
Must the bright flame, forbid to soar,
(With dang'rous force condens'd) explore
New issues for its active fires ?

39.†

No ! let our foe with wild amaze
Behold the patriot ardour blaze
Which ne'er in *slavish* bosoms glow'd ;
Th' *unshackled* arm *alone* can wield
Freedom's firm steel, or grasp the shield
That guards her lov'd abode.

40.

Oh then, e'er gathering storms o'erwhelm,
Drive these rash pilots from the helm,
Unskill'd the gale to weather ;
So may two sisters *yet* unite
With equal int'rest, equal right
To sink, or swim together.

41.

And when our children's children tread
The mansions of th' illustrious dead
Devote to patriot fame,
As now fair glory's sculptur'd wreath
Directs them to the tomb beneath,
That bears thy noble name.

42.‡

No sophist's head, no heart of steel
Shall bid the cold salt drops 'congeal
'A chrystal shrine to rear,'
To him whose comprehensive mind
Embrac'd the rights of *all* our kind,
Be pour'd the *gen'ral* tear.

The End.

---

* *See* note JJ.
† *See* note KK.
‡ *See* note LL.

Selected Notes.*

Stanza 4.

And now unbind etc.] untwisting all the chains that *tie*
The *hidden soul* of harmony.
Milton.

Stanza 7.

Which from the dying patriot fell etc.] Mr. Fox's anxiety for the abolition of the slave trade, and for Catholic emancipation, continued even to his last moments. A third object of his dying wishes was an *honourable* peace.

* The other notes referred to at foot of pp. 501–507 do not appear to be extant.—*Ed.*

INDEX.

A

Abbot, —, 351.
Abbott, Rt. Hon. Charles, Speaker of the House of Commons, 138, 221.
a letter from, mentioned, 140.
——, 304.
a visit to, 322.
Abercorn, (John James Hamilton), Marquis of, 54.
Abercrombie, Mr., 369, 373, 374, 394.
a possible office for, 426, 427.
"Abolition Bill." *See* Slave trade.
Ackland, General Sir Wroth Palmer, going on army service in S. America, 58.
Acton, letter dated at, 415.
Adam, William, Attorney-General to Prince of Wales, 136, 364.
Adair, Sir Robert, late Ambassador at Vienna, letter from Port Barbieri, announcing signature of the treaty with the Porte, 261.
action of, for re-establishment of relations with Austria, memoir on the subject, 262.
Addington :
Henry, Viscount Sidmouth. *See* Sidmouth.
Addingtons, the. *See under* Lord Sidmouth.
Address [to the King on the Spanish Campaign ?], wording of, 300.
Addresses in support of Government, an attempt to start a series of, 168.
Administration. *See* Ministry.
Admiralty, the, and transport of troops to S. America, 57.
Africa, Slave trade from, reasons against the abolition of, 14–19.
Agar, Dr., 410, 411.
Albany, Louisa Countess of (widow of Young Pretender), 160.
pension for, 163.
Albemarle, William Keppel, Earl of, 61.
mentioned in connexion with political action, 172, 283, 297, 300, 301.
Alcantara, strength of Spanish forces in, 311.
Alexander, Emperor of. *See* Russia.
Alexander, Alderman, of Dublin, 121.
Alexandria, instructions for capture of, 442.
"All the Vigour" and "all the Talents" as applied to the Portland and Grenville ministries, 155.
"All the Talents," as between the Ministry and the Opposition, 413.
Almeida, 211, 241.
Althorp, John Charles Spencer, Lord, 285, 288.
parliamentary candidate in Northamptonshire, 136, 441.
Althorp Park, 65.
Alvarado, Avarado, river, 487, 489, 490.
Amatique, bay of, 24.
Amelia, Princess, in a dying condition, 318.
America :
South, forces said to be going to, 139.
United States of. *See* United States.
American plants, a border of, 138.
Amherst, Lord, 255.
Andujar, 211, 213.
Angel, name of a London to Oxford coach, 376.
Annesly, —, 370.
Anstey, —, 374.
Anstruther :
Sir John, in connexion with the political situation, 156, 159, 263, 264, 266.

Anstruther—*cont.*
General Robert, contents of a letter from, on Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain, 254.
Antijacobin, author of certain letters in, 162.
Antonelli, Cardinal, at the head of the propaganda, 214.
conversations with, alluded to, 257.
Antrim, county of, value of tithes, in, and payment of, 86.
Antwerp:
as a shipbuilding port, 145.
attack on, projected, 312, 313, 315.
Apodaca, Don Juan Reviz de, Spanish Envoy in London, 220.
Aragon:
alleged treachery of volunteers, 211.
military activity in, 225.
Aranjuez, 225, 241.
report dated at, 216.
the Central Junta at, 224.
Arbuthnot, Charles, British Ambassador at Constantinople, 53, 442.
Argyle, John Campbell, Duke of, 301, 351.
Armagh, letter dated at, 20.
Armagh, Archbishop of ("the Primato"), 20.
Armstrong, Mr., American Minister at Paris, protest made by, against Berlin decree on behalf of United States, 151.
Army:
expedition to New Spain, 22, 23, 24, 41–44.
embarkation of troops, 57, 58, 63, 64.
estimates discussed, 1, 2 (2), 63.
Inspector-General's Office discussed, 1.
Quarter-Master-General's Department, 2.
regiments in, 83rd, 87th and 88th, mentioned, 5.
——, 89th, for foreign service, 58.
staff appointments, &c. discussed, 25, 58, 63 (2), 64.
Roman Catholics in Ireland, sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment, 4, 5, 6.
——, the matter discussed, 7, 12, 21, 32, 72, 99, 100, 108, 109.
Army: Roman Catholics in Ireland—*cont.*
——, question of appointment of Catholics on the general staff, 113, 114, 115.
Army in India, Sir Arthur Wellesley's offer of service in Madras, 51, 52.
Arundoll of Wardour, Lord, at a meeting of English Catholics, 299.
Ashburton, Lord, 223.
Ashley, —, of Brasenose Coll., Oxford, 418.
Astorga, 241, 243, 245, 246.
Sir J. Moore's retreat to, 265.
Asturias, Prince of, rumours concerning, 152, 159.
Athol, Duke of, attitude of, towards the Grenville administration, 132.
Atkinson, servant to Lord Temple, 376.
Attamera, Conde de, 219.
Attorney and Solicitor-General, an opinion of, cited, 194.
Auchmuty, Achmuty, Sir Samuel, conduct of, at Buenos Ayres, approved by the King, 138.
to give evidence against General Whitelocke, 150.
in S. America, 479.
Auckland, Lord (William Eden), correspondence with Lord Grenville, *passim*, pp. 137–182; 193–225; 231; 239–252; 260; 269–305; 313–316; 322, 324, 331, 336, 338–343; 351, 410, 427, 434.
mention of, 276. 284.
question of his secretary's salary, 122.
pessimistic views as to the results of Mr. Canning's foreign policy, 141.
movements of, 143, 155, 163, 198, 246, 270, 314.
——, "bitter pill" of a journey to London," 202.
a motion in the House of Lords by, 178.
discovers half of a letter not sent, 181.
views of, on interference with freehold property, 199.
though opposed to Ministers, shown despatches from the Peninsula, by War Office friends, 210.
an allusion to an "old friend," (Marquis Wellesley) and his three brothers, and their expectation of political influence &c., 216.

Auckland, Lord—*cont.*
letter to the King from, referred to, 248.
his views on the situation of the army in the Peninsula, 250.
inclined to absent himself from the House of Lords on the occasion of a vote thanks to the troops at Corunna, 271.
a letter from, to Lord Grey, alluded to, 336.
desirable fields acquired by, 339.
his love of the country, and the reason for not selling his house in Palace Yard, 434.
illness of his daughters, 302.
references to his children, 314.
Auckland, Louisa Lady, 144.
gardening operations of, 168.
a letter transcribed by, 340.
Lord and Lady, to attend the drawing room to take leave, &c., 198.
Audley End, letter dated at, 418.
Auerstadt, battle of, 476.
Auguste, Prince, son of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, 460.
Augustenburgh, Duke of, 189.
Augustina, 42.
Austen, Sophia, mother of a child adopted by the Princess of Wales, 447.
Austerlitz, battle of, 501.
Austria :
declaration of war against Great Britain expected, 155.
peaceful attitude of, 225.
re-establishment of relations with, confidential account of Sir R. Adair's action for, 261, 262.
hostilities not renewed, 331.
army corps of 40,000 men at Tabor in September 1806, 462, 470.
Emperor of, interposes in the cause of peace, 168.
——, English Envoys refused access to, after battle of Wagram, 312.
Empress of, one of the authors of the war of 1809, 307.
Austrian :
Ambassador at Paris, a remark of Buonaparte's to, 151.
—— campaign, proposed, discussed, 61.
war necessary to save Spain, 310.
army, positions and effective strength of, on March 25, 1809, 306, 307.
Austrian : army—*cont.*
——, battle of Wagram 22nd May 1809, losses on the occasion, 312.
Ava, dominion of, 498.
Avalle, Senor, 218.
Aylesford, Earl of, 359.

B

Backhouse, Lieut.-Col. at Maldonado, 479.
Badajos, Spain, 245.
surrounded by the French, 310.
strength of Spanish force in, 311.
Bagot, Sir Charles, 184, 185, 188, 191, 192.
Bailey, —, 403.
Baillie, Dr., 313.
Baird, General Sir David, 58.
contents of a letter from, 264.
letters from Sir J. Moore to, alluded to, 299.
army in Spain under the command of, purpose of the expedition, 215.
——, at Corunna, 231.
——, movements &c. of, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 252, 254, 264.
——, news from an officer of, 246.
——, retreat of, referred to, 309.
Ballard, Mr., 366.
Balleze, river, Mexico, 487, 490.
Baltic, the, naval operations in, 73, 215.
Bamberg, French corps at, 471.
Bampton, letter dated at, 420.
Bankes, Henry, M.P. for Corfe Castle, proceedings in House of Commons, 207, 280.
Barbadoes, suggested rendezvous for British troops, 42.
Barbary States, French influence with, 155.
Barbieri, Port, letter dated at, 261.
Barcelona :
French victory at, alluded to, 310.
firmness of the people of, 310.
Baring, Mr., 279.

Baring's Book, an inaccuracy in, as to Sweden, 178.
Barlow, Sir G., Governor General of India, red ribbon for, 441.
Barnard :
Mr., of Finmore, 348, 356.
Rev. W. H., living with the Marquis of Buckingham, ecclesiastical provision for, asked for, 126.
Barrington, Jonah, Judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland, salary of, discussed, 6.
Basque Road business, the, (Lord Cochrane's attack on the French fleet), 305.
Batavia, 497, 498, 499.
unhealthiness of, 500.
Bath, city of, 256.
distinguished visitors to, 169, 260.
a physician at, 434.
the White Hart Hotel at, proposed public dinner to celebrate Lord Grenville's victory at, 416, 418.
Bath, Marquis of, 373.
Bathurst :
Henry Bathurst, Earl, 193, 391.
——, house of, purchased, price, &c., 138.
——, a letter of, referred to, 241.
——, mentioned in connexion with proceedings in parliament, 276.
——, probable succession of, as First Lord of the Treasury, 313, 318, 319.
——, offer of office to, 339, 353.
——, to give up the Foreign Department to Lord Wellesley, 339.
——, present at a Cabinet meeting, 455, 456.
——, private secretary to, 346.
Lady, Thomas Grenville dining with, 249.
Mr., refused access to the Emperor of Austria, 312.
Baylies, 340.
Bayonne, 225.
French army in line from, to La Mancha, 211.
Beaconsfield, 201.
visitors to, 289.
Beaufort, Duke of, candidate for election as Chancellor of Oxford university, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 352, 359, 365, 366, 369, 370, 372–381, 385, 388, 394, 400, 402, 411.
——, state of the canvass, 400.
——, a proposal to his committee for bringing up voters, 400.
——, result of poll, 410, 416.
——, indifference as to success of either of his opponents, 415.
——, defection of voters from, to Lord Eldon, 419, 422, 429.
violent abuse of, 372.
Bedford, Duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 50, 65, 78, 79, 80.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 6, 9 (2), 20, 26, 29, 36, 39, 44 (2), 59, 62, 65, 68, 80, 99, 121, 123, 128, 129, 136.
—— with Earl Spencer, 82, 100, 103, 111, 112, 114.
letter to, from the Secretary of the Catholic Committee, 67.
——, from Viscount Howick, 115.
——, from Sir R. Adair, 261.
papers on the question of Irish tithes by, 83–97.
obstacles to a continuance of his Irish Government, consultation with the Irish Lord Chancellor and W. Elliot, 98, 99.
reviews his action in Ireland, 129.
a seat in the House of Commons in the gift of, 154.
mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 156, 157, 159, 197, 198, 283, 284, 286, 287, 373, 374.
his general sentiments and general reserve, 288.
Bedford, Duchess of, a present sent to, 263.
Bigge, Mr., 364.
Belliard, General, intercepted letters from, referred to, 310.
Belmore, Earl of, candidate for representative peerage, 65.
Bellew, Sir Edward, 31, 102.
Benevento, 211, 212, 213.
Genl. Baird's army at, 252, 264.
contents of letter from Sir J. Moore at, 265.
flight of General Moore's army from, 273.

Bengal, extract of a private letter from the Governor of Bombay to a friend in, 48.
suggestion of a Commission of Enquiry to go to, 212.
Sepoys from, for expedition against New Spain, 486.
Bentinck :
William Henry Cavendish, Duke of Portland. *See* Portland.
Lord William, in Spain, 219.
——, various references to, 52, 320, 329, 372, 376.
Mr., 376.
Beresford :
General, his pay as Governor at Buenos Ayres, 58.
——, to go to Madeira, 149.
John Claudius, and the question of patronage in Coleraine, 29.
Berkeley, Admiral George, 139 (2).
Berlin, state of affairs in, in 1806, 457 *et seq.*
Berlin Decree, the, and alleged acquiescence of neutral powers, 151.
Bernadotte, General, 306.
movements of his army, &c., 462, 463.
Bernstorff, Count, Danish Minister for Foreign affairs, 189, 190.
Bessières, Marshal, movements of army of, in Spain, 211, 212, 213.
Bevelands, the, 312.
Beyme, M., King of Prussia's private secretary, 458.
Bidgood, Robert, witness in the Princess of Wales' case, 448.
Bilbao, Marshal Ney approaching, 226.
the "affair" of, 243.
Birch, tavern keeper in the city, 61.
Birmingham coaches, to be hired for university electioneering purposes, 374, 376.
"Bishop, the," referred to, 440, 441.
Bishops-Thorp, 229.
Bisset, Rev. William, of Armagh, letter from, 20.
Blanca, el Conde Florida, President of the Central Junta at Aranjuez, 218.
Blandford, Marquis of, 375.
Blandford Park, letter dated at, 419.
Blankenhayn, the King of Prussia at, 475.
Blayney, Lord, question of his succession to the representative peerage, 62.
warning against, 65.
Blechston, Bleckston, Mr., a clergyman, 344, 427, 435.
Blenheim, 143.
visits to, mentioned, 155, 340.
letter dated at, 158.
Blockade, General, Orders in Council criticised and discussed as a reply to Bonaparte's proclamation at Berlin, 143, 153, 156, 158, 164.
Blücher, General, 459, 463, 469, 475.
Board of Control, President of, a brother of, in Bengal, referred to, 48.
Boater, name of a London to Oxford coach, 376.
Boconnoc, Lord Grenville's seat in Cornwall, 138, 142, 145, 152, 313, 319, 320.
the domestic system of, 143.
letter dated at, 237.
Lord Grenville at, 323, 325.
Bodegas Altas [Guatimala], 24, 490.
Bodkin, Dr., Warden of Galway, 258.
Bombay :
letter dated at, 46.
Governor of, 49.
Bonaparte :
Joseph, 224.
——, intercepted letters from, referred to, 310.
Napoleon. *See* Napoleon.
Bond, Nathaniel, Judge Advocate, 50, 51.
resignation of, 147, 153.
Books and Pamphlets :—
Asiatic Annual Register, editor of. *See* Campbell.
Letters from a Farmer of Boston, 173.
Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la Vendée, 155.
Borgia, Cardinal, prefect of Propaganda, 214, 356.
conversations with, alluded to, 257.
Boringdon :
Lady, a jury sitting on the history of, 209.
Lord, 139.
Borneo, 482.
Boswell, —, 359.
Botham, —, 264, 265, 400.
Botany Bay, 23, 487.
Bourbon, Isle of, 39.
Bourdeaux, reported action of Napoleon in favour of the trade of, 173.
Bourne, Sturges, 369.
resignation reported, 319.
Bowyer, —, 58.

Brackley, borough of, M.P. for, 150.
Bradley House, letter dated at, 438.
Braganza dynasty, question as to its future, 143, 152.
Bragge-Bathurst, William, M.P., the offer of political office to, 339, 353.
Brantome (French Chronicler), a saying of, concerning Don Carlos, 152.
Brazil or the Brazils, 64.
suggested refuge of the Braganza dynasty, 143, 152.
Prince of, 153.
——, to go to S. America, 151.
——, timely action of, thought to have prevented French landing in Ireland, 165.
Brazil Bill, the, to come on in the House of Lords, 193.
Bray, Dr., Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, 268.
Braybroke:
Lord, 369.
——, letter of congratulation from, to Lord Grenville, 418.
Catherine, Lady, 418.
Watkin, Henry, and Dick in family of, 418.
Breslau in Silesia:
case of nomination to the bishopric of, under the Prussian Monarchy cited as a precedent, 236.
treaty of, Art. 6 cited, 272.
Brest fleet, the, alluded to, 280.
Brickenden, —, 429.
Bridgwater, Earl of, 366, 370.
Brighton (Brightelmston), as a health resort, &c., 121, 229, 288.
Bristol, Earl of, 209.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 428.
British conquests, proposed, memorandum concerning, 41–44.
policy in India, discussed, 46.
Broach, 49.
Broderic, Mr., to go to the Treasury, 153.
Brokhausen, M. de, 470, 471.
Brome, Lord, suggested to be brought into Parliament, 376, 377.
his opinion of Canning's statement, 387.
political disappointment of, 421.
Brompton, letters dated at, 30, 45.
Brooks' Club, 285.
Brougham, Mr., opinion on the sugar question as regards the orders in Council, 178.
an anticipated speech of, 194.
out of town, 345.
Brown, Mr., of the War Office, preparing the army estimates, 2.
Brownlow Street Hospital, 447.
Brunswick:
Duchess of, dinner given by, at 3 o'clock, 214.
Duke of, 315.
Charles Duke of, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, 459.
——, movements of the forces under, &c., 461, 469, 475.
——, opposition to the giving of the command to, 474.
——, his incapacity, 475.
——, mortally wounded at battle of Auerstadt, 476.
Brunton, Miss (Lady Craven), 181.
Buccleuch, Henry Scott, Duke of, 441.
Buckden Palace:
letter dated at, 414.
dining at, 441.
Buckeridge, Dr., canvassing round Birmingham, 403.
Buckingham, the filling of the Parliamentary vacancy for, 56.
Buckingham, George Nugent-Temple Grenville, Marquess of, 141, 142, 222, 240, 242, 249, 392.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 34, 36, 54, 72, 125, 126, 135, 147, 164, 175, 244, 273, 277, 280, 317, 325, 347, 357, 366, 370, 389.
correspondence with the Earl of Fingall, 75, 76.
letter from, to Thomas Grenville, 134.
suggestions of, concerning courts martial, alluded to, 14, 21.
in connexion with the Catholic Question and Catholic claims, 76, 175, 367.
exercise of his votes and influence in elections in Ireland, 136.
a letter from, alluded to, 139.
an intended communication from Lord Wellesley to, 145, 146.
views of, as to the lead in the House of Commons, 147.
a visit of 107 miles to Louis XVIII by, 147.
in connexion with the political situation, 157.
discusses state of Ireland, 165.
movements of, 166.
Dr. Moylan, R. C. Bishop of Cork, requests him to contradict a rumour, 170.

Buckingham, Marquess of—*cont.*
views of, with regard to action of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, 243.
loss of his front teeth, condition of health, &c., 244, 367.
sentiments with regard to the Duke of York, &c., 281.
allusion to a disagreement with his eldest son, Lord Temple, 348, 351.
a proposed meeting at Dropmore, 421.
George son of (afterwards Earl Nugent), 56, 135.
Buckinghamshire, Robert Hobart, Earl of, 147.
political expenses of, mentioned, 56.
as Chief Secretary in Ireland, 104, 113.
motion in the House of Lords by, 275.
mentioned in connexion with political action, 290.
Budberg, Baron de, Russian Minister of Foreign affairs, despatches from, mentioned, 53.
Buenos Ayres:
recapture of, 2.
reluctance of inhabitants of, to British government, 39.
attempt on, alluded to, 40, 42, 45.
proposed operations at, discussed, 58.
the "catastrophe of" (General Whitelocke's repulse), 138, 139, 161.
confidential memoir of Sir A. Wellesley as to recapture of, 479, 481.
troops at, 484.
——, scale of pay of, 485.
——, time for starting for Manila, 486.
Bulkeley, Viscount, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 420.
Bulstrode (seat of Duke of Portland):
mentioned, 170.
a false story of a visit to, 166.
Burchard. *See* Burrard.
Burdett, Sir Francis, M.P., speaks in House of Commons, his costume, 207.
a humble follower of, 288.
a public oration of, alluded to, 289.
mentioned, 291, 292.
Burgos, 371.
rumoured recapture of, 226.
Burghersh, Lord, son of Earl of Westmorland, gone to Portugal, 209.
Burke, Mr., a young man of considerable fortune, at the Catholic Committee's meeting, 114.
Burrard (Burchard), General Sir H., senior officer of troops embarked, 210.
to be recalled, 216.
in command at Lisbon, 223.
his conduct discussed, &c., 230, 240, 242, 244, 245.
the government's action on behalf of, 371.
Burrel, Mr., son of Lord Gwydir, 138, 302.
Burton:
Mr., M.P., speaks in House of Commons, 207.
Dr., of Christ Church, Oxford, 344, 347, 348.
Bushey Park, the pleasantary, 246.
Butleigh, 139, 370.
Butler, Charles, of Lincolns Inn, letters from, 194, 272.
mentioned in connexion with the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops on the Continent, 256, 259.
Byng, Mr., 62.

C

Cabinet Minutes:
on the Irish Question, 103, 109, 111, 116.
on the Princess of Wales, 448, 450, 452, 455, 456.
Cadiz:
probably in possession of General Dupont, 208.
news from, 210.
British reinforcements to be sent to, 264.
regiments of exhausted Spanish army ordered to, 273.
proceedings of British men-of-war in harbour of, 286, 288.
question likely to arise concerning them, 317.
Calcraft, —, 373.

Calcutta, 22, 23, 487.
Caleppi, Monsignor, Nuncio to the Court of Portugal, &c., 259.
Calvert, Nicholson, member for Hertford, 146.
Calvo, Senor Don Lorenzo, member of the Spanish Junta, 218, 310.
Cambridge, parliamentary candidate at, 369.
Camden, John Jefferies Pratt, Earl, formerly Secretary of State, 49.
attitude of, towards the Grenville administration, 132.
President of the Council, placed in a difficulty by Canning's counter statement in regard to his duel with Castlereagh, 338.
has cards of thanks for enquiries out, 385.
rumour of his retirement, 415.
Camelford, 136.
Duke of Bedford's nominee for, 376.
Camelford House, 150, 159, 204, 323, 350, 403.
Campbell:
John, Duke of Argyle. *See* Argyle.
General, allusion to his report on the County of Sligo, 25.
Major, 46.
Mr., editor of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, allusion to an account of Nepaul by, 48.
Campeachy, 24, 490.
Campo Sagrado, el Conde da, 218.
Canada, British retention of, said to be hopeless, 439.
Canadian regiment of fencibles, question of its maintenance, 59.
Canning, Rt. Hon. George, Foreign Secretary (from April, 1807), 139, 140, 261.
political situation of, and relations with his colleagues in office discussed, 54–57, 67, 68.
"owner of South Hill," 57.
his tone in the House of Commons, &c., a new feature in the system of Government, 134.
rumour that he is to take the lead in the House of Commons, 145.
civil to Louis XVIII, 147.
relations with Perceval, 149.
surmise that he has fretted the King, 154.
Canning, Rt. Hon. George—*cont.*
correspondence with Benjamin Garlike on the subject of the publication of the latter's despatches, 182–192.
speaks in House of Commons, 207.
a couplet by, 212.
proceedings and situation of, 229.
rumoured action in the Cabinet, 237.
trying to get out of his difficulties by mis-statement, 241.
his position with regard to the campaign in the Peninsula, 248.
"childish nonsense" of his declaration, 253.
a letter from, to Mr. Pinkney, American Minister in London, alluded to, 270.
mentioned in connexion with proceedings in the House of Lords, 276.
epigrammatic letter on American trade referred to, 277.
his political conduct animadverted upon, 277.
a letter of, not printed in Parliamentary papers, referred to, 279.
treaty with Spain, alluded to, 290.
his relations with Lord Castlereagh, 290.
alone responsible for censures on Sir John Moore, 293.
suggestion that he would betray his associates, 295.
"the old story" (of resignation) revived, 308.
spuposed action of, 311.
resignation threatened, &c., 319.
his treaty with Spain, "the quintessence of diplomatic absurdity," 303 (2).
asks questions in House of Commons, 305.
duel with Lord Castlereagh, 321.
his political position and character, discussed, 321, 326, 330, 331, 332, 334, 335, 336.
question of his joining Lord Grenville, 337.
his "counter statement" about his duel referred to, 338.
pretensions to the premiership, alluded to, 339.
mentioned in connexion with political negotiations with Lord Wellesley, 369.

Canning, Rt. Hon. George—*cont.*
his case against Lord Castlereagh to be circulated, 385.
his statement criticised, 387.
making little impression, 389.
rumoured to be Chancellor of the Exchequer in a new Ministry, 415.
effort of Lord Wellesley to bring him back to office, 433.
Lady Holland's dread of union with, 438.
Ministerial appointments, rumours as to, 438, 439.
Lord Grenville's negotiations with Mr. Canning in 1806, 440, 441.
Cabinet minute signed by, 455, 456.
Cape of Good Hope, the, 58.
an appointment to the Custom House at, 62.
appointment of a Vendue-Master at, criticised, 133.
Cards, losses at, 311.
Carlisle :
Bishopric of, a vacancy to be created for Dr. Zouch, 149.
Bishop of, 372, 376.
Frederick Howard, Earl of, 180.
——, motion of, in the H. of Lords, 193.
——, mentioned in connexion with political action, 282, 288, 329.
Carlos, Don, son of Philip II, revival of history of, in Spain, 152.
age at time of his trial, 152.
a saying of Brantome's concerning, 152.
Carletons, the, visit to Stowe, 222.
Carlton House, a conference at, 305.
See Prince of Wales.
Carolina, Princess of Wales. *See* Wales.
Carnatic, the, disturbances in, alluded to, 52.
Commissioners, projected investigations by, 30.
Nabob of, devoted to British interests, 30, 31.
Carracas, 39.
proposed attack on, &c. 40, 41, 42, 43, 45.
Carrick, proportion of Roman Catholic clergymen to people in, 196.
Carrington, Lord, 290.
attitude towards the Grenville administration, 132.
Carrington, Lord—*cont.*
a visit to, projected, 150.
proxy entered in name of, 180.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 416.
Carshalton, near Croydon, 357.
Carthagena fleet, report of movements of, 181.
Cartwright, Mr., parliamentary candidate in Northamptonshire, 136.
Cary, Carey, G. Stanley, of Follaton, 393.
Carysfort, John Joshua Proby, Earl of, 221, 391.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 418.
a letter from, on a possible Ministerial combination, 440, 441.
Countess of, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 416.
"Elizabeth," 419.
Cashel, a meeting of Catholics at, 267.
Roman Catholic Archbishop of, 268.
Cashiobury, Cassiobury, seat of Lord Essex, 150, 243.
letter dated at, 349.
Cassillis, Archibald Kennedy, Earl of, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 146.
Castel-Franco, of the Junta of Madrid, 299.
Castanos, General, 231.
movements of army of, 209, 213.
contents of correspondence of, 210, 211, 213.
estimate of his losses, 250.
narrative of, alluded to, 283.
Castille :
Council of, influence on the political situation in Spain, 219.
submissive and obedient, 225.
Castle Hill (seat of Lord Fortescue), letter dated at, 318.
Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (Secretary for War and the Colonies, April, 1807), 54, 80, 158, 249, 250, 389.
documents in office of, alluded to, 139.
an unfounded statement of, 173.
attitude towards Sir Arthur Wellesley, 230.
a statement by, when Chief Secretary, Ireland, 234.
rumoured action in the Cabinet, 237.

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount—*cont.*
a letter from Sir A. Wellesley to, referred to, 240, 245.
a correspondence with, on the subject of the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, recalled, 258.
attitude of, towards Sir John Moore, 273.
an unfeeling note from, 274.
his removal discussed, 318 (2).
resignation reported, 319.
relations with Canning, 290.
dirty buyings and sellings of the Union, 291.
not to resign, 304.
duel with Canning, its cause, &c., 321, 338.
a secret communication concerning, sent to Lord Auckland by a common friend, 325.
question of his resuming office, 326, 336.
charged with trickery in respect of action of Catholic prelates in Ireland, 356.
Irish Bishops' declaration to, mentioned, 371.
resignation of, rumoured, 406.
friends of, uneasy about Walcheren expedition, 415.
effort to oust, 433.
an office for, suggestion as to, 440, 441.
an opinion of his powers, 441.
Cabinet minutes signed by, 455, 456.
brother, of, 211.
Castries, Duc., 150.
Catalani, as an engrossing subject of popular interest, 322, 337.
Catalonia, defeat of Spaniards in, 273.
Cataluna, defeat of French at, 225.
Catechism, The, a specially bound copy of, referred to, 394.
Catherine, Empress of Russia, and the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops, 272.
Catholic Question, the:
the King's attitude towards, 222.
referred to, 325, 330, 333, 335, 337, 338, 341, 343, 365, 370, 371.
no expectation of Irish gratitude or tranquillity as a consequence, 337.
as an obstacle to the taking office by Lord Grenville, 343, 344, 346, 347, 353, 354.
Catholic Question, the—*cont.*
Lord Grenville's explanation of his attitude towards it, and references thereto, 360, 380, 381, 392, 404, 407.
principle of a pledge to be given with regard to, discussed, 361, 362, 363.
views with regard to, 382, 383.
question of the presenting of a petition, 383, 387.
Earl Grey's views, 407, 409.
Catholic petition, the, discussed, 377, 421.
See also Ireland.
Catholics, English, meeting of, at house of Lord Shrewsbury, 298.
Caulfield:
Francis William, Earl of Charlemont. *See* Charlemont.
Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, 204.
Mr., Candidate in Roscommon, 136.
Caulincourt, Duc de, reception by the Emperor Alexander, 158.
Cavendish, Lord George, 365, 369, 372, 376.
Cavité, military operations against, 482.
Celebes, natives of, excellent soldiers, 500.
Ceuta, plan to take, alluded to, 163.
Cevallos, Señor, Minister of Foreign affairs in Spain, 224.
Chancellor, Lord. *See* Erskine. *See* Eldon.
Channel Islands, restrictions on exportations, 178.
Chapman, Mr., First or Chief Clerk of the Colonial Department 133.
Chappe d' Auteroche, 489.
Charlemont, Earl of, 132.
Charing Cross, the pillory at, mentioned, 267.
Charles, Archduke of Austria, action in connexion with the war, 307.
"Charles." *See* Wynn.
Chatham, John Pitt, 2nd Earl of (Master-General of the ordnance, April, 1807), rumour that he is to be Premier, 145.
political changes concerning, 156.
said to have declined office, 168.
causes of refusal to succeed Duke of Portland, 171.
query as to military command of, 209.

Chatham, John Pitt, 2nd Earl of —*cont.*
a military expedition to Holland under, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318.
report of resignation of, 318.
a reference to his generalship, 340.
conducts negotiations for the King and Mr. Perceval, 353.
rumour of his retirement, 411, 415.
Cabinet Minutes signed by, 455, 456.
Chatham, Lady, Treasury Clerk an old protégé of, 140.
mental derangement, 142, 171.
Chiapar de los Indos in province of Chiapas, 490.
Chichester :
Thomas Pelham, Earl of, talked of as new viceroy in Ireland, 124.
Earl and Countess of, 138, 322.
China tradesmen (Indiamen), track of, 482.
to convey troops, 484.
Chinese labourers for the West Indies, 500.
Chinion, Countess of, 217.
Chisholm, —, 414.
Cheja, Sidi Ali Mahomed, formerly of Pions, case of, discussed, 47, 48, 49.
Chelsea, a Court-Martial to be held at, 150.
Chemnitz, 462.
Chesapeake station, force of ships on, 175.
Church :
preferments, 8, 9, 149.
Bill for the better residence of Curates alluded to, 199.
in Ireland, questions of tithes and provision for Roman Catholic clergy, discussed, 9–14, 37, 60, 61, 69, 70, 82–97.
Cilicians, an example drawn from the history of, in the *Bellum piraticum* of *Florus*, 152.
Cintra Convention, 216, 220, 221 222, 223, 224, 237, 240, 242.
Board of Enquiry concerning, 245, 246.
discussion in Parliament regarding, 278.
Ciudad Real, French victory at, alluded to, 310.
Ciudad Rodrigo, 310, 311, 317.
Clancarty, Lord, suggestion of his going to Bengal, 212.
Clanricarde, Lord, 180, 212.
Clanricarde, Lord—*cont.*
the regiment raised under influence of, 5.
Clarence, Duke of, 349.
letters to, on the Oxford election, 404, 405.
Clarendon, Earl of, 132.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 417.
educated at Cambridge, 417.
Clarke, Mrs., purchase of Royal letters from, 276, 298, 302.
as an engrossing subject of popular interest, 322, 336.
Clare, parliamentary candidate for, 136.
Clare :
John Fitzgibbon, 1st Earl of, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 7, 104.
Mr., 428.
Classical quotation, a dispute at dinner as to the author of a, 144.
Cleaver, William, Bishop of St. Asaph, 346, 348.
Clifden, Lord, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 423.
Clifford :
Lord, 242.
Mr., at a meeting of English Catholics, 299.
Clinch, James Bernard, an Irish barrister, 256.
letter from, 160.
attacked in the *Anti-Jacobin*, 162.
a letter of, referred to, 168, 169.
brief for the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, 242.
a pamphlet by, alluded to, 257.
Clinton, —, in the peninsular campaign, 240.
Clonmel, proportion of Catholic clergymen to people in, 196.
a meeting of Catholics at, 267.
Coaches to be hired for university electioneering purposes, 374, 376, 378.
Cobbett, William, mentioned, 291.
on the subject of Ireland, alluded to, 364.
"Cobbett Slander," the, 375.
Coburg, Hereditary Prince of, interview of the King of Prussia with, 472.
Cochrane, Admiral Sir Alexander, force of ships under command of, 175.
Cockburn, Sir James, 40, 64.
Coigny, 150.
Coimbra, 211, 212.

Coke, Mr., of Norfolk, M.P., views expressed by, at Brooks's, 285.
Coker, —, Don at Oxford, 429.
Colchester Parliamentary election, 136.
Cole :
Dr., Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, 349.
——, a letter from, alluded to, 344.
William, witness in the Princess of Wales' case, 448.
Coleraine, question of patronage at, 29, 39, 44.
Collingwood, Vice-Admiral Cuthbert Lord, 209, 213, 442.
French fleet escape, 380.
Colonial :
appointments by Treasury warrant, the principle criticised, 133.
Department, chief clerk of, 133.
Combe, Mr., 61.
Commons, House of. *See* Parliament.
Connaught Rangers, the 88th regiment, 5.
Consolidated Fund, Minutes as to, mentioned, 339.
Constantine, Grand Duke, a kingdom for, 225.
Constantinople, Sir R. Adair at, 262.
expedition to, 441–443.
Contamina, el Conde de, 218.
Convention Act, the, 73.
Conybeare, Dr., 370.
Cooke :
Edward, Under Secretary of State, 158, 406.
——, "on the pavement," 344.
Dr., Head of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 347.
Leigh, of Magdalen College, 373.
Cookham Elms, letters dated at, 270, 306, 312.
Cooper, Lord, 290.
Copenhagen expedition, the, discussed, &c., 140, 144, 145, 148, 170, 176 (2).
reparation demanded for, 159.
publication of despatches, &c., 182–192.
Copplestone, Dr., 401, 429.
Cordova, campaign near, 209, 211.
Cork, Roman Catholic Bishop of, 170.
Corkran, Mr., 49.
Corne, Mr., in connexion with the election at Oxford, 398, 399, 423.
Cornell, —, Minister of War in Spain, 224.
Corn Rent, commutation of, 88.
Cornwall, coast of, as winter health resort, 313.
Cornwallis, Charles, Marquis, 47.
Corry, Mr., question of patronage in Newry, 44, 51, 62.
Corsica, appointment &c. of bishops in, 258.
Corunna, 212.
news from, 226, 231, 243, 245, 246.
General Baird's landing at, 239.
Sir John Moore in retreat to, 265.
stand of the British troops at, motion of thanks in Parliament, 271.
battle of, referred to, 309.
Corville, Roscrea, Ireland, letter dated at, 226.
Cotton :
Major-General, 25, 58.
——, infirm state of his wife's health, 25.
Admiral, rumoured convention signed by, 240.
Cotton trade, sufferings of operatives, alluded to, 270.
Cotton wool, imports of, for 1807, 1808, 261.
Council, Lord President of, at a Cabinet meeting, 103, 109, 111.
Country, the apathy of the, to its best interests, 337.
Courier, the, newspaper, 315, 318, 319, 332, 401.
attacks Sir A. Wellesley, 244.
Canning's newspaper, 319.
read by University voters, 364.
using the King's name improperly, 420.
Court of Inquiry into the Cintra Convention, its mischievous effect, 371.
Courtenay, Mr., 387.
Coutts, Mr., banker, 142, 144, 249.
Cove, Don Francisco Xavier, 218.
Covent Garden Jubilees, as a subject for the newspapers, 337.
Cowper, Earl, a visit to, 407.
Cox :
Button, of Christ Church, Oxford, 370.
——, of Worcester College, 373.
Coyne, Mr., a letter from, published in the *Morning Chronicle*, 368.

Craddock, Cradock, General, ordered to Portugal, 245.
at Lisbon, 264.
rumoured movements of, 302.
proposal to send him to Gibraltar, 289.
Craufurd, Crawfurd, Brigadier-General, his rank and allowance discussed, 1.
his appointments alluded to, 7.
possible movements discussed, 58.
not to have his trial, 138.
to give evidence, 150.
in connexion with Sir John Moore, 293.
in S. America, 480.
Craven, Lord and Lady, to be presented, 181.
Crewe, Lord, 132.
Croker, John Wilson, 380.
Crowe, —, reference to the speech to be made by, at installation of Lord Grenville as Chancellor of University of Oxford, 429.
versification by, referred to, 434.
Crown, influence of the, discussed, 296.
Croydon Market, price of wheat in, 323.
Cuddesden, residence of the Bishop of Oxford, 395.
letters dated at, 346, 398.
Cuesta, General, 225, 226.
defeat of, alluded to, 211.
force under, 310.
his inaction, &c., 313.
situation of his late army, 317.
Cullean Castle, letter dated at, 146.
Cullen, Lord, pension for, 125.
Cumana, total number of troops in, 42.
Cumana Coa, 43.
Cumberland, H.R.H. Ernest Duke of, 280.
to present a petition to Parliament, 121.
loud on the misconduct of Ministers, 245.
views as to the campaign in Portugal, 371.
canvassing for Lord Eldon, 387.
anathemas against Lord Grenville's majority, &c., 420.
Curates, Bill for the better residence of, alluded to, 199.
Curran, Rt. Hon. John Philpot, mentioned, 161.
Curtis, Sir William, 61.
Custom House at the Cape, an appointment to, 62.
Customs, a place in, asked for, 123.
Customs. *See* Taxes.
Czartoryski, Prince Adam, 189.

D

D——, a retailer of news of the Wellesley family, 240.
"Dabbenagging," 161.
Dalmatia, memorandum respecting, alluded to, 2.
Dalrymple, General Sir Hew, contents of despatches from, &c., 209, 210 (3), 211.
letter of, referred to, 214.
dissatisfaction at despatches from, 214.
to be recalled, 216.
part taken by, in regard to the French convention and conduct of the campaign in Portugal, 220, 222, 242, 244, 245.
his return, 223.
Sir Arthur Wellesley's complaint against, 230.
to be sacrificed to the Government, &c., 371, 372.
Dampier, Mr., opinion on Mexican weather, 25.
Dardis, Dardiss, Durdis, Mr., an agent of the Marquis of Buckingham, 145, 158.
a letter from, alluded to, 272.
Darien, Isthmus of, 482, 484.
Darnley:
Earl of, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 417.
Countess of, at Brighton for her health, 417.
Dartmouth, Earl of, as candidate for Chancellorship of Oxford University, 341, 344.
Davenport, Mr., 428.
Davies:
—, of Eton, 406.
Mr., of St. Mary Hall, officiating at Fareham, 369.
Davison's transaction, allusion to, 55.
Dawlish, letter dated at, 138.
Deal:
number of sick landed at, from the Walcheren expedition, 317.

Deal—*cont.*
letter dated at, 485.
De Courcy, —, letters about Ferrol alluded to, 297.
Delancy's transaction, allusion to, 55.
Delany, Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, 204.
De la Warr :
George, Earl of, 413.
Countess, letter from, 413.
Delvin, Lord, candidate for West-meath, 175.
Denmark, Danish dominions, Danish :
average annual exports to, 195.
Orders in Council affecting neutral trade, of Oct. and Nov., 1807, referred to, 146, 147.
bombardment of Copenhagen, seizure of Danish ships, &c., discussed, 137, 144, 145, 148, 155, 195.
question of the prize money, 172, 173, 176, 177.
motion, as to the ships, in House of Lords, 199, 200. *See also* Copenhagen.
King of, report of death of, 177.
Mr. Garlike's official correspondence from, publication of, &c., 182–192.
Derby, Earl of, 297, 373, 410.
Devlin, Martin, of Temple-hill, Newry, letter of thanks to Lord Grenville, 207.
Devon, Prince's, 318.
Devonshire, coast of, as a winter health resort, 313.
Devonshire, Duke of, 44.
marriage of, 344.
Dickson, Mrs., widow of the late Bishop of Downe, 64.
Diez Rabe, Don Juan de, 218.
Dilham School, 389.
Dillon :
Mr., 160, 168.
Dr. Edward, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, letter from, 203.
Dissenters in Northamptonshire, attitude of, with reference to the Parliamentary Election of 1807, 136.
Dolce, Golfo, 487, 490.
Doncgall, Lord, 132.
Donington, letter dated at, 389.
Dormer, Lord, at a meeting of English Catholics, 299.
Douglas :
Sir John and Charlotte Lady, informants against the Princess of Wales, papers, &c., 136, 137, 446, 454.
Thomas. *See* Earl of Selkirk.
Douro and Talavera, peerages grounded on victories, probable subject of ridicule, 314.
Dowdeswell, Dr., to have a prebend, 149.
brother-in-law of the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 379, 391.
Down, late Bishop of (Dickson), relief of his widow urged, 64.
Downshire :
Arthur Blundell Hill, Marquis of, 134.
Marchioness of, 44, 348, 356.
——, question of patronage in Newry, 51, 62.
——, communicates Lord Grenville's letter to the Prince of Wales, &c., 406.
Downshires, the, visit to Stowe, 222.
Downton, 221.
Doyle, Sir John, regiment raised by, 5.
Doyley, D'Oyley, Mr., of All Soul's, Oxford, 372, 379, 428.
Dresden, letters from, 457–471.
the Corps Diplomatique at, after Jena, 478.
Dropmore (Lord Grenville's seat in Bucks), 50, 51, 57, 142, 145, 150.
Lord Grenville's time of residence at, 239.
proposed visits to, 312, 340, 421, 426, 431.
an Oxford deputation coming to, 421.
gardens, references to, 138, 164.
Drummond, Miss, her successful suitor, 138.
Drury, Admiral, 139.
Dublin, 59, 61.
proceedings at a meeting held in, 33.
letters dated at, 73, 75.
buildings, streets, &c. :
Castle, letters dated at, 4, 6, 20, 25, 29, 31 (2), 33, 44, 51, 59, 62, 65 (2), 82, 97, 99, 100, 111, 112, 114, 121, 129.
Crown and Anchor Tavern, Earl St., meeting held at, 33.
Lower Ormond Quay, letter dated at, 67.

Dublin: buildings, streets, &c.—*cont.*
Mountjoy Square, 228.
Phœnix Park, letters dated at, 9, 20.
Ushers Island, letter dated at, 267.
Usher's Quay, letter dated at, 160.
citizens of, discreet and courtly, for once beyond their depth, 232.
Corporation of, proceedings in connexion with the Catholic question, 121.
assembly of Roman Catholic prelates in, 213.
Roman Catholics in, attitude of, 14, 65, 67, 69, 71.
——, action of, for removal of restrictions, 100–101, 111.
—— committee to prepare a petition, meeting of, 114.
Roman Catholic Archbishop of, 204.
——, letters from, alluded to, 228.
Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical province of, names of prelates of, 204.
Duckworth, Vice-Admiral Sir John, 442.
Duffield, —, of Merton College, Oxford, 418.
Duncan, John, Governor of Bombay, letters from, 46, 48.
recommended for a mark of royal favour, 45.
Dundas:
Lord, 263.
General Frank, precedent of, alluded to, 2.
Henry, Viscount Melville. *See* Melville.
Robert Saunders, rumoured Secretary for War Department, 329, 332, 427.
——, reported appointed to India Board, 339.
——, "now hesitating," 344.
——, declines the seals, 352.
Dungarvan, borough of, application for patronage of Government in, 44 (2).
proportion of Roman Catholic clergymen to people in, 196.
Dunira, Scottish seat of Lord Melville, 182, 200.
Dunstanville, Lord de, 283, 290.
Dupont, General, news of compaign, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213.
Durdis. *See* Dardis.
Durham, Bishop of, gift to increase poor livings in his diocese, 213.
as candidate for Chancellorship of university of Oxford, 341, 344, 348.
mentioned, 370.
Dutch expedition, under Lord Chatham. *See* Walcheren expedition.
Dyson, Mr., 312.

E

East and West India importations, 223.
East Indies. *See* India.
Ebrington, Lord, son of Lord Fortescue, parliamentary candidate, 136.
Edwards, Mr. Holland, 418.
Eden:
Sir F., death of, 375.
George, son of Lord Auckland, 173, 181, 351.
——, his costume, 207.
Mr., 151, 172, 178, 193, 199, 273. 297, 316, 337, 373, 413, 416,
——, action in Parliament on American questions, &c., 173, 179, 304.
——, employed as transcriber of a document, 325.
——, minutes as to the Consolidated Fund, 339.
Morton, Lord Henley. *See* Henley.
William, Lord Auckland. *See* Auckland.
Eden Farm:
letters dated at. *See* letters of Lord Auckland.
gardening work at, 164.
Lord Auckland resident at, 198, 427.
entertainment of guests at, 220.
Edinburgh, voters brought from, to Oxford, 357.
Egerton, John William, Earl of Bridgewater. *See* Bridgewater.
Egremont, Earl of, 366, 403.
a letter of, referred to, 369.
Egypt, British expedition to, in 1806, instructions for, 441–443.

Eldon, John Scott Lord, (Lord Chancellor from April, 1807), responsibility for dismissal of the Grenvillo ministry, possible to bo fixed upon, 131.
line of argument to be taken by, 180.
in a fidget about the legal discussion, 181.
reference to his action in House of Lords, 200.
mentioned in connexion with political changes, 318, 320.
as candidate for Chancellorship of Oxford University, 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 351, 352, 355, 364, 365, 366, 369, 370, 372, 373 (2), 374, 375–376, 379, 380, 381, 382, 385, 386, 387, 388, 394, 395, 402, 405, 411, 416, 419.
——, a peculiar answer to a circular letter on behalf of, 376.
——, supported by the Government, 378.
——, reported intention of, to complain to tho King at a lovée, of the Princess of Wales, 383.
——, question of canvassing voters for, on behalf of Lord Grenville, 391.
——, members of his Oxford committee, 391.
——, state of tho canvass, 400.
——, insertion of a letter in the *Times* from his Committee explained, 401.
——, Duke of Beaufort's voters desert to, 419, 422, 429.
——, result of poll, 410.
——, his party sanguine of victory, &c., 429.
El Healoyo, port on the South Sea, 490.
Ellenborough (Ellinboro'), Edward Law, Baron, Lord Chief Justice of England, 137, 290.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 8, 9. 97.
at a Cabinet Council, 109, 111.
attitude towards Grenvillo administration, 132.
conversation at dinner at house of, 380.
on tho Cabinet committee to enquire into tho conduct of the Princess of Wales, 445, 448, 449, 450, 452.
Ellerton, Mr., 381.
Elliot (Elliott), Rt. Hon. William, Principal Secretary to the Lord Licutonant of Ireland, till April 1807, 10, 12, 29, 44 (2), 73, 126, 154, 263, 266, 269, 283, 286, 288.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 4, 7, 14, 20, 25, 29, 31 (2), 37, 51, 62, 65, 79, 97, 122.
letter to, 20.
in connexion with Irish questions, 13, 66, 67.
answer to the Irish Catholics, mentioned, 50.
proposal to visit London to discuss the impropriety of a continuance of the Irish Government in office, 98.
consultations with the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 99.
interviews, &c. on the Catholic question in Dublin, 101, 112, 113, 114, 115, 121, 122.
departure from Dublin, mentioned, 129.
an opinion of, cited, 163.
mentioned in connexion with political situation, 294, 295, 426.
going to Beaconsfield with Grattan, 289.
waiting for a summons to his Peterborough constituents, 421.
Ellis, C., 292, 332.
Elton Hall, seat of the Earl of Carysfort, letter dated at, 416.
Elvas, Elves, 315.
retreat of the British army towards, 316.
great mortality at, 338.
Enghien, Duc d', murder of, 158.
England:
relations with France, 53.
relations with Turkey, 53.
estimation of the average annual produce from land, 94.
Englefield, Sir H. C., 427.
correspondence with Lord Grenville on subject of the English Catholics, 298, 301.
letter from, to Thomas Grenvillo, 412.
Englefield Green, 420.
English policy in Ireland, discussed, 65–67.
Entraigues, Count d', 272.
Erfurt, Prussian forces taken prisoners at, 477.

Erskine, Thomas Lord, Lord Chancellor till April, 1807, 26, 131, 181, 438.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 123, 136.
at a Cabinet Meeting, 109, 111.
asks for a post in the customs for his pursebearer, his clerk when at the bar, 123.
expressed views on the Danish question, 145.
a long political document from, 146.
motion in the House of Lords by, 276.
on the Committee to enquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 445.
Erskine, Mr., English Envoy at Washington, Ministers said to disclaim, 308.
Escaño, Señor, Minister of Marine in Spain, 224.
Essex:
Earl of, 148, 373, 391, 398, 413.
Countess of, dangerous illness of, 241, 243.
Eton College, 406.
Etonians, 314.
Etruria, Queen of, to become Queen of Portugal, 168.
Eugene, Prince, of Wurtemberg, defeated at Halle, 477.
Europe, Continent of, "the Continent," unfavourable turn of affairs on, 153.
news of the state of affairs in, 225.
Exchequer:
Lord Chief Baron of the, 426.
return of taxes to, 171.
surplus, 337.
Exchequer bills, meeting of Parliament necessary for issue of, 140.
Excise. *See* Taxes.
Exeter, Lord, 441.
Exports, 140, 147.
Eylau, battle of, mentioned, 73.

F

F's [? Freemantle] pamphlet alluded to, 270.
Fagel, Ex-Greffier of Holland, in Lord Grenville's household, 414.
Fane, John, Lord Burghersh. *See* Burghersh.
Fareham, 369.
Farnham, Lord, candidate for representative peerage of Ireland, 65.
Farquhar, Sir Walter, physician, 182.
Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, proposed second wife of, 217.
birthday celebration proceedings, 225.
a clause relating to, in Mr. Canning's treaty, discussed, 303.
restoration of, referred to, as a condition of peace, 310.
Ferdinand, Archduke, of Austria, one of the authors of the war with France, 307.
Ferdinand, Prince, of Russia, scene when the King of Prussia came to bid him adieu before beginning war against France in 1806, 471, 472.
Ferguson, General, 244.
forced into command by the terror of the people, 289.
reinforcements for the army in Spain under, 264.
Fermor, —, of Frismore, 357.
Ferns, Roman Catholic Bishop of, and his co-adjutor, 204.
Ferrol fleet alluded to, 290, 297, 302, 317.
Finance, a printed statement of the Government's plan, 134.
Financial Statements, relative to the public revenue, 168, 171, 172, 208, 223, 302, 337.
Finch:
—, of All Souls, 359.
Heneage, Earl of Aylesford. *See* Aylesford.
Fingall, Earl of, 31, 67, 72, 162.
correspondence with the Marquis of Buckingham, 75, 76.
in connexion with the Catholic question in Ireland, 33, 34, 102, 111, 112, 114, 167, 226, 227, 232, 235, 242, 255, 260, 368, 377, 414, 433.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 242.
——, reply thereto, 255.
letter to, from Lord Grenville in reply to a request for the presentatation of a Catholic petition to the House of Lords, 431.

Finland:
Russian advance in, report of, 177.
considered lost to Sweden, 231.
Finmere, 126.
Fire, children burnt to death, 168.
Fisher:
Mr., formerly Lord Grenville's private Secretary, 51.
——, connected with the Treasury, 168.
—, of University College, Oxford, 351.
Fitch, the late Colonel, regiment raised by, 5.
Fitzgerald, Mr., 66.
Fitzgibbon, John, Earl of Clare. *See* Clare.
Fitzmaurice, William, Marquis of Lansdowne. *See* Lansdowne.
Fitzpatrick:
General, late Secretary at War, 269, 308.
withdrawn from contest in county of Bedford, 136.
vote alleged to be given by, for a foul army job, 281.
Fitzroy, George Ferdinand. *See* Lord Southampton.
Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth, Earl, 351, 391.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 2, 22, 64, 100, 130, 134, 418.
offered the Order of the Garter, 2.
reference to his health, 100.
questions of notification of his resignation and his receiving the Garter, 130, 131, 134.
his son's manly language in Yorkshire, 150.
at Milton, 263, 368.
mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 284, 286, 288, 331.
a communication from, to Lord Grenville, referred to, 335.
on the inquiry into charges against Princess of Wales, 450.
Fletcher, J.K., of Alban Hall, Callington, Cornwall, 366.
Florida Blanca, Count, 216.
President of the Central Junta in Spain, 219, 224.
Flushing, Holland, mentioned in connexion with the Walcheren expedition, 312, 315, 317, 319.
Flushing near Falmouth, recommended as a winter resort, 313.
Foley, Lord, 366, 369, 370, 410.
letter to Lord Grenville from, 438.
Follaton near Totnes, letter dated at, 393.
Forbes:
Lord, Parliamentary candidate for Longford, 136, 175.
Mr. John, 48.
Foreign Department, the inexplicable arrangements of, 255.
Fort St. George, army subject to the Government of, 51, 52.
Forster, Lady Elizabeth, marriage of, 344.
Fortescue:
Earl, 297, 319, 320.
Hester Countess, 319.
——, relations with her country neighbours, 433.
Fox:
Rt. Hon. Charles James, 2, 58, 64, 182.
——, and the Roman Catholic question, 73, 74.
——, precarious state of, 440, 441.
——, his anxiety for the abolition of the slave trade, 508.
General Henry Edward, commanding in the Mediterranean, instructions to, for an expedition to Egypt, 441–443.
Henry Richard Vassall, 3rd Lord Holland. *See* Holland.
Foxites, the, in connexion with the political situation, 157.
Fox-Strangways. *See* Ilchester, Earl of.
France (the French):
policy in India, alluded to, 30.
overtures for peace from, 53.
proposed Austrian campaign against, discussed, 61.
prohibition of import of British produce into foreign ports of —the "Berlin Decree," 151.
negotiations with Barbary, 155.
plans of, against West Indies, discussed, 175.
report of advance into Zealand, 177.
question of possession of Holstein by, 189.
progress of the French arms in Spain and Portugal, 208, 211, 225, 247, 248, 264, 265, 309, 310.

France (the French)—*cont.*
numbers of the hostile armies, 301, 302.
an English peer a prisoner in, 211, 212.
the convention of Cintra, 216, 220–224.
necklace of the Queen of, first scene in the Revolution tragedy, 278.
person employed to induce the Marquis of Romana and the Spanish troops in Germany to declare against, 357.
news of defeat of, by Spaniards, 369.
project to place Ireland under the protection of, mentioned, 378.
fleet escape from Toulon, 380, 387.
campaign against the Prussians (1806) ending in battle of Jena, 461, 462, 469, 470, 475, 476.
France, Isle of [Mauritius], 39.
Fraser, Frazer, Charles, particulars on Mexico, furnished by, 23, 39, 40, 488, 489.
——, observations upon, 24, 25, 45.
letter to Lord Grenville, 39.
mentioned, 485.
Franklin, Mr., mentioned in connexion with the Oxford election, 386, 393, 402, 410, 414, 428.
Frankland, Mr., of All Souls, College, Oxford, 413, 418.
Freehold property in possession, a dangerous innovation with regard to, 199.
Freemantle:
Mr., M.P., Secretary of Treasury in coalition Ministry, 62, 172.
——, attack upon, in the Commons, mentioned, 55.
——, letters from, referred to, 281, 311, 313.
——, question of office for, 426, 427.
Captain, 405.
French, Lord, 32.
and the Catholic question in Ireland, 33, 101, 112, 113, 114.
Frere, Mr., British Minister in Spain, calamity of Moore's advance on Valladolid due to, 255, 271, 317.
Frere, Mr.—*cont.*
correspondence with Sir John Moore adverted to, 297, 299, 302, 305.
his "Frenchman," 303.
Frittie, William, Ireland, 227.
Frogatt, Mr., 159.
Frognall, 142.
Fuller, Mr., M.P., speaks in House of Commons, 207.
Fundy, Bay of, smuggling in, 207.
Funes, El Canonigo Luis Gincs, Member of Central Junta, at Aranjuez, 217.

G

G., H., Master of Bishopsthorp, a letter to, epitomised, 229.
Gage, General, 489.
Galicia, Spain, spirited action of tho peasants of, 311.
Gallicia, Austrian Poland, proposed as a seat of a negotiation, 53.
Galway, Warden of, 258.
Gambier, Lord, political rumour concerning, 155.
Garai, Garay, el Intendiente don Martin, member of Spanish Junta, 218, 224, 310.
Gardening operations, referred to, 164, 168.
Gardiner, Lord, 290.
Garlike, Benjamin, late British Minister in Denmark, correspondence with Canning, on the subject of the publication of his despatches from Copenhagen, 182–192.
Garter, Order of the, filling of vacancies in, 2.
Gentz, M., correspondence with Lord Grenville in 1806, 457–479.
reasons for his residence at Dresden, 472.
his movements, confidence placed in him, &c., 473, 474, 478.
the ruin of his carecr, &c., 478.
Geographical work, a grant for, 125, 126.
George III ("the King"), correspondence with Lord Grenville, 72, 107, 110, 111, 125–127.

George III (" the King ")—*cont.*
correspondence with Earl Spencer, 100, 107.
advice to, on the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 22.
proposed interview with the Prince of Wales, 26.
trustee for the Nabob of the Carnatic, 30, 31.
attitude towards Irish questions, 34, 35, 37–39.
mention of letter to, brought by the Turkish Minister, 53.
and the Parliamentary situation, 67.
opposition to proposed Roman Catholic Bill, 80–82, 98, 99, 107, 109, 122, 123.
audiences of Viscount Howick and Lord Grenville with, 116.
announces that he is forming a new adminstration, 123.
conduct of, criticised, 126, 127, 274, 277, 281, 282, 334.
" King can do no wrong," the true doctrine of the constitution, 131.
suggestion to address him for the names of his unconstitutional advisers, 132.
Lord Grenville's last interview with, 134.
his own account of his physical and mental condition, 141.
relations with Lord Sidmouth, 154.
effect of the Convention of Cintra upon, 215, 216.
attitude towards the Portland Ministry, &c., 222, 245, 249, 254.
answer of, to the city address criticised, 226.
his failing eyesight, a Council of Regency proposed by the Royal Dukes in consequence of, 261.
attitude towards the Grenville party, 318, 331.
difficulty of negotiation with, 325.
his appreciation of Lord Liverpool, 333.
Mr. Perceval's dealing with, in connexion with Lord Grenville and Lord Grey's refusal to join him in forming a new ministry, 338.
popular idea of the question separating him from Lord Grenville, 343.
George III (" the King ")—*cont.*
influence of the Catholic question upon, 353.
Lord Grenville's relations with, 354.
illness of, 371.
resistance of, to a change of Government, 425.
his answer to the Princess of Wales, 453.
letter on same subject to the Lord Chancellor, 454.
George, Prince of Wales. *See* Wales.
Gerdil, Gerdel, Cardinal, Prefect of Propaganda, conversations with, alluded to, 257, 258.
Germany:
North, scheme for a general insurrection in, 293.
Spaniards in, under Marquis de la Romana, declare against the French, British agent in the matter, 357.
state of affairs in, 457 *et seq.*
Gibbs, Sir V., Attorney-General, despondent views of, 142.
Gibbes, Gibbs, Dr., of Bath, 373, 379, 434.
Gibraltar:
surrender of, in contemplation, 168.
the command at, 319.
Giffard, Mr., a motion of, referred to, 232, 233.
Gifford, Mr., speech at Dublin on the Catholic question, 121.
Gilberts, the, 374.
Giles, Mr., candidate for a seat in Parliament, 150.
Gimondi, Conde, 218.
Glasgow:
an attempt to originate the machinery of addresses at, 168.
Catholics of, address and gift from, to Lord Grenville, 174.
Glastonbury, Lord, 403.
political information from, 319.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 423.
Glenbervie, Lord, in his old office, 153.
Globe, newspaper, 318.
Gloucester, Bishop of, proxy of, 290.
Gloucester House, 329, 334.
Glubb, —, 370.
Goddard:
Mr., as to his successor in a surveyorship, 62.
Rev. C., letter from, to Lady Grenville, 394.

Goetzen, le Comte, Prussian diplomatist, 459, 467.
to be sent to Vienna, 471.
Gogmagog, country seat of the Duke of Leeds, 287, 297.
Golding, —, 359.
Golfo Dolce, the, 24.
Gooch, Mr., 428.
Goodall, Dr., 364, 406.
Goodwin, Mr., in connexion with the Oxford election, 397, 400, 410, 414.
Gore, Captain, Parliamentary candidate in Leitrim, 136.
Gormanstown, Lord, 102.
present at a meeting of Irish Catholics, 33.
Gosfield, Essex, country seat of the Marquis of Buckingham, 54.
"French Colony,"(Louis XVIII) at, 147, 150.
Gosford, Lord, candidate for Irish representative peerage, 65.
Gottenburg, 209.
Gottenburg Mail, news brought by, 177.
Government of the Duke of Portland :
places under, question of sale of, 278, 289, 291.
the. *See* Ministers.
Gower :
Earl, 154, 403.
——, a proposed seat in the House of Commons for, 150.
——, to move an amendment, 401.
General, departure of, 57.
——, at Buenos Ayres, 138.
Grafton, Duke of, 132.
Graham, —, a letter of, alluded to, 283.
Grammont, Duc de, 150.
Granard, Earl of, mention of, 175.
Granville, Lord. *See* Leveson-Gower.
Grattan, Rt. Hon. Henry, M.P. for Dublin, 61, 167, 226, 232, 233, 260, 283.
going to Beaconsfield, 289.
debate on a motion of, faulty report of, 356, 357.
Gravert, Prussian General, 475.
Greenwich Directors, Members of Board of, 140.
a meeting of, referred to, 215.
Grenville :
French name of, 318.
General ("the General"), cousin of Lord Grenville, 264, 280, 420.
Sir Bernard, a picture of, referred to, 318.
Grenville—*cont.*
Sir Beville, a picture of, referred to, 318.
George Nugent-Temple, Marquess of Buckingham. *See* Marquess of Buckingham.
George, Nugent-Temple, second son of the Marquess, afterwards Earl Nugent, question of his parliamentary candidature, 175.
——, birthday festivities of, mentioned, 427.
James ("Jemmy"), 140, 420.
Sir Richard, prints of, referred to, 318.
Thomas *or* Tom, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 56, 139, 141, 144, 147, 148, 150, 154–156, 159, 167, 170, 182, 221, 229, 236, 239, *passim* 243–255, 263–269, 280–293, 311–320, 328–332, 351–358, 365–400, 402, 406, 410–413, 421, 425–440.
——, ——, in regard to a political project objected to by Earl Temple, 53, 54.
——, letter to, from Marquess of Buckingham, 134.
——, ——, from Sir H. Englefield, 412.
——, copy of letter in handwriting of, 323.
——, at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111, 116.
——, "your brother," 126, 131.
——, movements of, 142, 150, 318–320.
——, plans to avoid meeting Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII, at Stowe, 148, 150.
——, unable to attend Parliament, 156.
——, route of a progress, 221.
——, dining, 249, 420.
——, discusses the general state of public affairs, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296.
——, state of health, 294.
——, in connexion with a scheme for managing the press, 341.
——, arrival at Stowe, 348.
——,"my Uncle Tom," 376, 428.
——, tremors of, awaiting result of Oxford Election, 410, 411.
——, feelings of delight at the victory, 413.

Grenville, Thomas *or* Tom—*cont.*
——, offer to give up the India Board while still remaining in the Cabinet, 440.
——, enquiry as Member of the Cabinet into charges against Princess of Wales, 448, 450, 452.
William Wyndham Grenville, Lord, correspondence with George III, 72, 107, 110, 111, 116, 125, 127, 128.
——, —— with the Prince of Wales, 26 (2), 323, 327, 349.
——, —— with Lord Auckland, 177–182, 193, 194, 198–201, 205, 206, 208, 209–225.
——, —— with the Duke of Bedford, 6, 9 (2), 20, 26, 29, 36, 39, 44 (2), 59, 62, 65, 68, 80, 99, 121, 123, 128, 129, 136.
——, —— with the Marquess of Buckingham, 34, 36, 54, 72.
——, —— with Lord Ellenborough, 8, 9, 97.
——, —— with W. Elliot, 4, 7, 14, 20, 25, 29, 31 (2), 37, 51, 62, 65, 79, 97, 122.
——, —— with Lord Erskine, 136.
——, —— with Earl of Fingall, 73, 255.
——, —— with Earl Fitzwilliam, 2, 22, 64, 100, 130, 134.
——, —— with Charles Fraser, 39.
——, —— with M. Gentz, 457–479.
——, —— with Thomas Grenville. *See* Thomas Grenville *above.*
——, —— with Lord Holland, 3, 25, 26, 122.
——, —— with Viscount Howick. *See* 2nd Earl Grey *below.*
——, —— with Sir J. C. Hippisley, 166.
——, —— with Edmund P. Lyon, 14.
——, —— with Sir John Macpherson, 30, 45.
——, —— with Lord Sidmouth, 350, 357.
——, letter of Lord Sidmouth to, discussed, 358, 362.
——, correspondence with Earl Temple, 53.
——, —— with Marquis Wellesley, 51, 120, 124, 129.

Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Lord, correspondence—*cont.*
——, —— with Sir Arthur Wellesley, 22, 40, 45.
——, —— with W. Windham, 1, 7, 57, 62 (2), 63, 64.
——, discusses army estimates, 1, 2, 63.
——, reply to a complaint of Lord Yarmouth, 4.
——, anonymous letter to, concerning the Slave Trade, 26.
——, Sir Arthur Wellesley offers his service to, 52.
——, his political situation discussed, 53–57.
——, attack upon, in the Commons, mentioned, 55.
——, acknowledgement of two of his letters, 99.
——, at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111, 116.
——, audience with the King, 116.
——, his administration dissolved, 122, 127.
——, urged not to resign, but to wait for dismissal, 125, 126.
——, impression made by his speech on the state of Ireland in the House of Lords, 129.
——, in connexion with Sir Arthur Wellesley's acceptance of office from the Portland Ministry, 128, 129.
——, the line of debate with reference to his administration, discussed, 131.
——, atrocious charge brought against, in the King's speech, 135.
——, news desired for, 138.
——, occupation of Camelford House, 159.
——, speech of, in the House of Lords on the Orders in Council, characterised, &c., 176.
——, question of his seeing the Prince of Wales on the news from Spain, 264, 265.
——, movements, 247.
——, a confidential communication for, 261.
——, political action recommended to, 290.
——, his relations with the King, &c., 343.
——, his attachment to Literature, a quotation not lost upon him, 350.

Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Lord—*cont.*
——, a reference to a bundle of Squibs against, 398.
——, present of a ram and ewe of Merino breed from Spain, for, 406.
——, negotiations with Mr. Canning in 1806, 440, 441.
——, project of, for conquest of new Spain, 481, 493.
——, (in connexion with the Catholics in Ireland and the Catholic question), 76, 78, 380, 381, 384, 392.
interview with the King on Irish question, 81.
gift of a cup and address from Catholics of Glasgow to, 174.
letter of thanks to Archbishop Troy, 204.
thanked for his advocacy of Catholic claims in 1808, 203, 204 (2), 207, 208.
letter to, in regard to a refusal in Ireland to allow Government a veto on appointments of Catholic bishops, 232.
letter from, on tho same subject, 237.
address from Roman Catholics of Kilkenny to, 242, 243.
letter from, on the subject and references thereto, 301, 377, 378.
question of his presenting the Catholic petition in the session of 1810, discussed, 377.
letter to Lord Fingall, on the samc subject, 431.
means of circulating the letter, 433.
——, (in connexion with the overtures to join Perceval), 319, 320, 324 (2), 325–327, 329, 330, 337.
letter from, to Lord Grey, on the subject, 334.
states his reasons against taking office, 335, 354.
interpretation put upon his refusal, 338.
answer to Perceval, discussed, 362.
——, (candidaturo for, and election to be Chancellor of Oxford University), 341–352, 355, 357, 359, 364–366, 368, 369, 370, 372–375, 379, 380–416.
money deposited to promote his candidature, 357.
letters to the principal of Brasenose on the subject of the Catholic question, the "Oxford letter," &c., 359–362, 383, 384, 397, 402, 404, 407, 414.
the "Oxford letter" shown to political leaders, &c., 386, 407.
——, circulation of, 414, 433.
postscript to a circular letter, 373, 376.
proceedings of the canvass, 378.
state of the canvass, 400.
letter to Duke of Clarence, 404.
letter to a graduate of Oxford University, 404.
result of the poll, 410.
letters to Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 403, 411.
letter to Sir Charles Saxton, 412.
suggestions of letters of thanks to be written by, 412, 413, 427, 428, 434 (2).
congratulatory letters to, on the result, 412–428.
feelings engendered by the victory, 413, 428.
voters for, named, 427, 428 (2).
question of conferring degree of LL.D. on, and installation as Chancellor of Oxford University, 424, 425, 430, 433, 438.
Oxford Deputation to, 421, 426, 428, 429, 433, 434, 436.
——, one of the Committee of the Cabinet to enquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 445.
—— a minute on the subject by, 448.
——, letter to the Prince of Wales on the charges against the Princess, 449.
Lady ("dear littlo wife"), 247, 340, 374, 414, 416, 419.
——, a "botanical essay" of, referred to, 164.

Grenville, Lady—*cont.*
——, "seldom goes too near the fire," 168.
——, letter to, accompanying a copy of a specially bound Catechism, &c., 394.
——, letters of congratulation to, 412–428.
brothers ("Adelphi"), reports of their being Roman Catholics, 433.
——, a suggested combined gift of money from, 436.
Grenville administration, attitude of various peers towards the, discussed, 132.
Gressey, town of, Java, 499.
Grey de Wilton, Lord, 132.
Grey:
Charles first Earl, 54.
——, death of, and its political effect, 147, 148.
——, the lead of the House of Commons after death of, 154.
Charles, Viscount Howick, afterwards 2nd Earl Grey, 22, 25, 29, 39, 122, 172, 173, 181, 372.
——, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 2, 3 (2), 50 (2), 52, 61, 67 (*n*), 123, 131, 274, 275, 276, 280, 283, 284, 286, 299, 300, 301, 305, 308, 323, 329, 333, 334, 353, 362, 407, 422, 429.
——, precedent created by his brother's military appointments, 2, 63.
——, sends Lord Ponsonby on a mission to Ireland, 65, 72.
——, letter from Lord Holland to, 67.
——, letter from, alluded to, 100.
——, at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111.
——, letter to the Duke of Bedford, 115.
——, audience with the King, 116.
——, and the formation of a new administration, 123.
——, policy on the Catholic question, 145.
——, discussions with regard to the vacancy in the lead of the House of Commons consequent on Lord Grey's death, 147, 148.
——, a dinner at the house of, mentioned, 154.
Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl—*cont.*
——, in connexion with the political situation, 157, 159.
——, a letter of, on the Copenhagen question referred to, 170.
——, inadequacy of his income and his love of home, 171.
——, proposal that he should move in the House of Lords for the production of his correspondence, when Foreign Secretary, with Mr. Garlike, 182.
——, despatches of, referred to, 185, 187, 188, 192.
——, reasons for being unable to leave Howick, 197.
——, attitude towards the Catholic question in 1808, 197, 198.
——, matters postponed for his return, 198, 199.
——, a letter from, on the Roman Catholic question, referred to, 232.
——, mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 248, 249, 292, 296, 304, 319, 320, 435, 436, 437.
——, —— his views thereupon, discussed, 253, 270.
——, a confidential communication for, 261.
——, movements of, &c., 280.
——, discussion of political action with, &c., 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 302.
——, explains his views as to position of George Ponsonby, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, 286, 287.
——, state of his health, 270, 275, 309.
——, has an explanation with Mr. Whitbread, 287.
——, political action recommended for, 290.
——, political attitude of, in view of favourable opinions respecting him at Windsor, 290.
——, motion in the House of Lords in connexion with the Spanish question, 293.
——, separation from Mr. Whitbread, 300.
——, conference with the Prince of Wales at Carlton House, 305.
——, must accompany Lady Grey to Howick, 305.

Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl—*cont.*
——, letter from Lord Holland to, 309.
——, his determination not to treat with Mr. Perceval, 323, 324, 328, 329, 330.
——, asked to form an administration with Lord Grenville, 324 (2), 325.
——, his answer to Mr. Perceval's letter referred to, 332.
——, ——, acknowledged, 334.
——, a letter to Lord Auckland on the same subject, 332.
——, a letter from the Prince of Wales to, alluded to, 334.
——, letter from Lord Grenville to, on the subject of the overtures from Mr. Perceval, 334.
——, ——, alluded to, 357, 358.
——, a letter from Lord Auckland to, alluded to, 336.
——, interpretation put upon his refusal to join Mr. Perceval, 338.
——, on the state of the country, 340.
——, in connexion with a scheme for managing the press, 341.
——, necessity of his being on the spot, 355.
——, reasons for not coming to town, 362.
——, Lord Grenville's letter to, on the Catholic question, referred to, 377, 378.
——, views as to the leadership of the House of Commons, 385.
——, should see Lord Grenville's letter on the Catholic question, 387, 389.
——, correspondence with George Ponsonby, &c., referred to, 401, 425.
——, statement of his views on the Catholic question, 407–409.
——, necessity of consulting him, upon the political situation, 426, 427.
——, embarrassment on question of leadership of opposition in the House of Commons, 429, 430, 432.
——, on the inquiry into charges against Princess of Wales, 450, 452.

Grey—*cont.*
Lady, expected birth of a child, &c., 197.
——, referenee to her health, 305, 423.
Major-General, bad precedent established by his appointments on promotion, 58, 63, 64.
Commissioner, 366.
Griffiths, —, 374.
Grosvenor, Earl, 372.
quitting the turf, 144.
his Parliamentary attendance, 297, 299, 300.
Grove House, letter dated at, 423.
Grünn, General, chief of the Staff in the Austrian Army, 308.
Guatemala, city of, 24, 487, 490.
Guiana, Spanish, population of, 41.
number of troops in, 42.
Gujalva, river, 487, 490.
Guatuleo, harbour of province of Guaxaca, 489.
Guaxaca, city of, 489.
Gwydir, Lord, 138, 434.

H

Haldon, 140.
Hales, Dr., of Trinity College, Dublin, 162.
Halifax, N.S., insecuro defensive condition of, 439.
Hall:
—, candidate for a bishoprie, 216.
Dr. Charles Henry, Dean of Christ Church, in connexion with Lord Grenville's condidature for Chancellorship, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347.
——, gazetted Dean of Christ Church, 348.
——, letter to Lord Grenville, 426.
Mr., Esquire Bedell of Divinity at Oxford University, 410, 411.
Halle, defeat of Prince Eugène de Wurtemberg, near, 477.
Hamilton, Lord Archibald, bearer of a gift &c. from Catholics of Glasgow, 174.

Hammond, George, of the Foreign Office, a statement by, 307.
Hampshire election, the, 55.
Handfield, Colonel, sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment, 4.
Hanmer, Mr., 372.
Hardenberg, M. de, Prussian Statesman, 465, 470, 471.
Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, Earl of, administration of, in Ireland, 121.
a letter of, referred to, 146.
an alleged compromising letter of, 289.
agitation against, 291.
mentioned, 369, 413.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 416.
Harrington, Charles Stanhope, Earl of, 132, 282.
Harrowby, Lord, 132, 304.
to be foreign secretary, 329, 332.
Harwich, number of sick from the Walcheren expedition landed at, 317.
Haugwitz, Count von, his faction in Prussia, &c., 458, 461, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 474.
Havana, the, 40.
intelligence from, 45.
Hawkesbury, Robert Bankes Jenkinson, Lord. *See* 2nd Earl of Liverpool.
Hay:
Canon, 434.
Dr., of Christ Church, Oxford, 344.
Edward, 160.
——, Secretary of the Catholic Committee, letter from, 67.
——, allusion to his communication, 66.
Hayes, Charles, 364.
Heathcot, Mrs., ex-Columbine, and the Queen's circle, 181.
Heathcote, G., 366.
Heber, Rev. Mr., in connexion with the Oxford election, 342, 346, 365, 372, 373, 379, 429.
Henderson, Mr., a proposed seat in the House of Commons for, 150.
Henley, Morton Eden, Lord, late British Minister at Vienna, 153.
residence of, 313, 314.
"Henry." *See* Henry Wynn.
Henry, Prince, of Prussia, 460.
Herbert:
Mr., 391, 429.
Captain, going as a volunteer to Spain, 212.
Lady Di., sister of the Earl of Pembroke, to be presented, 181.
Hermida, Minister for the Home Department in Spain, 224.
Herodotus, the geography of, "a book of singular and acknowledged merit," referred to, 125.
Hertford, M.P. for, 146.
Hertford, Marchioness of, influence with the Prince of Wales, 129.
"Hester," (sister of Grenville). *See* Countess Fortescue.
Highland regiments, allusions to indulgence granted to, 5, 7.
Hill, Hon. William, British Minister in Sardinia, 155.
Hinchingbrook, country seat of the Earl of Sandwich, 441.
Hippisley:
Sir J. Cox, M.P., correspondence with Lord Grenville on the Catholic question, 160, 166, 168, 213, 242, 256–260, 386.
——, other correspondence, 163, 170, 356.
Lady, mentioned, 259.
Hobart, Lord, afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire, 7.
Hobhouse, —, asked to take office, 353.
Hodgkinson, —, in Madeira for his wife's health, 418.
Hodson, Hodgson, very Rev. Dr. F., Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, in connexion with Lord Grenville's election to the chancellorship, 343, 345, 346 (2), 348, 357, 374, 376, 380 (2), 381, 382, 387, 390, 391, 402, 410.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 359, 383, 392, 395–398, 407, 414, 424, 430, 433.
——, letter discussed, 384.
sends a paragraph for the *Morning Chronicle*, 364.
declines direct communication with the Vice-Chancellor, 399.
correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor, 424, 425.
suggested acknowledgment of his services, 436.
Hof, Count Tauenzien attacked at, 475.

Hohenlohe, Prince de, 460, 461, 462, 465, 467, 468, 469.
in command of the left wing of the Prussian army at Jena, 475.
Hohenzollerin, Prince of, Austrian General, 307.
Holford, —, 370.
Holkham, Norfolk dumplings at, 285.
Holland:
Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord, 132, 179, 353, 375, 421.
——, as Lord Privy Seal, at a Cabinet Meeting, 103, 109, 111, 116.
——, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 3, 25, 26, 122, 135.
——, interested in the case of the widow of the Bishop of Downe, 64.
——, letter to Lord Howick from, 67, 123
——, question of his secretary's salary, 122.
——, views on the British capture of Copenhagen, 145.
——, in connexion with the political situation, 154, 156, 157, 159, 206.
——, in Spain, 245, 247.
——, letter from, as to protest in the House of Lords in connexion with the Catholic petition from Ireland, 202.
——, letters from, to Lord Grey, referred to, 248, 274, 286, 287, 301, 308.
——, a letter from, describing the situation in Spain, 309–311.
——, book about Lope de Vega by, mentioned, 310.
——, letter from, on the subject of setting the press to work in support of the opposition in Parliament, 340.
——, letters from, to Lord Grenville, on the latter's candidature for Chancellorship of Oxford University, 345, 349.
——, letter from, to Dr. Parr, 350.
——, letter from Lord Grenville to, alluded to, 357.
——, as supporter of Lord Grenville at Oxford, 366, 391.
——, eager for Brome to be brought in, 376.
——, Lord Grenville's "Oxford letter" shown to, 386.
Holland, Henry Richard Vassal Fox—*cont.*
——, a letter from, relative to Mr. Whitbread, referred to, 437, 438.
Lord and Lady, movements of, 407.
Lady, hard at work for concessions to Mr. Whitbread, 438.
Holland House, diners at, 159, 386.
Holloway, —, 357.
namesake and nephew of, of Exeter College, Oxford, 357.
Holstein, question of defence of, 182–192.
Holyrood House, 142.
Homer:
an editor of, 141.
Adelphi edition of, referred to, 436.
Hompesch's regiment mentioned, 161.
Honduras:
Bay of, 24, 25.
troops to be obtained from, for expedition against New Spain, 486, 491, 492, 493.
population and conditions of, 491.
Hood:
Admiral Lord, 215.
——, condemning the measures of Ministers, 252.
Admiral Sir Samuel, movements of, 149, 156.
——, force of ships under, 175.
——, capture of a Russian ship of the line, &c., 215.
Hoogly, the, proposed expedition to sail from, 22, 23.
Hope, General Sir John, 138.
difficult situation of the troops in Spain under, 247.
march to Lisbon, 315.
Hopetoun, Lord, 276.
Horace's *Art of poetry*, a quotation from, alluded to, 346, 350.
Horner, Mr., a motion of, in the House of Commons, referred to, 173.
Hornsby, Professor, 381.
Horsley, the late Bishop, 9.
Horticulture, American borders mentioned, 138.
Howard, Duke of Norfolk. *See* Norfolk.
Howick, Viscount. *See* Grey.
Howick, letters dated at. *See* correspondence of Earl Grey.
Howley, Canon, 434.

Hughes, Dr., principal of Jesus College, Oxford, 344, 345, 348–351.
acting as Vice-Chancellor in Convocation at Oxford, 433.
Hunts, county of, Parliamentary election, 136.
the county politics referred to, 441.
Huskisson, Rt. Hon. William, 385.
resignation reported, 319.
statement by, 333.
to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, rumour as to, 438, 439.
Hussey, Dr., Roman Catholic bishop, considerations affecting his appointment, 257.
Hutchinson, Lord, terms of capitulation granted by, to the French at Alexandria, cited, 221.
suggested for the command in the Peninsula, 223.
Hutton, letter dated at, 413.

I

Ilapotecas in province of Guaxaca, 489.
Ilchester, Lord, 290, 410, 421.
marriage of sister of, 159, 160.
place of, in Dorsetshire, 181.
accident to, 241.
Imports, 140.
a return of accounts of, moved for, in the House of Lords, 205, 206, 207.
India, as to transmission of orders to, 22, 23.
letters concerning British policy in, 30, 45, 46, 50.
Sir Arthur Wellesley's qualifications for a command, and his offer of service in, 51, 52.
transactions in the House of Commons concerning, 120.
troops destined to go to, 484.
troops to be demanded from, for Manilla, 484, 485.
review of British interests in the eastern parts of, 496.
Indies, East, a book on, referred to, 249.
Infandado, Infantado, Duke of, 216, 219.
Inglefield Green, Lord Buckingham's friend at, 150.
Inspector-General [of Recruiting], filling of office of, 59.
Inspector General [of Customs ?], a tampering letter of, referred to, 205.
Insurrection Act, proposed alterations in, alluded to, 14, 21.
Ireland :
estimation of average produce of, 94.
feeling of the people of, towards the Grenville Administration, 128, 130.
Marquis of Buckingham's votes and influence in, 136.
safety of, assured, 138.
the Ministry uneasy respecting, 153.
state of, discussed, 165.
scarcity of priests and schools in, the mischiefs arising from, &c., 196.
religious freedom in, compared with that in France, 205.
peaceful state of the country, 228.
Admiralty Court in, salary of the judge, discussed, 6, 9.
army, sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment, in, 5, 6, 7, 12, 21, 32.
——, question of appointments, 25, 34.
——, question of Roman Catholic recruits for, the Catholic "Military Bill," 108, 109, 122.
Church in, questions of tithes and provision for Roman Catholic clergy, discussed, 9–14, 37, 60, 61, 69, 82–97.
commerce of, accounts of, moved for, 276, 277.
French relations with, 161, 274, 378.
Government in, critical situation of, 82, 98, 99.
Lord Chancellor of (George Ponsonby), at the meeting of Mr. Elliot with the Catholic deputation in Dublin, 112.
——, called into consultation, 122.
Lord Lieutenant of, and an application from Lady Downshire, 51.
Orange party in, a panegyric on, 121.
——, disregard the authority of Government, 122.

Ireland, Orange party in—*cont.*
——, alleged persecuting and insulting spirit of, alleged outrage by, 208.
primate of, representation about tithes, 145.
Roman Catholic Prelates of, false statement regarding a papal Bull addressed to, 170.
——, agent of, 202.
——, question of the Crown's interference in their appointments, "the King's veto," 202, 204, 232–237, 256, 257–260, 273, 356, 363, 370, 371, 378.
——, loyalty of, 204.
——, assembly of, 213.
——, proccedings of, 226, 231.
——, effect of their protest, 230.
——, Lord Buckingham's views as to conduct of, 367.
——, declaration of, to Lord Castlereagh, 371.
Roman Catholic Primate in, a weak and timid old man, 367.
Roman Catholic question in, correspondence relative to, 100–120, 121, 122.
——, discussed or alluded to, 73–79, 145, 195, 237, 238.
——, divided counsels of the Government, 67, 123.
——, an interview on the subject, question of a petition to Parliament, 167, 194, 204.
——, Lord Buckingham's support of, 175, 367, 370.
——, terms of the protest of the Lords, 202, 203.
——, Lord Grenville's action with regard to, 360, 362, 363, 377.
——, postponement desirable, 435.
Roman Catholics in, proceedings of, 33, 34, 65, 124, 130, 226–228, 230, 267, 268, 275.
——, a petition to be presented to the Commons, 59, 60, 61, 67, 387, 431.
——, conciliation of, the only way of saving the country, 154.
——, false rumours about the action of, 170.
——, persecution of, 207, 208.
——, alleged new Jacobin spirit of, 241.
Ireland, Roman Catholics in—*cont.*
——, continuous discussion between the regular and secular clergy in, 257.
——, a novel proposal for their partial exemption from taxes, 268.
——, views of the laity, 356.
——, "provoking enough," 383.
Chief Secretary of the Lord Licutenant in, appointment of, 128.
tithes in, the question of, 145.
the Union, official communications with the Roman Catholic prelates on the occasion of, alluded to, 204, 205.
Irish :
measures in Parliament, discussed, 68, 72, 73, 76, 78.
——, the King and Parliament strongly opposed to, 80, 82, 98.
Parliament of 1793, an Act of, alluded to, 5.
pension proposed, 126.
questions, policy discussed, 30–39, 65–67, 69.
Italinski, M. d', Russian Minister at Constantinople, in connexion with the declaration of war against Russia, 53.
Irving, —, mistaken action as regards orders of Parliament, 206, 207.

J

Jackson :
Mr., British Envoy to United States of America, 438, 439.
Dr. W., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 344, 434.
Jacobi, Baron de, Prussian diplomatist, at Hamburg, 468.
Jamaica, 42.
reasons against the abolition of the Slave Trade in, 15, 16, 19.
a superior post, 139.
as a rendezvous of troops &c., 484, 486, 492, 493.
James's powders, remedy for fever, 28.

Janellanos, Senor Don Gaspar Melchior, 216, 218.
Java, advantages of British possession of, 496, 500.
Jefferson, Thomas, President, U.S.A., his message to Congress in connexion with the Orders in Council, 158.
"Jemmy" (James Grenville), 140, 420.
Jena, battle of, policy of a continental diversion after, 155.
battle described, 476.
Jenkinson:
See 1st Earl of Liverpool.
Robert Bankes, Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards 2nd Earl of Liverpool. *See* 2nd Earl of Liverpool.
Jersey, Earl of, 297, 359.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 412.
Jervis, John, Earl of St. Vincent. *See* St. Vincent.
John of Lechtenstein, Prince, not an instigator of the war, 306, 307.
Johnson, Lord Egremont's steward's son, 369.
Johnstone, —, speech of, in House of Commons, 207.
Jones, —, 376.
Jovellanos, —, member of the Central Spanish Junta, 310.
Junot, General, 224.
supposed projected landing in Ireland, 165.
army in Lisbon, 208, 211, 213, 371.

K

K——, 320.
Kalkreut, General, commanding the Prussian reserves at Auerstadt, 474, 475.
Keates, Admiral, in command of the British squadron blockading the Tagus, 149.
Kedington, Mr., 428.
Kedleston, letter dated at, 413.
Keith, Lord, 380.
Kellerman, General, his part in the convention of Cintra, 216.
Kemble, John, as an absorbing subject of popular interest, 322.
Kenmare, Earl of, at a meeting of English Catholics, 299.
Kent:
fear that the "next French battle" will be fought in, 274.
Duke of, talks of the army in Portugal at a dinner, 214.
Keogh, John, of Dublin, 101, 112, 115, 256.
conference with the Chancellor, mentioned, 21.
W. Elliot, Chief Secretary, denies the rumour of his presence at the house of, 22.
his influence with the Roman Catholic Body, &c., 31, 32, 73, 74.
speech at a meeting of Irish Catholics, 33, 34, 38.
a dining party at the house of, referred to, 160.
narrative of his dealings with one Neville, 160, 161, 163, 166.
son of, alluded to, 161.
circumstances probably leading to a quarrel with, 169.
new violence on the part of, its effect, 230.
a wicked and foolish measure of, 241.
influence of, in Ireland, 242.
Kerry, county of, endeavour to prevent a proposed meeting of Catholics in, 66.
disquiet in, 228.
Kidd, the, Editor of *Homer*, in a state of distress, a subscription for, 141, 144, 249.
a suggested gift of money for, 436.
Kildare and Leighlin, Roman Catholic Bishop of, 204.
Kilkenny, Roman Catholics of, address to Lord Grenville, 242, 243, 255.
Killeen Castle, country seat of the Earl of Fingall, letter dated at, 242.
King, the. *See* George III.
"King and Church," a political cry, 320.
King's Speech, atrocious charge against Lord Grenville in, 135.
King's negative in the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, a resolution with regard to, 232, 233.

King's negative in the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland—*cont.*
the matter discussed, 234, 238, 256, 260, 378.
examples of its practical use, 258.
King:
Lord, 172.
Alderman, H.M. Stationer, Dublin, 121.
Dr., 370, 373.
John, late Under Secretary of State, 376.
Walter, candidate for a bishopric, 216.
Kinnaird, Lord, 413, 428.
Kirkcudbright, Lord, pension for, 127, 128.
Kiow, 444.
Kleist, son of the Magdeburg General, sent as a Prussian agent to England, 292.
Knobelsdorff, M. de, General, sent to Paris as Prussian Minister, charged with despatches to the French Government, their contents, &c., 461, 467, 468, 469, 471.
Koeckritz, Colonel, aide-de-camp of the King of Prussia, 459.

L

La Carolina, number of troops at, 310.
La Chapelle, Count de, accredited agent of Louis XVIII, letters from, &c., 443, 444.
La Conception, 43.
Laforêt, M., French Minister at Berlin, 467.
La Guira, proposed attack on, 42, 43.
Lake, Lord, 180.
La Mancha, campaign near, 209, 210.
Lancashire, distress in, 252.
Langham, Sir William, a parliamentary candidate for Northamptonshire, 441.
Lanigan, Dr., Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, 204.
Lansdowne:
William Petty, second Marquis of, very ill, 321.
——, death of, 375, 376, 425.
——, ——, an effect of, 427.
Lansdowne—*cont.*
third Marquis of, to call on Lord Grenville, 410.
Marchioness of, 389.
Laodicea, Archbishop of, 217.
La Puebla, Marquis de, 218.
La Torne, el Avogado Don Jose Manuel Garcia de, 218.
La Trinité, port of [Guatemala], 25.
Lauderdale, James Maitland, Earl of, 181, 198.
views on the political situation, 145, 148.
letter from, on the Catholic question, 197.
refers to a model of a certain machine, 198.
a book on the East Indies by, referred to, 249.
a letter from Lord Holland sent to, 274.
reference to his health, 280.
mentioned in connexion with political action, 301, 308.
La Vera Cruz, 23.
Law:
Edward, Lord Ellenborough. *See* Ellenborough.
Rev. Dr. George, brother of Lord Ellenborough, request for his preferment, 8.
——, ——, Lord Grenville's reply, 9.
Laurence, Dr., of Oxford university, 347, 374, 422.
Lee:
Mr., late member for the county of Waterford, 227, 258.
——, a letter to the Catholics of Waterford from, referred to, 228.
Rev. Dr., of Sandford, Essex, 356, 379.
Leeds, Duke of, attitude of, towards Grenville administration, 132.
Le Fevre, General, taken prisoner, 265, 266.
Legge, Rev. Dr., of Lewisham, candidate for a bishopric, 216.
Leinster, tithe on potatoes in, 11.
Leitrim, Lord, Irish representative peerage destined for, 65.
Leitrim, parliamentary candidate at, 136.
Lemon, Mr., 212.
Letters from a Farmer of Boston, an American pamphlet, referred to, 173.
Leveson-Gower:
George Granville. *See* Marquis of Stafford.

Leveson-Gower—*cont.*
Lord Granville, son of the Marquis of Stafford, British Ambassador to Russia, 292, 365, 385, 388.
——, reference to letters of, 149.
——, suggestion of a reward for his services, 150.
—— in the Cabinet, 311, 312.
——, losses at *piquet*, 311.
——, letter from, referred to, 313.
—— at Trentham, melancholy and oppressed, 319, 321.
Ley, —, of the House of Commons, 370.
Leycester, —, a letter of, mentioned, 390.
Lichfield, Dean of, mentioned, 403.
Liefkenshoek, 315.
Lillo, 315, 317.
Lima, Mons. do, Portuguese Ambassador, ordered from Paris, 151.
Limerick:
Bishop of, views on the disquiet within his diocese, 228.
city of, mischievous reference to the capitulation of, 77.
county of, disquiet in, 228.
Lincoln:
Bishop of, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 414.
political expenses at, 56.
Lind, Miss, daughter of H.M. former Minister at Warsaw, pension for, 125.
Lisbon, 149.
Portland Ministry's neglect at, alluded to, 140.
question, the, 144, 145.
expedition sent by the Grenville Ministry, cited as a precedent for the Copenhagen Expedition, 148.
news from, 264.
English army at, thought to be re-embarking, 291–300.
General Junot's army in, 208, 371.
Lisle, Mrs., witness in the Princess of Wales' case, 448.
Lismore, Lord, candidate for an Irish representative peerage, 65.
Liverpool:
town of, a petition to come from, on the Tax bill, 182.
imports of cotton, 261.
letters from, on trade matters, alluded to, 270.
Liverpool, Earls of:
1st Earl, 142, 216, 324, 325, 328.
——, his views on the Portuguese question, 143.
——, conversation with, 173.
——, a communication from, 209, 210.
——, diners with, 223.
——, information received from, 241.
Robert Bankes Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards 2nd Earl of Liverpool, 54, 128, 180(2), 216, 222, 283, 284, 324, 325, 328, 352.
——, in command of certain troops, 124.
—— announces to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the removal of the Grenville Ministry and his own appointment as Home Secretary, 128.
——, as to his responsibility for the dismissal of the Grenville Ministry, 131.
——, his treatment of Louis XVIII on his arrival in England, 147.
——, letter from, 163.
——, a letter and extract sent to, 166.
——, said to have declined the office of Prime Minister, 168, 171.
——, a curious incident connected with, 181.
——, proceedings in support of the Orders in Council, 194, 201.
——, threatens action on "Palmers job," 206.
——, credited with the King's answer to the City address in October, 1808, 226.
——, Cabinet Minute signed by, 455, 456.
—— at Bath, 260.
——, motion of thanks to troops at Corunna, 271.
——, mentioned in connexion with proceedings in Parliament, 276, 277, 279.
——, action with regard to Sir John Moore, 293, 299.
—— undertakes to produce orders respecting Spanish fleets, &c., 302.
——, replies or undertakings in the House of Lords, 303 (2), 304.
——, in high favour with the King, 333.

Liverpool, Earls of, 2nd Earl—*cont.*
——, to be appointed to the War Department, 339.
——, as possible candidate for Chancellorship of University of Oxford, 341 (2), 342, 344 (2), 346, 348, 350.
Llangedwin, a seat of the Wynn family, 221.
Lloyd:
Frances, witness in the Princess of Wales' case, 448.
Griff, 370.
Lock, Mr., 383.
Lombard, Herr, Confidential Secretary of the King of Prussia, 458, 474.
London:
Bishop of. *See* Randolph.
city of, Common Council of, political action of, addresses or resolutions of, and replies thereto, referred to, 194, 232, 263, 291, 302.
——, points of an address to the King, 375.
coaches to be hired for university electioneering purposes, 374, 376, 378.
——, names of two, 376.
Streets, places, buildings, &c.:—
Arlington Street, letters dated at, 7, 57, 64.
Bloomsbury Square, letters dated at, 8, 97.
Camelford House, 163, 178, 433.
——, Lord Grenville residing in, 301.
Carlton House, letter dated at, 26.
Cleveland Square, letters dated at. *See* letters of Thomas Grenville.
Conduit Street, letter dated at, 423.
Devonshire Place, letter dated at, 14.
Downing Street, letters dated at. *See* correspondence of Lord Grenville.
——, Cabinet Councils at, 109, 111, 116.
Eastey's Hotel, Southampton Street, Covent Garden, letter dated at, 394.
Gower Street, letter dated at, 422.
Harley Street, letters dated at, 22, 40, 45, 52.
London: Streets, places, buildings, &c.—*cont.*
Lincoln's Inn, letter dated at, 39.
Oxford St., letters dated at, 51, 120, 123.
Palace Yard, residence of Lord Auckland, 163.
——, letters dated at. *See* letters of Lord Auckland.
Pall Mall, letters dated at, 25, 26, 122, 133.
Queen's Palace, letter dated at, 110.
St. James Place, letter dated at, 100.
St. Paul's cathedral, residentiaryship of, application for, 8, 9.
Stratton Street, letters dated at. *See* letters of Viscount Howick.
Whitehall, letter dated at, 103.
Long, Mr., 292, 319, 387.
on the board of Greenwich directors, 140.
Longford, Parliamentary candidate at, 136.
Longford, Lord, brother of, a candidate for Westmeath, 175.
Lonsdale, Lord, 135.
a clerical protegé of, 149.
in connexion with the political situation, 331.
Louis XVIII. (Count de Provence), arrival in England, a disagreeable surprise, question of his place of residence, 142.
a letter to the King from, in a style of levity, 142.
at Gosfield, 147.
visit to Stowe, 148, 150.
said to be in an awkward scrape, 288.
removal to England, 443–445.
Louis, Prince, of Prussia, 457, 459, 460, 462, 465, 470, 475.
Louvaine, Lord, a Lord of the Treasury, volunteering for service in the Peninsula, his conduct criticised, 211, 212.
his father in a French prison, 211, 212.
Loveday, Dr., 370.
Lowndes, Mr., 369.
Lowther, Lord, to be Commissioner of Admiralty, 339.
Lucan, Earl of, 376.
Lucas, Lord, 372.

Luechesini, Luehesini, Marquis de, late Prussian Minister in Paris, 458, 459, 466, 474, 477.
Lueonia (Luzon), military operations in, discussed, 481–483.
population of, 483.
Lugo, 273.
Luke, Mr., a wealthy tradesman of Dublin, 101.
Lumley, General, 58.
Lumley-Saunderson. *See* Earl of Searbrough.
Luttrell, Temple, attaek on Lord Sandwich, alluded to, 278.
Lyon, Edmond P., correspondenee with Lord Grenville, 14.
Lyttelton, Mr., M.P., an eager reformer, 286.

M

Mackintosh, Sir James, 46.
Macnamara, Miss, Irish pension for, proposed, 126.
Macpherson, Sir John, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 30, 45.
letter to, 46.
review of tho British interests in the Eastern parts of India by, 496–500.
Maddison, —, 439.
Madeira, 149, 418.
Madras, unrest in, 47, 50.
re-establishmont of affairs at, discussed, 52.
mutinous state of tho army in, 429.
military preparations at, 484.
Madrid:
member of the Central Junta for, 219.
members of diplomatie eorps remaining at, 225.
news from, 241.
the determination of its populace to defend, 250.
deputies of the Central Junta at, requisition to Sir J. Mooro from, 299.
Magan, Francis, 175.
letters from, on the Catholic question, 166, 167, 267.
Magdebourg, 462.
Maida, 58.
Maitland:
General, 58.
James, Earl of Lauderdale. *See* Lauderdale.
Maldonado, 479, 481.
Malone, Mr., 359.
Malta, provisioning of, 155.
Malvorn, 313.
Man, Isle of, restrietions by statuto as regards exportations, 178, 179.
Manby, Captain, R.N., rumoured relations with the Princess of Wales, 448.
Maud, Dr., Master of Pembroke, 370.
Manilla, an attack on, discussed, 481–484, 499.
Manners, —, Duke of Rutland. *See* Rutland.
Mansfield, William Murray, Earl of, attitude of, towards Grenville administration, 132.
a manly letter of (when Mr. Murray), alluded to, 278.
Manufactures, tho danger of teaching the Continent to provido its own, 153.
Manufacturing towns, attempts to forward petitions for peaee, 143.
Maracaibo, total number of troops in, 41, 42.
Marlborough, Duke of, 381.
Marlboroughs, the, 138.
Marlowe, Dr., of Oxford university, 347, 348.
Marsden's frank (Secretary to the Admiralty), 134.
Marsh, Mr., of Crawley, 367.
Martin:
—, M.P., 306.
Thomas, of Liverpool, a letter from, 252.
Martinique, expedition referred to, 277, 290.
Mary, Princess, 222.
Mathew, General, to present a petition to Parliament from the Catholics in Tipperary, 267, 268.
Mathias, —, of Jesus collogo, Oxford, 376.
Matthews, Mr., at Oxford, 364, 381.
Mauritius, probable effect on India of reduction of, 498, 499.
Maynooth, college of:
proposed plan for extending, alluded to, 13.
question of tho grant to, 195.
letter dated at, 204.

Maynooth, college of—*cont.*
trustees of, summon a meeting of Roman Catholic prelates to consider the question of the King's veto, 234.
Mayo :
—, of Oriol, 373.
—, of St. John's, 373.
Dr. P., 373.
McDonell, R., 161.
McLaurin, James, letter from (Catholics of Glasgow), 174.
Meadows, General Sir William, 52.
Medellin, in Spain, French victory at, alluded to, 310.
Medicine to be had from the port of an enemy only, 180.
Mediterranean, the :
report of combined movements in, 181.
news alluding to, 194.
news of a sea fight in, 373.
Mells Park, country seat of Sir J. Hippisley, letter dated at, 160, 256.
Melville :
Henry Dundas, Viscount, 249, 421.
——, alleged treaty of, with Marquis Wellesley, 145.
——, dissatisfaction of, 149.
——, movements &c., 181, 200.
——, "sent for," from Scotland, 182.
——, question of office for, 210.
——, loud in blame of conduct of Anglo-Spanish war, 254, 263.
——, suggested influence brought to bear upon, 276.
——, mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 292, 318, 319, 427.
Lady Jane, 182, 319.
——, said to be interfering in political matters, 212.
Merida, 310.
letter dated at, 316.
Merino ram and ewe brought from Spain for Lord Grenville, 406.
Metcalf's, diners at, 420.
Mexico, *or* New Spain, Sir A. Wellesley's memoranda on the subject of a British expedition to, 22, 23, 24, 41, 481–493.
conquest of, discussed, 40.
movements of regiments of, 40.
steps of Viceroy at, to secure the safety of his country, 45.
proposal to General Whitelocke in regard to, 139.
Mexico—*cont.*
accessible points of, 487.
country described, 489.
Gulf of, weather seasons, &c. in, 24, 487, 488, 489.
Meyer, General, late chief of the staff of the Austrian army, removed on suspicion, 308.
Middleton, Lord, 132.
Middleton Park, letter dated at, 412.
"Military Officer," a, in full confidence, information from, 150.
Militia, liability of Roman Catholics to serve in, 194.
"Militia operation," the, (transferring militia to the line) its result, 151.
Milles, —, of All Souls College, Oxford, 418.
Milnor, Most Rev. Dr., Vicar Apostolic, agent of the Catholic prelates of Ireland, 36 (2), 169, 226, 227, 232, 243, 367, 368.
note from, 202.
effect of his letter, 230.
letters on the subject, 233, 243, 244, 356.
dining with Mr. Grattan, 235.
alleged to have been out of his mind, 244.
"that rogue," letter of, to the *Morning Chronicle*, 241.
his opinion with regard to the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, referred to, 257, 273.
present at a conversation, 259.
Milnes, Monckton, offered chancellorship of the Exchequer, 415.
Milton, Lord Fitzwilliam's seat, letters dated at, 64, 100, 130, 418.
scarlet fever at, 286.
Milton, Lord, son of Earl Fitzwilliam, 285.
language held in Yorkshire by, 157.
mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 159.
dining with, 263.
Mindoro Sea, 482.
Ministerial :
changes or appointments, 318 (2), 339.
offices in 1806, suggested changes, 440.
papers, publications of, 182–192.
rumours, 438.

Ministers, the King's:
formation of the Portland Ministry, 123, 124, 128.
methods of opposition to, discussed, 134.
"our present baby Ministers," 145.
expected successful attack upon, 146.
in a state of panic and confusion, 167.
a charge of propagation of falsehoods by, suggested, 170.
embarassed by the question of the Orders in Council, 198, 201.
the galloping expectations of, 210.
pursuing the policy of official manœuvre, 205.
effect of Sir H. Dalrymple's despatches on, 214.
embarrassment of, 215.
rumours of divisions among, 229, 237, 248, 249.
a change of Government unlikely, 249, 265.
errors of, in regard to the Spanish campaign, 245, 247, 251.
dismay among, at disastrous news from Spain, 264.
action of, in connexion with the enquiry relative to Duke of York, 278, 281.
quarrels among, 290.
acknowledged incompetency of, &c., 291, 294.
rumours of their taking fright, 292.
questions asked, embarrassing to, 303.
rumoured embarrassments of, and recriminations between, 316, 372.
delirium of recrimination between, 322.
the character of their administration, 330, 332.
their conduct of affairs criticised, 335, 336.
tottering, 344.
"clearly wrecked," 435.
Ministry, difficulties of the formation of a "patchwork," discussed, 322, 323, 324.
Minto, Gilbert Elliot, Lord, Governor-General of India, 45, 49.
to remain in India, 153.
an indirect method of removing him, 212.
Miolay, M., on the Staff of the Russian Embassy in London, communication of despatches, 52, 53.
Miranda, General Francisco Antonio Gabriel, 42.
Misset, Major, 442.
Mittau, 443, 444.
the Emperor of Russia's guests at, 142.
Morla, —, of the Spanish Central Junta, 299, 317.
motion in parliament respecting letter of, 305.
Mohilow, Mohelow [? Mohelmo]:
case of Archbishopric of, under the Russian monarch, cited as a precedent, 236, 258.
ecclesiastical jurisdiction of, 272.
Moira, Francis Rawdon, Earl of, Master-General of the Ordnance till March, 1807, 26, 137, 175, 277.
at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111, 116.
suggested for the command in the Peninsula, 223.
"has a good thing" of it, 239.
mentioned in connexion with the motion on the Spanish question, 299.
mentioned in connexion with political action, 304.
letter to Lord Grenville from, 389.
in connexion with the inquiry into charges against the Princess of Wales, 448, 450, 452.
Möllendorff, Maréchal de, Prussian Field Marshal, 475, 476.
Moncrieff, Mr., 385.
Moncey, General, reported movements of, 209.
Mondego Bay, a projected landing at, 211.
Monte Video, surrender of, &c., 150, 151, 479.
Moniteur, the, news in, &c., 51, 153, 155, 372.
Monroe, Mr., American Minister in London, 141, 178.
Monson, Lord, 132.
death of, 375.
Montacute, 386.
Moore:
General Sir John, in Sicily, 155.
——, return to England, 163.
——, arrival of his troops at Gibraltar, 166.
——, effect of his return upon Ministers, 171.

Moore, General Sir John—*cont.*
——, negotiations with King Gustavus in Sweden, and his escape therefrom, 209, 210.
——, embarks for the Peninsula with the additional force, 210.
——, to be left in command of the Peninsula, 216.
——, his conduct at Stockholm referred to, 216.
——, movements and situation of army in the Peninsula under, 221, 223, 224, 231, 239, 240, 241, 243, 245, 246, 247, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 260, 264, 265, 266, 268, 269, 271, 273, 289.
——, his advance on Valladolid due to Mr. Frere's letter, 255, 271.
——, his indecision of character, and death mentioned, 273, 274.
——, ministerial detractions of, pension to representatives, &c., 293.
——, plans for publication of his military journals, in his vindication, 293.
——, papers relating to his campaign, 297, 299.
——, his advance upon Salamanca defended, 309.
——, a published despatch from, alluded to, 311.
Robert, 427.
Serjeant, 25.
——, surgeon, brother of Sir John, action in connexion with vindication of his brother, question of pension, &c., 293, 299, 300.
Morgan, Dr., promise to vote for Lord Grenville, &c., 405.
Morning Chronicle, 183.
the language of, respecting the Copenhagen expedition, 145, 148.
a letter to, referred to, 241.
states correctly the facts of the Peninsular campaign, 247.
a paragraph about university sentiment, in connexion with Lord Grenville's candidature at Oxford, for, 364.
a letter connected with the Irish Catholic question published in, 367, 368.
a letter in, in reference to the Oxford election, to be disowned by Lord Grenville, 395, 397, 399.
Morning Chronicle—cont.
as a medium for circulating a letter, 433.
Morning Post, 332.
"impudent and idiot paragraphs" in, 260.
Morocco, King of, gives an introduction, 49.
Morpeth:
Lord, son of the Earl of Carlisle, 313, 377.
——, mentioned in connexion with political action, 282.
——, more than half-gouty at Chiswick, 426.
Lady G., a letter from, referred to, 313.
Moss:
Dr., late residentiary of St. Paul's, 8, 9.
Bishop, 348.
Moylan, Dr. H., Roman Catholic bishop of Cork, 169.
letter from, 170.
false newspaper information about, 166.
letter to, alluded to, 213.
dines with Mr. Grattan, 235.
his attitude towards the question of a veto of the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, 257.
Mulgrave, Henry Phipps, Lord, First Lord of the Admiralty from April 1807, 156, 210, 240, 245, 249, 394.
his gold contract alluded to, 352.
resignation of, rumoured, &c., 406, 411, 415.
Cabinet Minute signed by, 455, 456.
Munster, Count, dealings with, alluded to, 61.
Munster, province of, Ireland, tithe on potatoes in, 11.
disturbances in, of 1786 and 1787, alluded to, 83.
Murat, Joachim, French Marshal, news of army of, 208.
Murphy, Mr., a wealthy tradesman of Dublin, 101.
Murray:
General, at the Cape, 58, 64.
William, Earl of Mansfield. *See* Mansfield.
Musgrave, Sir Richard, History of, referred to, 121.
Mutiny Bill:
proposed clauses in the, to enable military and naval commissions to be given to Roman Catholics, 50 (2), 105, 109, 115.

Mutiny Bill—*cont.*
the King's attitude with regard to, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115.
Mysore princes, the, cause unrest in India, 46, 50.

N

Naas, the transaction or proceeding at, 160, 169.
Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, 33.
strictures on British policy, that "impudent and malignant paper" discussed, 144.
his policy and intentions, discussed, 145.
at "the Tilsit dinner," 151.
a remark of, to the Austrian Ambassador at a levée, 151.
steps taken by, to close continental ports against England, discussed, 164.
intentions of, as regards the East, discussed, 169.
false rumours about his action in Ireland, 170.
alleged order for the destruction of the Portuguese Vineyards, 173.
rumoured movements of, 225.
letter of, to George III, proposing peace, identical with one from Russian Emperor, referred to, 231.
military preparations of, 252.
progress of his army in Spain, 264, 265, 271.
campaign of, against Austrians, results, &c., 306, 307, 308.
action of, in Spain, discussed, 309, 371.
England's "best and most useful writer," 337.
a speech of, referred to, 411.
admission of S. American independence, and overtures of peace, 439.
military policy, &c. as regard Prussia, 462, 463.
dealings with Elector of Saxony after Jena, 477.
National debt, converted into annuities, amount of, 239.
Naumbourg, 461, 469.
Naval news, 181, 387.
Navarre, 219.
Navy, the, question of admission of Roman Catholics to, 81, 99.
Needham, General, question of patronage in Newry, 44, 51, 62.
Nelson, William, first Earl, attitude towards Grenville administration, 132.
political action of, 288.
Nepaul, an account of, alluded to, 48.
Neville :
—, seat in Parliament, 56.
——, "a demi-official villain," surmised object of his visit to Ireland, narrative concerning, 160, 161, 163.
Newcastle, result of election in, a heavy pill to swallow, 135.
Newmarket, 144.
races interfering with Parliamentary attendance, 297, 299.
Newport, possible candidate for, 175.
Newport, Sir John, M.P. for Waterford, 32, 36, 61, 279.
proposes to bring in his bill for opening corporations to Catholics, 33.
letter to, from the Roman Catholic bishop of Waterford, 195.
a letter to, from the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, referred to, 228.
letters from or to, on the subject of the resolution of the Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland not to accept the veto as a condition of emancipation, 231, 233, 235.
Newry, town of, question of patronage, 44, 51, 62.
Catholics of, their gratitude to Lord Grenville, 207, 208.
alleged outrage on Roman Catholics by Orangemen at, 208.
Newsman's Address (Oxford), 434.
New Spain. *See* Mexico.
Newspapers :
Parliamentary papers whose sources were desired to be kept secret discovered to have been printed in, 181.
Ministerial newspapers employed to misrepresent, &c., 239.
said to combine to mislead public opinion, 314.

Newspapers—*cont.*
"mad and malignant influence" of, 336.
in connexion with the Chancellor's election at Oxford, 340, 341, 395, 397, 401 (2).
question of purchase of an evening newspaper for political purposes, 345.
Newspapers, named. *See under titles.*
Ney, Marshal, movements of, in Spain, 225, 226.
news of rout of his army, 369.
Nicaragua, Lake, 487, 490.
Nizam's country, the, supposed machinations in, mentioned, 50.
No Popery cry, 388, 389.
Norman, Mr., husband of sister of Duke of Rutland, accident to, 241.
Norfolk, county of, political speeches in, 145.
Norfolk, Howard, Duke of, 391, 410.
recommended for the Order of the Garter, 2, 134.
a motion of, referred to, 173.
North, Lord, Statesman and Prime Minister, correspondence of the Nabob of the Carnatic with, allusion to, 31.
political illustration drawn from, 361.
Northamptonshire, Parliamentary contest in, 136.
yeomany, mentioned, 327.
Northesk, Earl of, 366.
Nott, Mr., 378.
Nugent, General Sir George, 25.
illness of, 281.
Nugents, various, mentioned, 175.

O

Oakhampton, 320.
O'Brien, Sir E., Parliamentary candidate for Clare, 136.
O'Connor, Mr., an Irish country gentleman, 101, 113, 114, 115.
Ombersley, 222.
Oporto, Bishop of, a letter from, referred to, 215, 216.
Opposition (Parliamentary), the:
candidates for the place of leader of, 54.
policy and action of, discussed, 199, 201, 253, 254, 256, 267, 288, 333.
circular note of, criticised, 427.
Oracle, the, 244.
Orange, Prince of, 460, 475.
taken prisoner at Erfurt, 477.
Orangemen. *See* Ireland.
"Orders in Council," the discussion of, in parliament, desired, 173.
proposed motions in the House of Lords with regard to, &c., 173, 176, 177, 193, 194, 198.
powerful speech on the subject by Lord Grenville, 176.
effect on the prosperity of the country of the "mad measure," 206.
amount of duties received on, 239.
financial part suspended, distress occasioned by, 252.
the folly of, 277.
to be got rid of, 284, 288.
the effect on the revenue, 302.
whether to be continued or not, 303.
Ordnance for service in New Spain, 492.
Oreuse, bishop of, Inquisitor-General in Spain, 224.
Oriental territories, a communication on the subject of the security of, alluded to, 169.
Origin, certificates of, how to be construed, 180.
Orleans, Duc d' (Louis Philippe, afterwards King of the French), 443, 444.
Oronooko, proposed operations on the, discussed, 41, 42, 43.
Ossory, Roman Catholic bishop of, 204.
Oubril, M. d', Prussian diplomatist, 3, 472.
Ovalle, el Tesorero Feliz, 218.
Oviedo Gazettes, extravagant tales in, 208.
Oviedo, a rhyming couplet by Canning, 212.
Oxoniensis, a letter signed, in *The Times*, mentioned, 401.
Oxford:
bishop of, letters from, on subject of chancellorship of the University, 341, 346.

Oxford, bishop of—*cont.*
——, letter to, 422.
——, mentioned, 424.
coaches from London and Birmingham, &c., question of engaging them for conveying voters, 374, 375, 376.
Oxford University:
chancellor's prize, verses written for, referred to, 420.
chancellorship of, contest for, 341 352, 355, 357, 359–361, 364–366, 369, 370, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 379, 380–384, 385–400, 401–416.
——, declaration of the poll, 409, 410.
——, part taken by various colleges, 341, 342, 344, 345.
——, polling to continue for more than one day, 381, 390, 392, 402.
——, question of conveyance of voters, 390, 393, 400, 402, 410, 411, 428.
——, voter insulted by offer of expenses, 395.
——, newspaper publications about, 395, 397, 399, 401, 402.
——, question of adjournment of the poll, 396, 398, 399, 402.
—— state of the canvass, 400.
chancellor of (Lord Grenville), installation proceedings, &c., discussed, 430, 433, 434, 435, 438.
Convocation, estimates of number of members of, 393.
——, meeting of, to confer a degree on the new chancellor, 433, 434
esquire and yeoman bedells, etiquette with regard to, 434.
High Steward of, as to the appointment, 410, 429.
——, question of his presence at the chancellor's installation, 435.
graduate of, letter to, and a paper by, referred to, 404.
metropolis of Toryism, 350.
newspaper read by members of, 364.
vice-chancellor of, letter from Lord Grenville to, 403.
——, a reference to his presence at the Installation, 429.
——, at a meeting of Heads of Houses to discuss question of the installation, &c., of the chancellor, 430, 431.
Oxford Colleges:
All Soul's, voting of, 372.
Brasenose, money deposited for the use of, to promote Lord Grenville's candidature, 357.
——, principal of. *See* Hodgson.
Christ Church, dean of, influence upon the resignation of the Duke of Portland, 332.
——, Common Room talk, 429.
Jesus, Principal of, as supporter of Lord Eldon, 342.
——, ——, has observed his neutrality, 415.
Magdalen, President of, relations with Lord Grenville the subject of a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, &c., 395, 397 (2), 399.
——, ——, influence of Dr. Parr over, &c., 342, 350.
——, ——, his opinion of Lord Grenville's candidature, 359.
Pembroke, ceremony at installation of the chancellor, 420.
Queen's, action of, supposed to be dictated by jealousy of Brasenose, &c., 373, 374, 375,
Worcester, Provost of, disappointed, 344.

P

P ——, 421.
Paget:
Lord, action with regard to the Cintra convention, 240.
——, at Toro, contents of a letter from, 264.
——, distinguishes himself with his brigade, 265.
General, declines command of Gibraltar, 319.
Pakenham, ——, candidate for Westmeath, 175.
Palafox, Don Francisco, Member of the Central Junta, 218.
characterised, 225.
cockades worn by him and his staff, 225.
movements of, 226.
Paley, Dr., plan of commutation of tithes suggested by, 88.
Palk, Lady E., 140.

"Palmer's job," 206.
debate in House of Commons with regard to, 207.
Palmerston, Viscount, to be Secretary of War, 339.
Panama, 24, 482, 484.
Papal Bull to Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland, a false statement with regard to a, 170.
Parliament:
progress of Irish measures in, discussed, 69, 71, 73, 76, 78, 80–82.
prejudices against Irish Catholics, 98.
meeting of, &c., 139, 140 (2), 146, 152, 213, 215, 221, 223, 240, 241.
——, movement to bring about, 236.
price of a seat in, 150.
plans to be pursued at opening of, discussed, 251, 253, 254, 266, 267.
a moderated and rare attendance in, in connexion with the leadership, 170.
date of probable adjournment, &c., 194.
petition to, from Catholics in Ireland, 267, 268.
question of the laying of an unratified treaty before, 303.
meeting of, for financial purposes, 312, 314.
House of Lords, proposed proceeding in, 60.
——, question of succession to Irish representative peerages, 62, 65.
——, as to the proposed passing of the Catholic Bill through, 68.
——, list of a division discussed, 172.
——, a curious incident to be brought to light before a debate, 181.
——, proceedings on second reading of the American Treaty Bill, 193.
——, motions and proceedings in, 199, 205, 275, 276 (2), 277, 278, 279, 284, 303 (2), 304, 305, 356.
——, arrangement of business in, question of debates, &c., 198, 199, 201, 202.
——, protest on the Irish Catholic question, 202, 203.
——, a motion for a return of accounts [of Imports] in, discussed, 206, 207.
Parliament, House of Lords—*cont.*
——, "in the hand of Government," 281.
——, motion in, on the Spanish question, 283, 293, 297, 299, 301.
——, entry of proxies and communication of resolutions beforehand, 290.
——, question of proxies, 297, 300, 301, 302.
House of Commons, budget of 1807, alluded to, 26 (2.)
——, proceedings in, 50 (2), 51, 55, 59, 60, 173, 207, 278, 305, 306, 356.
——, as to the proposed passing of the Catholic Bill through, 68.
——, allusion to a resolution of 1735, 93.
——, transactions in, concerning India, 120.
——, effect of a threat of dissolution in, 134.
——, proceedings in, in connexion with the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke, the evil effect of, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281.
——, question of leadership of opposition in, 147, 148, 156 (2), 157, 282–287, 425, 426, 429–432.
——, topics at the meeting of, 148.
——, price of a seat in, 150.
——, effect in, of resolutions of the City of London, 302.
——, difficulties of the situation, 321.
——, its chaotic state, &c., 337, 375, 376, 377, 385, 427, 435.
——, the Speaker of, in connexion with "Palmer's job," 206.
Acts of:
the Irish Act of 1793, allowing Catholics to hold commissions in the Army, &c., 67, 80, 81.
Act of 13 and 14 George III, 81.
the Irish Act of 1774, opening all public offices to Protestant Dissenters, 81.
Parliamentary:
seats, the filling of, discussed, 56.
Reform, speeches in Palace Yard on, &c., 289, 310.
situation, discussed, 67, 68.

Parr, Dr. Samuel, of Oxford University, 342, 345.
quotation by, from Horace, to describe the Ministry, 346, 350.
letter from Lord Holland to, 350.
letter from, 413.
approaching death of his only child, 413.
Parsons, Dr. J., of Balliol College, vice-chancellor of Oxford University, 399.
correspondence with the Principal of Brasenose, 424, 425.
letter to Lord Grenville stating result of election, 409.
——, reply thereto, 411.
a person of a coarse and vulgar manner, 422.
unable to attend Convocation through ill health, 433.
Paul, Paull, James, M.P., question in Parliament, 47.
possible Parliamentary candidate for Westminster, 136.
Paula Castunado, Don Francisco de, 218.
Paultons, letter dated at, 313.
Payne, Major-General, 25.
Peace, petitions for, in 1807, their probable effect, 143.
policy discussed, 157.
proposition for, received and considered by the Cabinet, &c., 167, 168.
rumours of overtures, 439.
Peace, Prince of the, 219.
Princess of the, 217.
Pegu, 498.
Pelham, Mr., a letter to, from Lord Mansfield, alluded to, 278.
Pembroke :
Earl of, marriage of, 159.
——, information given by, as to Napoleon's intentions, 169.
——, at Vienna, 262.
——, to be presented, with Countess, 181.
Peninsula, the Spanish :
the campaign, in, 208, 214, 223, 239, 240, 242, 246, 247, 254, 255, 260, 273, 275, 315, 316.
——, false news of, given out officially, 211.
——, the discredit to the British arms, 248.
——, the insane expenditure of life, money and national character in, 337.
Pensacola, 23.
Pensions proposed, 125, 126, 127.
Perceval, Right Hon. Spencer, Chancellor of the Exchequer from April 1807, 221.
relations with Canning, 149, 229.
an unlucky statement of, 173.
admissions with regard to the Tax Bill, 179.
his amended bill, difficulties connected with, 193.
unadvised step of, 194.
speeches in the House of Commons, 207.
political action of, referred to, 278.
motion relative to the Duke of York, 280.
mentioned in connexion with the political changes, 318, 320.
reported cause of a duel, 321.
correspondence concerning, or references to the overtures to Lord Grenville and Lord Grey to join him in forming a new Ministry, 323–326, 328, 330, 332–334, 352, 353, 360.
his political situation discussed, &c., 337, 346, 363.
reasons for undertaking the premiership, 338.
avowal made by, as to use of secret service money, 364.
war-whoop of *No Popery*, 388.
offer of political offices by, &c., 415.
rumour of peerage for, 415.
rumours as to political appointment, 438, 439.
Perceval Ministry, members of, 329, 332.
principle on which it was formed, 357.
Perry, James, Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, mentioned in connexion with the Oxford Election, 345, 399.
Peru, 39.
Peter, General, 25.
Petersburg. *See* St. Petersburg.
Petersham, letter dated at, 412.
Petrie, Mr., at Madras, 45.
Pett, Dr. Phineas, at Oxford, 365, 381, 390, 398.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 423.
Petty :
Lord Henry ("Lord Henry"), 1, 63, 247, 249, 278, 292, 294, 296, 389.
——, budget of 1807 proposed by, 26, 134.

Petty, Lord Henry—*cont.*
——, at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111, 116.
——, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 124, 126, 129.
——, a Parliamentary retreat for, 136.
——, question of his leadership of the Opposition in the House of Commons, 148, 156, 157, 282, 283, 286, 287.
——, mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 159, 305, 321, 353, 357, 365, 377.
——, his marriage, 159, 160.
——, views as to course to be taken at opening of Parliament, 253, 266, 267.
——, breaks off a certain party connexion, 284.
——, a conversation with Mr. Whitbread, 284, 285, 287.
——, his interest at Cambridge, 369.
——, succession as Marquis of Lansdowne, political effect of, 386.
——, Lord Grenville's "Catholic letter" shown to, 386.
——, political position of, 437.
——, on the inquiry into the charges against the Princess of Wales, 448, 450, 452.
William, Marquis of Lansdowne. *See* Lansdowne.
Petworth, country seat of the Earl of Egremont, 369.
Philips, Mr., of Montacute, 386.
Phillimore, J., letter from, to Bishop of Oxford, 422.
mentioned, 428, 429.
Phillipine Islands, Spanish settlement in, 498, 500.
Philpott, Dr., of Bath, 373.
Philpotts, two other, 373.
Phipps, Henry, Lord Mulgrave. *See* Mulgrave.
Phrase, "on the pavement," 344.
Phull, General de, Prussian Quartermaster-general, 459.
Piddocke, Mr., 389.
Pillory (political), the, at Mr. Ponsonby's, and at Charing Cross, 267.
Pilsen, 306,
Pimlico Parliament, an Irish faction called, 257.
Pinkney, William, Commissioner from America, 178, 179, 277, 439.
Pinkney—*cont.*
complaint with regard to the Orders in Council, &c., 151.
Canning's epigrammatic letter to, referred to, 270, 277.
Pinn, R., American loyalist, suggested transfer of pension to two daughters of, 125, 127.
Pio, el Principe, member of the Spanish Central Junta, 218.
Pions, a Jemadar of, 48.
Piquet, losses at, 311.
Pitt, William, and the abolition of the Slave Trade, 18.
his parliamentary conduct in 1784 recalled, 134.
and the Catholic question, 360.
political illustration drawn from, 361.
Pitt's friends, a proceeding which would attach them to Government, 441.
Plata, the, 58.
Plomer, Plumer, Sir T., 391, 393.
Pole:
Sir C., brother of, mentioned, 370.
William Wellesley, afterwards Lord Maryborough, 389, 429.
Pondicherry, allusion to the reduction of, 30.
Ponsonby:
Lord, son of the Earl of Bessborough, 29, 198, 283.
——, arrival in Dublin and opinion on certain Irish questions, 59, 60, 61.
——, presence in Dublin causes unrest among the Catholics, 65, 66.
——, object of his mission in Ireland, 72.
——, policy of, as regards the Catholic question, 145.
——, in connexion with the political situation, 385, 386, 389, 427.
——, letters to, referred to, 429, 430.
——, statement of occurrences in connexion with Tierney and George Ponsonby, 436, 437.
Rt. Hon. George (Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Jan. to April 1807), concerning Irish questions, 11, 13, 31, 32, 66.
——, conference with Keogh, mentioned, 21.

Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. George—*cont.*
——, consultations with the Lord Lieutenant on the expediency of the continuance of the Irish Government, 98, 99.
——, question of his leadership of the Opposition in the House of Commons, 147, 154, 156, 157, 159, 282–287, 429, 430, 431, 432, 436, 437.
——, speaks in House of Commons, 207.
——, letter to Lord Grenville, 226.
——, discusses his own proceedings in connexion with the Catholic question in Ireland, 226–228.
——, in connexion with action of the Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland, 232, 233, 237.
——, an alleged statement in Parliament by, as to the King's relation to the Catholic Church in Ireland in the event of Emancipation, 234.
——, views on the political situation and proper course to be taken, 254, 256, 267, 269.
——, his construction of the extent of the King's proposed veto, 260.
——, with Lord Grenville, 273.
——, letter to Dr. Milner on the subject of the Veto, alluded to, 367.
——, speech in Parliament on the Irish Catholic question, 368.
——, question of the political position of, 385, 386, 401, 426, 427, 436, 437.
——, letters from, referred to, 425, 429.
Pope, the, views of, with regard to appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Great Britain or Ireland, 257.
Popery, "the cry of No Popery!" 170.
Popular sentiment, levity of, 322.
Portarlington, Earl of, representative peerage destined for, 65.
Porte, the Sublime, declares war against Russia, 51, 53.
Portland:
William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of, First Lord of the Treasury (from April, 1807, till September, 1809), chancellor of University of Oxford, 124, 127, 145, 158, 216, 258, 311, 338.
Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of—*cont.*
——, dissatisfaction with, as head of the Opposition, 54.
——, ministry of, its weakness, &c., 146.
——, illness of, 153.
——, a false story of a correspondence with, 166, 170.
——, intentions of, with regard to office, 171.
——, rumoured action in the Cabinet, 237.
——, rumours of resignation, 313, 318, 319, 324, 332.
——, expected death of, 341, 344, 349, 350, 355.
——, Cabinet minute relative to Princess of Wales signed by, 455, 456.
Duke of, 369, 372, 376.
Portsmouth, 380.
Sir A. Wellesley at, 290, 300, 301.
army of, alluded to, 312.
Portugal:
army of, its deterioration, 317.
——, the appointment of English officers in, 317.
British action in, perilous, 302.
British army in, numbers of, 287.
the campaign of 1808 in, 165, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214.
——, its failure, &c., 247, 248, 263, 316, 371.
the military command in, 210, 211.
military convention at Cintra, for evacuation of, 216, 220, 221, 224, 237, 240, 242, 245, 263.
——, Court of Enquiry concerning, 245, 246, 270.
evacuation of, necessary, 273.
motion in House of Lords with regard to, 275.
French army in, 224.
Nuncio to, 259.
Prince Regent of, declaration of, why issued, &c., 151, 155.
——, expected to sail for the Brazils, 156.
Queen of, 168.
Portuguese:
navy, intended measure against, alluded to, 137, 152.
question, the, discussed, 143.
vineyards, report of order for destruction of, 173.
Post Office, 394.

Power, John, D.D., Roman Catholic bishop of Waterford, 228, 235.
letter from, discussing Catholic question in Ireland, 195.
Powis, Earl of, attitude towards Grenville administration, 132.
Prague, feared march on, 306.
Premier, the, rumour as to Lord Chatham being, 145.
Prevost, Capt. of the *Saracen* sloop of war, 263.
Prince of Wales' Island, as a rendezvous of troops, 23, 484, 485, 497, 498.
Prince's *Devon*, 318.
Princes, English, concerned in a trial relative to fools, rogues and a prostitute, 411.
Prittie, Mr., M.P. for Tipperary, 268.
Privy Council. *See* Orders in Council.
Privy Seal, Lord (Lord Holland), at a Cabinet meeting, 103, 109, 111, 116.
Proby, Lord, son of the Earl of Carysford, 221.
Parliamentary candidate for Hunts, 136.
Proclamations prohibiting trade with enemies' ports, &c., their effect and the policy of, discussed, 146.
Proctor, S., of Oxford University, 433.
Property tax. *See* Taxes.
Protestant faction in Ireland, attitude towards the Government, 98.
Provence, Count de. *See* Louis XVIII.
Prussia :
peace overtures from France, mentioned, 53.
methods of appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in, 272, 356.
mission from, for arms for insurrection in North Germany, 293.
a view of the political situation and occurrences in, in 1806, 457 *et seq.*
demands made upon the French Government, 461.
a country of few resources, 477.
army of, movements, &c., 461, 462, 469.
——, its spirit, &c., 470.
——, disposition, &c. in the campaign of 1806, 475.
——, battle of Jena, 476
Prussia—*cont.*
Court of, having an agent at Rome for ecclesiastical affairs, 258.
King of, uncnvious predicament of, 137.
——, at Tilsit, 151.
——, making no attempt to break his chains, 331.
——, a letter from, to Elector of Saxony, referred to, 470.
——, interviews with the aged Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, and the Hereditary Prince of Coburg Ferdinand, 472.
—— and Queen, after battle of Jena, 477.
Queen of, political action of, 459.
Prussian Cabinet, history of its proceedings, 464.
Prerogative Court, sitting at nine o'clock on Saturday, 422.
Public affairs going from bad to worse, 315.
Public Records. *See* Record Commission.
Puebla, regiment of, movements of, 40.
Puisaye, M. de, French Royalist leader, 288.
Pulteney, General Sir James, 292.
to be Secretary of War, 129.
Purefoy, Rev., quarrel with Lord Temple, 356.
" the other " dead, 356.
Purvis, Admiral, 308.
Pym, Mr., Parliamentary candidate in county of Bedford, 136.

Q

Quelenes, Mountains, 490.
Queen, the, presentations to, and a *mot* of, 181.
Queen's Palace, letter dated at, 126.
Queensberry, Duke of, 300.
Quintanilla, el Viconde de, 218.
Quintano (Quintana), el Senor Don Lorenzo Boniface, 218, 310.

R

Rachetts, letter dated at, 436.
Radnor, Earl of, 429.
  abuse of Duke of Beaufort at table of, 372.
Rainsforth, Mr., a Custom House appointment for, 62.
Ramsgate, Lord Chatham at, 312.
Randolph :
  —, American Statesman, warlike speech of, referred to, 164.
  John, Bishop of London, mentioned, 346, 352, 366, 374.
  in connexion with Lord Grenville's candidature at Oxford, 355, 366, 379, 380, 383, 388, 391, 398, 410.
Rawdon, Francis, Earl of Moira. *See* Moira.
Ray, Miss, in connexion with Lord Sandwich, 278.
Reading, letter dated at, 389.
Record Commission, measures of, referred to, 304.
Redesdale, Lord, 7.
Reed, Mr., of Exeter College, Oxford, 348.
Reeves, M., 357.
Regualme, Señor Don Rodrigo, 217.
Reigate Priory, letter dated at, 417.
Rennel (Rennell), Major, grant to, for geographical work, 125, 126.
Retz, Cardinal de, a remark of, quoted, 221.
Revenue (public) returns, 140, 223, 302.
Reynosa, Spanish retreat to, 243.
Ribero, el Vicario Don Pedro, 218.
Richard, General, 121.
  adjutant-general to Lord Galway's army in Spain, 274.
Richards :
  Charles, in connexion with Queen's College, Oxford, 342, 355, 356, 359, 366, 373.
  Rev. G., mentioned in connexion with the election at Oxford, 380 (2), 381.
  ——, letter from, to Lord Grenville, 420.
Richardson, Mr., 427.
Richmond :
  Duke of, his death leaves a vacancy for the Garter, 2.
Richmond—*cont.*
  Duke of, 54.
  ——, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, policy in Ireland, 165.
  ——, expecting to be moved, 389.
Rio Grande, 24.
Rhine, Federation of the, 470.
Rhododendrons, 168.
Robinson, Mr., a Scottish priest employed by Government in Germary, 357.
Robley, Mr., merchant, an experiment in trade of, alluded to, 142.
Roche, Major, 301.
Rochfort squadron, movements of, 175, 181.
Roehampton, 209, 246.
  letters dated at, 155, 206, 427.
  dining at, 290.
Roman Catholic :
  Bishops, modes of appointment of, in various countries, discussed, 256–260, 272.
  peasantry, complaint of paying exorbitant tithes to Protestant clergy, 90.
  question of introducing a Bill to improve the assessment of tithes in Ireland, discussed, 68, 73–79.
  ——, the King and Parliament strongly opposed to, 80–82, 98, 99.
  ——, leads to change of administration, 100.
  ——, a general wish to petition for removal of disabilities, 194.
  reasons for delaying debate on the question, 197, 198, 199, 200.
  regiment, sketch for the establishment of, 5, 6.
  ——, the proposal discussed, 7, 12, 21, 32, 72.
Roman Catholics :
  of England, question of restoring to civil rights, 301.
  in Ireland, attitude of, with regard to petitioning Parliament, 31–39.
  ——, a meeting held by, proceedings at, 33, 34.
  ——, as to their petition being presented to the Commons, 59, 60, 61, 67.
  ——, unrest and ill-feeling on account of interference by Government to prevent the petition, 65–67.

Romana, Romagna, General, 226, 264, 309.
his corps missing, 273.
and the Spaniards in Germany, 357.
Rome:
Cardinal Secretary of State at, conversations with, 257.
Court of, and the appointment of bishops in foreign countries, 258, 259.
Roper, —, at Manila, 482.
Roscommon, Parliamentary election in, 136.
Rose:
Right Hon. George, Treasurer of the Navy from April 1807, 379, 380.
——, reasons against his admission into the Grenville Government, 53–56.
——, characterised, 140.
——, a mistaken assertion of, in the House of Commons, 195.
——, speaks in House of Commons, 207.
——, offered chancellorship of the Exchequer, &c., 415.
——, suggestion of promise of office to, 440, 441.
Dr., a voter at Oxford, 357.
Rosenbergh, Prince, 307.
Rosslyn, Earl of, willing to serve in the Inspector-General's Office, 59.
letter to, 276.
Routh, Dr. Martin, political creed of, &c., 345, 350.
Roxburgh cause in the House of Lords, 199.
Royal family, movements, &c., 181.
Rüchel, General, 459, 461, 475.
Rudolstadt, Prince Louis of Prussia, defeated at, 475.
Russel Farm (Lord Henley's place), letter dated at, 313.
Russell:
John, Duke of Bedford. *See* Bedford.
Lord William, 159.
("my brother") Parliamentary candidate in Surrey, 136.
Russia:
"armed manifesto," mentioned, 45.
declaration of war by the Porte against, 51, 53.
overtures from France to, mentioned, 53.
relations with Great Britain, &c., 144, 149, 151.
Russia—*cont.*
Napoleon Bonaparte's relation to, 145.
a proclamation entailing infraction of treaty with, 146.
difficulty of a good understanding with, 147.
declaration of war against Great Britain by, discussed, 155 (2), 156.
report of advance in Finland, 177.
method of appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in, 258, 272.
Court of, had agents for ecclesiastical affairs at Rome, 258.
Emperor of, and Louis XVIII.'s movements, 142.
——, proceedings of, discussed, 158.
——, relations with Napoleon, 225.
——, identical letter to the King, referred to, 231.
Russian:
squadron in the Tagus, 152.
——, rumour of a British convention for repair of, &c., 240.
ship of the line, captured, 215.
fleet immune from capture, 225.
Rutland, Duke of, 54, 135.
and the turf, 144.
sister of, 241.
Ryan:
Dr., coadjutor to Roman Catholic bishop of Ferns, 204.
James, secretary to a supposed Catholic Committee in Dublin, proceedings of, 161, 162.
Ryde, 312, 313.
Ryder, Richard, retired from the Treasury, 153.
Judge-Advocate, 150.
to be Home Secretary, 339.
"Rymer, old," mentioned, 162.

S

S——, Lord R., 421.
Saalfeldt, the battle at, 475.
Saatz, 306.
Saavedra, —, president of the Junta of Seville, &c., 217, 224.
Sabagona, Baron de, 218.
Sackville, Lord, attitude towards Grenville administration, 132.

Sahugen, 273.
St. Andero, advices from, 243.
St. Asaph, Bishop of, letters from, on the subject of the chancellorship of university of Oxford, 341, 344.
Lord Grenville's confidential friend, 347.
a visitor at Stowe, 348.
St. Domingo, disasters in, alluded to, 16.
General Whitelocke's conduct in, referred to, 139.
St. Helens, Lord, 441.
St. Ildefonso in province of Guaxaca, 489.
St. John, Lord, 172.
a motion of, 193 (2).
St. Juan, river, 487, 490.
St. Juan d'Ulloa (Alloa), Island or Fort of, 487, 488, 489.
"St. Luke's Hospital, a cabinet from," phrase in a letter, referring to the Portland Ministry, 153.
St. Marguerite:
island of, population of, 41.
total number of troops in, 42.
St. Petersburg, Court of, answer to overtures from France, alluded to, 53.
letters from, referred to, 149.
"St. Stephen's," price of "a situation at," (a seat in the House of Commons), 150.
St. Thome, capital of Spanish Guiana, 42.
St. Vincent, Admiral John Jervis, Earl of, 140, 236, 369, 433.
speech in House of Lords on the Danish question, 177.
letters to, referred to, 352.
letter from, 436.
Salamanca, 245.
the advance upon, justified, 309.
French at, kept in check, 310.
news of taking of, 369.
Saltash, Parliamentary candidate for, 56.
Saltzburgh, 308.
Sandwich, Earl of, in connexion with Miss Ray, 278.
Sangar, —, of Oriel College, 366.
Santarem, 240.
Santvliet, 315, 317.
Saragossa, 243, 265.
letter from, on military situation at, 225.
Sardinia:
British Minister to, 155.
British troops carried to, 155.
its vulnerable situation, 158.
Sarishtadár Grant, 46.
Saumarez, Sir James, in the Baltic, 215.
Saunders, Dundas. *See* Dundas, Robert Saunders.
Saxony, Elector of, Bonaparte's dealings with, after battle of Jena, 477.
Saxton, Sir Charles, letter to, 412.
——, reply, 434.
mentioned, 428, 429.
Say and Sele, Lord, attitude towards Grenville administration, 132.
Scarbrough, Earl of, 132.
Scarlet fever, 286.
Scotland:
Court of Admiralty of, salary of the judge of, 6, 7.
Public Records of, bill for better regulating, 304.
Scotch:
Bar, gentlemen of the, in London, allusion to, 198.
establishment, pensions on, referred to, 125, 127.
Judicature Bill in the House of Lords, 116, 145, 198, 200.
Scott:
Henry, Duke of Buccleuch. *See* Buccleuch.
John. *See* Lord Eldon.
Sir William, 345.
——, an opinion of, cited, 177.
Sebastiani, General, 310.
Secret service money, how used, 364.
Selkirk, Earl of, character and marriage of, 144.
Sepoys, 483, 484.
Serrant, Duc de, 150.
Seton, Mr., late chief or lieut.-governor of Surat, and the case of Sidi Ali Mahomed Cheja, 47, 48.
his son in Bengal, inquiries to be made from, 49.
Seville, 225.
probably in possession of General Dupont, 208.
Junta of, General Castanos under orders from, 211.
——, frightened out of their wits, 316.
——, president of, &c., 217.
Seymour:
Edward Adolphus. *See* Duke of Somerset.
Lord George, 406.
Lord Henry, 355, 359, 427.
——, attitude of, towards the Catholic question, 382.

Sharpe, C. K., esq., 403.
Shaw :
Alderman, 61.
Mr., (Ireland), to present a petition to Parliament, 121.
Sheridan :
Dr., trial of, 389.
Richard Brinsley Butler, mentioned, 136.
——, communications with Mr. Whitbread, 170.
——, gift of an office to, 180.
——, visits to Gloucester House, referred to, 329, 334.
"Sheridan's comedy," a simile drawn from, 158.
Ships named :
Confounder, 210.
Donegal, 380.
Fly, intelligence concerning, discussed, 58, 63, 64.
Hercules, packet captured by the French, 48.
Osaga, 200.
St. Vincent, 47, 49.
Saracen, sloop of war, 263.
——, on voyage to India, 484.
Sea horse, 261.
Venerable, 312.
Shottesbrook, 143, 246, 340.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, meeting of English Catholics at house of, 298.
Shuttleworth, —, of New College, Oxford, 366.
Siam, King of, effect of friendship with, 498.
Sicily :
memorandum respecting, alluded to, 2.
British troops removed from, 155.
safety of, discussed, 163.
evacuated before a proposition for peace arrived, 167.
loss of, anticipated, 194.
King of, designs against, 155.
Sidling Effendi, Turkish Minister in London, overtures made by, mentioned, 53.
Sidmouth, as a winter health resort, 314.
Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount, Lord President of the Council in the Grenville Ministry, 30, 427.
wishes and political objections mentioned, 54 (2), 56, 57.
political situation of, 67, 68.
attitude of, with regard to the Catholic question in Ireland, 67, 123.
Sidmouth, Viscount—*cont.*
attitude of, towards Grenville administration, 132.
in connexion with the Copenhagen question, 140, 147, 177, 199 (2), 200.
disapproves of a proposed mission to the President U.S.A., 141.
state of health of, 153, 168.
the King's relations with, 154.
mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 283, 288, 290, 292, 299, 300, 301, 303, 318, 319, 320, 322, 326, 336, 435.
the nature of the political overture made to, by Mr. Perceval, 339, 358.
a private letter of, referred to, 340.
influence at Oxford, &c., 341, 346, 350.
negotiations with, on behalf of the King and Mr. Perceval, detailed and discussed, 353, 354, 356, 358, 362.
letter from Lord Grenville to, 357.
——, referred to, 407.
his party ("the Sidmouths *or* Addingtons") stand taken on the Copenhagen question by, 140.
——, in communication with Marquis Wellesley, 248.
Sierra Morena, a pass in called Puento del Rey, in possession of the French, 211.
Simmonds, —, 429.
Sirr, Major, of Dublin, 121, 162.
Slave Carrying, Bill of 1788, as to a clause for compensation in, 61.
Slave Trade :
abolition of the, correspondence on the subject of, 14–19, 26–29, 39.
the Abolition Bill, 51.
observations on, 493.
Sligo, county of, state of, 25.
Sloane's, 313.
Smith :
——, of Christ Church, Oxford, 370.
Rear Admiral Sir Sidney, 442.
——, to go to Lisbon, 149, 152, 156.
William, member for Westmeath, 175.
Social questions, "growing depravity of modern times (1808)," 196.

Solms, Princesse de, 470.
Somers, Earl, 369, 413.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 417.
Somers, Lord, Vol. I, 318.
Somerset, Duke of, 426.
letter from, to Lord Grenville, 438.
Somerset, Henry Charles, Duke of Beaufort. *See* Beaufort.
Somerville, —, of New College, 372.
Sooloo (Sulu) Sea, 482.
Soult, Marshal, Duke of Dalmatia, 265, 268, 309–311.
victory over, referred to, 314.
South America, memorandum on the advantages of conquest in, 41–44.
Southampton, Earl of, attitude towards Grenville administration, 132.
South Hill, owner of (Mr. Canning), 57.
Southey, Robert, pension for, 125.
Southwell, Lord, 102.
present at a meeting of Irish Catholics, 33.
Souza-Coutinho, chevalier de, Portuguese Minister in London, 153.
communicates a letter on convention of Cintra to Canning, 215, 216.
Spain, Spanish :
army, defeat of, 254, 273.
——, its decay, &c., 317.
——, news of success of, 369.
British campaigns in, 208, 209–214, 243, 245–247, 250, 254, 255, 260, 261, 263–265, 268, 271, 297, 315.
——, money sent, 212.
——, anxious expectation of news, 231.
——, disastrous news, &c., 251, 264, 275.
——, hopelessness of the contest, 274, 287.
——, intended motion with regard to, 280.
——, wording of the address on the subject to be moved in the House of Lords, 300.
——, Sir John Moore's advance northward, 309.
Canning's treaty with, 290, 303 (2).
colonies of, and the Slave trade, 39.
——, memorandum on the subject of the proposed conquest of (Mexico), 41–44.
Spain, Spanish—*cont.*
enthusiasm in, for the English, 225.
envoy in London, 220.
condition of affairs in, described, 310.
French campaign in (1808), 225, 226.
——, slow progress of, &c., 310, 311, 312.
French and Spanish forces in (1809), 301, 302.
Junta (Central) of, appointments of Ministers made by, 224.
——, the people's confidence in, declining, 241.
——, secretary of, 225.
——, report on the composition of, 216, 220.
—— names and characters of the members, 217, 218, 310.
Juntas in (Provincial), methods of appointment, &c., 217.
political situation in, described, 219.
proclamation of King Charles IV. (about plot of his son) shocking but eloquent, 152.
Russian ambassador in, 225.
Spain, New. *See* Mexico.
Speaker of the House of Commons. *See* Abbott.
Spencer :
George John Spencer, Earl, 12, 14, 22, 37, 50, 355, 359, 391.
——, allusions to his state of health, &c., 29, 65, 68, 82, 107, 115.
——, in connexion with Irish questions, 31, 32, 78.
——, a despatch of, alluded to, 80.
——, letters from, 100, 103.
——, letters to, 82, 100, 107, 111, 112.
——, correspondence &c. on the Irish Catholic question, 100–120.
——, Cabinet meetings at house of, 103.
——, correspondence of, with the Duke of Bedford, 114.
——, to be consulted about return of certain papers, 137.
——, mentioned in connexion with political action, 282.
——, information from, 286.
——, letters to Lord Grenville on the subject of his not again accepting office, 326, 327, 328.

Spencer, Earl—*cont.*
——, his county engagements, 327.
——, on the Cabinet Committee to enquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 445, 448, 450, 452.
Lord Charles, pension proposed for, 125.
Lord Francis, political leanings of, 435.
John Charles, Lord Althorp. *See* Althorp
Lord Robert, offer of a seat in the House of Commons to, 154.
——, to be member for Camelford, 376.
General, campaign of, in the Peninsula, 171, 208, 209, 211.
——, contents of correspondence from, 210, 211.
——, re-inforcements for the army in Spain, 264.
Stacpole, Pembrokeshire, 318, 319.
Stadion, le Comte, 472, 473.
Stafford, Marquis of, 2, 154, 223, 355, 388, 403, 410, 426.
a motion of, in the House of Lords, alluded to, 130.
proposal to, with regard to a seat in Parliament for his son, 150.
signs a requisition for a county meeting to petition for meeting of Parliament, 236, 240.
mentioned in connexion with political action, 282.
Stafford, Marchioness of, 441.
Staffords, the, mentioned, 329.
Stamps. *See* Taxes.
Stanhope, mentioned, 394.
Stanhope, Charles, Earl of Harrington. *See* Harrington.
Starhemberg, Count, Austrian Minister in London, 152, 307.
dealings, with, alluded to, 61.
dining at Holland House, conversation with, his demands, &c., 159.
wife at Brussels, 159.
" State, vessel of, in a perilous way," 289.
Statesman, a paper called the, 152.
Statutes :
7 Geo. III. c. 45, s. 10, discloses an illegality in Orders in Council, 178.
26 Geo. III. c. 37, 179.
43 Geo. III. c. 26, 178.
Stein, M. de, Prussian Minister of State and of Finances, 459, 460.
Stow Easton House, country seat of Sir J. Hippesley, Bart., letter dated at, 168.
Stowe, 142.
letters dated at. *See* Letters of Marquis of Buckingham (his country seat in Bucks) *and* Thomas Grenville.
possible visit of Louis XVIII. to, 148.
the Bourbon princes at, " The Stowe invasion," trees to be planted, 171.
Prince of Wales's visit to, 229.
Strangford, Viscount, British Minister at Lisbon, his lack of knowledge of the Portuguese " emigration," 165.
Strangways, Lady Louisa, marriage of, 159, 160.
Strode, Colonel, funeral of, 160.
Stroganoff, Count, Russian ambassador in Spain, 225.
Stuart, Stewart :
Charles, Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburgh, contents of Russian despatches of, referred to, 144.
——, Minister in Spain, 212, 225.
——, mentioned, 372.
Sir John, expected operation from the side of Italy, 210.
General, Lord Castlereagh's brother, 211.
——, refused access to Emperor of Austria, 312.
Sugar trade, &c., 147.
Sullivan, —, candidate for a seat in Parliament, 56.
Sumaran, town of, Java, 499.
Sun, statements in, contradicted, 170.
Surat :
question of the government of, discussed, 47, 48.
late lieut.-governor of. *See* Seton.
Nabob of, question of his rights in Parliament, 47.
Surrey, Parliamentary contest in, 136.
Sussex, H.R.H. Duke of, 373.
visit to Stowe, 222.
Sutton, Manners, to be Judge Advocate, 339.
a modest and sensible young man, 340.
Swabey, Dr., of Oxford University, 396.

Sweden :
a proclamation entailing infraction of treaty with, 146.
policy of, 144, 155.
relations with England, 147.
subsidy still paid to, 210.
King of, sends Louis XVIII. on to England, 142.
——, nearly mad, 155.
——, attitude of, to the Northern confederacy, referred to, 173.
——, report of requests from, 177.
——, proposals made to Sir John Moore by, 209.
——, report of re-enthronment by the army, 288.
Swedish ships, expected to join Sir S. Hood, 215.

T

Tabor, Austrian corps at, 462, 470.
Taffe, Count, 357,
Tagus, Russian squadron in the, 152.
Talbot. *See* Earl of Shrewsbury.
Tauenzien, Comte, 471, 475.
Taraym, Austria, 312.
Tarragona, 225.
French victory at, alluded to, 310.
Tatham, Dr., 430.
Tax Bill, "in distress," 179.
discussed, 181, 182.
Taxes, receipts for three years 1806–1808, compared, &c., 171, 208.
Taylor :
Edward, Mountjoy Square, Dublin, 228.
Miss, as a subject for the newspapers, 336.
Mr., 433.
——, of Kensington, 387.
Rev. Dr., of Leominster, 398.
Teguantefel, harbour of, province of Guaxaca, 489.
Temple, Earl, 142, 212, 282, 356, 366, 369, 370.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 53, 138, 370, 373, 378.
attack upon, in the Commons, mentioned, 55.
Temple, Earl—*cont.*
proposed discussion with Lord Grenville, 56, 57.
letter from Sir A. Wellesley to, referred to, 240.
letter from, referred to, 240.
views with regard to the Duke of York's resignation, 281.
letter to, 341.
action of, in connexion with Lord Grenville's candidature at Oxford, 374, 377, 379, 380, 384, 386, 387, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 400, 405, 410, 413.
engages London coaches for Lord Grenville's voters, 376, 378.
letter from, to Duke of Clarence, 405.
Teplitz, letter dated at, 472.
Teresienstadt, fortress, 306.
Terra Firma, kingdom of, memorandum concerning proposed conquest of 40–44.
Thanet, Earl of, 410, 428.
Thomas's Hotel, Berkeley Square, letter dated at, 481.
Thornton, —, contents of a letter to, from Spain, 264.
Thorp, —, of University College, Oxford, 372.
"*Threshers*," the, in Ireland, the confederacy of, 83, 228.
Throckmorton, Sir John, in connexion with the Catholic question, 194, 299.
Tierney, Right Hon. Georgo, 170, 180, 199, 247, 249 (2), 340, 373, 389.
conversation with Sir A. Wellesley on affairs in India, mentioned, 52.
question of a seat for, 136.
in connexion with the political situation, &c., 154, 156, 157, 159, 249, 250, 253, 254, 269, 276, 283, 292, 296, 305, 318, 321, 326, 363, 365, 369, 385, 401, 402, 407, 421, 425, 426 (2), 427, 429, 430, 431, 432, 440.
speaks in House of Commons, 207.
an opinion of, quoted, 229.
diners with, 266.
visit to Mr. Whitbread, 376.
Lord Grenville's "Catholic letter," shown to, 387.
explanation of proceedings with regard to Georgo Ponsonby remaining leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, 436–438.

Tierney, Right Hon. George—*cont.*
on the subject of the danger of war with U.S.A., 439.
Tighe, Sterne, as possible candidate for Newport, 175.
Tilli, El Conde de, 217.
Tilsit, peace of, an effect of, 142.
a point of agreement at, 155.
dinner at, 151.
Times, the, proposal to print letters, &c. in, 373, 376, 401.
a letter signed *Oxoniensis* in, 401.
on the subject of the American quarrel, 438.
Tinnehinch, seat of Mr. Grattan in Wicklow, 233, 235.
Tipperary, meeting of Catholics at, 267.
Titchfield, Marquis of, want of influence over his father, the Duke of Portland, 332.
Tithes in Ireland, the question of, 83, 85, 86, 88, 91, 96, 145, 149, 154. *See also* Ireland, Church in.
Togone, Marquis de, 218.
Toiano, Don Sebastian de, 218.
Toledo, archbishop of, a Bourbon, sister of, 217.
Tooke:
Rev. Horne, 291.
Mr., a resident in Russia, and writer of an account of the empire, 272.
Toro, news from, 264.
Torquay, 319.
Toulon:
squadron, reported movements of, 181.
ships that came out of, 387.
Townshend:
Marquis, 428.
Mr., of Magdalen College, 373, 381.
Trade:
a check to exports, its effect, 143.
overseas, the Order in Council prohibiting, "a damnable doctrine and position" in connexion with, 146.
statistics, 279.
Trail, Mr., 22.
Transports for the expedition to New Spain, 493.
Treasury control, 62.
Trench, General, advised removal of, 25.
Trentham, country seat of the Marquis of Stafford, 142, 145.
Trentham—*cont.*
"Thomas Grenville's friends at," 149.
letters dated at, 229, 236.
visitor at, 319.
Troy, Dr. J. J., Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, 161, 162, 213, 214.
letter from, and reply thereto, 204.
in connexion with a resolution of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, 232.
correspondence with Sir John Newport, 233, 235.
paper or letters on the subject referred to, 241, 243, 256, 257.
his assurances &c. with respect to the action of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, 257–260.
considerations affecting his appointment, 257.
a Dominican Friar, 258.
Truxillo, 271, 315.
Tuam, Roman Catholic archbishop of, 203.
Tucker, Mr., 236, 321, 366, 373, 374, 401, 402, 411, 414.
a messenger bearing commands from the Prince of Wales, 327.
Turkey:
relations with England, 53.
rumoured treaty for partition of, 153.
hostile demonstration against, 442.
Turkish:
navy, intended measure against, alluded to, 137.
peace, business of the, 262.
Turtle, present of a, 366.
Turton, Sir T., speech of, in House of Commons, 207.
Tyrwhit, Col., of the Prince of Wales's household, forbidden to have relations with Lord Wellesley, 412.

U

Uclés, French victory at, alluded to, 310.
Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the, 73, 74, 98.

United Provinces, method of appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in, 258, 259, 272.
United States of America :
a treaty to be concluded with, 3.
disposition of Ministers towards, thought to be hostile, 139.
demand of goods for, said to be interrupted, 140.
the affair of the *Chesapeake* and H.M.S. *Leopard*, the "American question," 139, 141.
effect of proclamation of a general blockade on relations or trade with, 143, 146, 147, 158.
on bad terms with France, 151.
question of war with, 164, 172, 177, 178, 438, 439.
a matter inseparably connected with the negotiations, 173.
intercourse question discussed in House of Commons, 173.
the Orders in Council, the President's message on, referred to, 178.
——, proposed debate on, &c., discussed, 178, 179, 180, 181, 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 206.
——, note from American Minister on the subject of, 200.
Intercourse bill (the Tax Bill), 178, 180, 181, 182, 193.
motion in the House of Commons on the American message, 179.
utter interruption of British commerce with, 201.
trade with, improved, 207.
proceedings in congress, relative to intercourse with belligerent powers, referred to, 276.
effect of the American embargo on trade, Mr. Canning's letter to Mr. Pinkney on the subject, referred to, 277, 279.
to continue the embargo, 302.
Usher's Island, Dublin, 166.
letter dated at, 267.
Utrera, Spain, 209.
Uxbridge, Earl of, dying, 344.
Uxbridge Post Office, a reference to the, 394.

V

Valdes, el Senor Don Antonio, 218, 225.
Valencia, surrounded by the French, 310.
Valladolid :
rendezvous of British army, &c., 241, 243, 264.
calamity of Moore's advance on, 271.
Valpy, Valpey, Rev. R., letters from, to Lord Grenville, 389, 419.
verses written for the Chancellor's prize by a son of, referred to, 420.
Vansittart :
Rt. Hon. Nicholas, M.P., 147, 168, 172, 314, 427.
——, proposal for a mission to U.S.A. made to, 140, 141.
——, news from, respecting Ireland, 153.
——, letter from, 206.
——, declines to go on a commission to Bengal, 212.
——, the offer of political office to, 339.
——, a letter to, referred to, 340.
William, 427.
Mrs., measures for establishment of her health, 313, 314.
Vauban, Comte de, author of *Memoires pour servir à l' Histoire de la Vendée*, 155.
Vaughan :
—, the doctor, 346.
Charles, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, &c., 346.
Rev. Peter, of Merton College, Oxford, 346, 370.
Vega, Lope de, a book about, mentioned, 310.
Vellore, mutiny at, 46, 50.
Vendue-master, a, 133.
Venegas, General, 317.
Venezuela, total number of troops in, 41, 42.
Vera Cruz, La, 487, 489, 490.
methods of attack upon, 488.
Vernon :
Mr., 352.
Edward Venables, to be archbishop of York, 149.
Veto, the. *See* King's Veto.
Victor, General, at Merida, 310, 311.
victory over, referred to, 314.

Victualling for expedition to New Spain, 493.
Vienna, diplomatic action at, &c., 262, 312.
Vigo :
Sir John Moore to re-embark at, 260.
a British detachment at, 273.
taking of, by the peasants, alluded to, 310.
Villafranca :
news from, 246.
a letter from, referred to, 271.
capture of, 309.
Villar, Marquis de, 218.
Villiers :
Lord, 290.
John, 255.
Vin, Don Tomas de, 218.
Vincent, Sir F., 2.
Vives, General, forces under, 311.
Vye, —, of Exeter College, 374.

W

Walcheren expedition, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317.
conduct of, described as wicked, 317.
great mortality, 338.
amendment to the Address in the House of Commons asking for an enquiry, &c., 394, 401, 415.
Wales :
H.R.H. George Prince of, ("Carlton House") correspondence with Lord Grenville, 26 (2), 323, 327, 349.
——, influence brought to bear on, 129.
——, increasing intercourse with the Ministry, 148.
——, return of papers to, 137.
——, his relations with the Duke of York, 169.
——, state of health of, referred to, 171.
——, conversations with, 182, 222.
——, visits to Stowe, 221, 222, 229, 366.
——, his attitude as regards the political situation at the end of 1809, 249.
Wales, H.R.H. George Prince of—*cont.*
——, proposes a Council of Regency, 261.
——, question of Lord Grenville seeing him, with respect to the news from Spain, 264, 265.
——, state of health, &c., 318.
——, return to town, 321.
——, informed by Lord Grenville of his determination not to take office without an explanation on the Catholic question, 335.
——, letter to Lord Grey, alluded to, 334.
——, zeal in favour of Lord Grenville's election at Oxford, 350, 373.
——, correspondence with Mr. Perceval regarding the payment of the Princess's debts, 364.
——, Lord Grenville's letter shown to, 406.
——, forbids connexion with Lord Wellesley, 412.
Caroline Princess of, inquiry into the conduct of, 22, 445–456.
——, proposed interview between the King and the Prince concerning, 26.
——, a dinner given by, described, 315.
——, fund used for buying up a pamphlet relative to, 364.
——, canvassing in favour of Lord Grenville at Oxford, 383, 388.
Wallace, —, 292.
Waller, General, 25.
Walpole :
George, application for Government patronage in the borough of Dungarvan, 44.
"a Mr.," candidate at Cambridge, 369.
Walter, John, of *The Times*, 401, 414.
War Office, the :
and army appointments, 58.
friends at, communicate despatches to Lord Auckland, 210.
Ward, Mr., M.P., a moderate reformer, 286, 372, 401.
Wardle, Colonel G. L., professing to hold a compromising letter, 289.
trial of, referred to, 407.
Warrander, Sir G., 428.

Warren, Admiral Sir John Borlase, 139.
Wartenslaben, General, 475.
Waterford, Marquis of, agreement made with his family, mentioned, 29.
and the question of his patronage at Colcraine, alluded to, 39, 44.
Waterford :
Roman Catholic bishop of, 195, 228.
late M.P. for county of, 227.
a letter to the Catholics of, referred to, 228.
Waterford and Lismore, diocese of, proportion of priests to people in, 196.
Weather conditions mentioned, 150, 153, 181, 199, 247, 270, 323, 336, 339.
"a savage season : wheezy, breezy and freezy," 289.
Wedderburn, Miss, marriage of, 144.
Weimar, Duc de, 475.
Weimar :
the Prussian army at, its state of dejection &c., 475.
the Queen of Prussia at, 477.
Weissenfels, 462.
Wellesley :
Richard Colley Wellesley, Marquis, 222, 249.
——, policy in India, 47, 48.
——, correspondence with Lord Grenville, 51, 120, 123, 124, 129, 159, 406.
——, letter to, 52.
——, allusions to his health and honour, 120, 283.
——, urged by Lord Grenville not to join the Portland Ministry, 124.
——, purchaser of Lord Bathurst's house, 138.
——, question of his holding office, 123, 156, 158, 210, 369.
——, political association of, &c., 145, 146.
——, an underhand proceeding of, 145.
——, in communication with Lord Sidmouth, 248.
——, to attack the Government, &c., 254.
——, holding language of hot disapproval of proceedings in Spain, 261, 268.
——, mentioned in connexion with political action, &c., 292, 304 (2).
Wellesley, Richard Colley Wellesley, Marquis—*cont.*
——, his support of the Portland administration, 320.
——, question of his admission into the Cabinet, 339.
——, to have offer of the Foreign department, 339.
——, not concerned in proceedings of Sir A. Wellesley connected with the Cintra convention, 372.
——, arrival at Portsmouth, 380.
——, rumours, &c., concerning, 394, 401.
——, brings sheep from Spain for Lord Grenville, 406.
——, Prince of Wales's attitude towards, 412, 450.
——, rumour of being placed at head of the Treasury, 415.
——, reports of political action of, 433.
——, to be premier, rumours as to, 438, 439.
Sir Arthur (afterwards Duke of Wellington), correspondence with Lord Grenville, 22, 40, 45.
——, letter from, 52.
——, qualifications for and offer of service in India, 51, 52.
——, letter to Marquis Wellesley, 128.
——, reasons for acceptance of office of Chief Secretary in Ireland, 128.
——, Lord Grenville's interest in, 129.
——, reports of state of South of Ireland from, 153.
——, policy in Ireland, 165.
——, contents of correspondence of confidential officers accompanying him to Portugal, 210, 211.
——, progress of his campaign in Portugal, 210, 211, 212, 213.
——, the convention signed by, discussed, 215, 216.
——, to be recalled, 216.
——, alleged disapproval of the Cintra convention, 220, 221, 223.
——, enraged, 222.
——, returns home, 222, 223.
——, a compliment to, 233.
——, his position in consequence of his signing the convention, discussed, 229, 230, 237.
——, letters of, on the subject, referred to, 239, 240.

Wellesley, Sir Arthur—*cont.*
——, his part in the campaign, 240, 244, 245.
——, rumoured resignation of the Irish secretaryship, 240.
——, advocates the defence of Portugal, 249.
——, second expedition to Portugal, 287, 302.
——, dissatisfaction at his appointment, 289.
——, at Portsmouth, departure delayed, 290, 300, 301.
——, folly of his new expedition, 297.
——, victory of Salavera, alluded to, 308, 313.
——, a recommendation of two peerages for, 325.
——, a frightful picture of his military position, 352.
——, the Government's action in favour of, 371.
——, Lord Buckingham's attitude towards, 372.
——, confidential memoir in regard to re-capture of Buenos Ayres, 479–481.
——, reports on project of conquest of New Spain, 481–493.
Henry, brother of the Marquis, afterwards Lord Cowley, 136, 237, 240.
Richard, son of the Marquis, in Spain, 406.
Wellesleys, the, 229.
as members of a new ministry, discussed, 322, 329, 332.
Wenham, letter dated at, 428.
Wentworth:
See Earl Fitzwilliam. *See* Lord Milton.
West Indies:
British colonies in, the abolition of the Slave trade in, discussed, 14–19, 27–29.
effects of the general blockade proclaimed by Orders in Council upon, 143, 147.
English and French naval movements in, discussed, 175.
Parliamentary papers relative to supplies for, mentioned, 180.
proposition for relief of, 201.
importations, 223.
slavery in, 494.
Chinese labourers for, 500.
Westmeath:
Parliamentary election at, 136.
Parliamentary representation of, discussed, &c., 175, 176.
Westminster:
Parliamentary election for, referred to, 136.
improvements, the business of, alluded to, 142.
——, a meeting of the Commissioners for, 194.
Westmoreland:
Earl of, 139, 209, 210, 441.
——, on Lord Grenville's possible success at Oxford, 414.
Countess of, going to the Brazils, 209.
Weymouth, 318.
Wheat, price of, 323.
Wheatley, John, in connexion with the Oxford election, 379, 391, 400, 410, 411, 414, 428.
letter from, on his way to Oxford with voters, 411.
Wheldale, Mr., of Spitalfields, 410, 411.
Whitbread, Samuel, M.P., expectation of being leader in the House of Commons, 148.
results of his probable disappointment, 149.
mentioned in connexion with the political situation, 157, 269.
action or speech on the Copenhagen question, 170, 195.
his speech on "Palmer's job," characterised, 207.
discussion of political action of, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 291, 292, 385, 407, 437, 438, 440.
speech on the Erfurt letters from the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander offering peace, referred to, 283.
relations with Lord Grey, 287, 300.
an oration of, alluded to, 289.
a visit to, 376.
difficulties connected with, 425.
suggestion of an understanding with, 435.
White, Mr., of Bath, 374.
Whitelock, General, departure of, for Buenos Ayres, 57, 65.
appointment at the wish of, 58.
question of additional rank and salary as governor, 58, 59, 63 (2), 64.
mention of instructions to, 64.
in connexion with the attack on Buenos Ayres, 138 (2), 139.
arrest and trial of, 150, 159.

Wickham, Right Hon. William, 129, 167, 249, 267.
letters to Lord Grenville, 254, 270, 306, 312.
——, concerning the Oxford election, 381, 384, 390, 398.
mentioned in connexion with the election, 392, 395, 396.
Wilberforce, William, and the abolition of the Slave Trade, 27, 51, 493.
William, Prince, of Prussia, 460.
Williams :
Charles, 349.
H., 221. *See also* Wynn.
Willoughby, Lady, 138.
Wilson, Sir R., legion of, in Spain, 310, 311.
arrival of, with news, 369.
Wimbledon, 263, 421.
Wimpole, letter dated at, 416.
Winchester, bishop of, 370.
Windham, Right Hon. William, Secretary for War and Colonies till April 1807, 22, 40, 50 (2), 51, 373, 374, 388.
correspondence with Lord Grenville, 1, 7, 57, 62 (2), 63, 64, 133.
at a Cabinet Council, 103, 109, 111, 116.
memorandum as to a Cape appointment on his leaving office, 133.
said to be responsible for Whitelocke's appointment to command in Buenos Ayres, 139, 151.
opinion on the Danish question, 145.
speaks in the House of Commons, 207.
at Bath, 260.
as a leader of Opposition in the House of Commons, 294, 295.
a letter from, referred to, 333.
letter to Lord Grenville on the Oxford University chancellorship, 347.
value of his support at Oxford, 342, 357, 359.
in connexion with the enquiry into charges against Princess of Wales, 448, 450, 452.
Windsor Castle, 26.
letters dated at, 107, 128.
the King at, 215, 216.
Woburn Abbey :
letter dated at, 136.
a visit to, 407.
Wodehouse, Lord, 288.
Wolfe, Rev. J., Master of Dilham School, 390.
Wolhendorf, Austria, 312.
Wolseley, C., a very unpopular man, 240.
Wolverhampton, letter dated at, 356.
Wood :
—, of Christ Church, Oxford, 365, 398, 399.
Frankland, 373.
Woolcombe, Mr., in connexion with Lord Grenville's election at Oxford, 304, 365, 381, 382, 390, 391, 393, 397, 398 (2), 399, 400, 402.
Worcester, Marquis of, entered at Christ Church, Oxford, 347.
Worcester, dean of, 370.
Woronzoff, Mlle., marriage of, with the Earl of Pembroke, 159.
Worthing, 201.
Wright, Sir Martin, mentioned, 162.
Wrottesley, Mr., 376, 428.
Wurtzbourg, 462.
Wyndham :
son of Lord Egremont, returns with news from Spain, 265.
See Egremont.
Wynn, Wynne :
Sir Charles Watkin Williams, letters from, to Lord Grenville, 375, 380, 415, 428.
——, his porter in St. James's Square employed in connexion with Lord Grenville's committee, 414.
——, pheasants from his keeper, 415.
——, his wife Mary and her babe, 429.
Charles, W. W., nephew of Lord Grenville ("Charles"), 172, 349, 351, 352, 355, 359, 368, 369, 374 (2), 376, 377, 384, 392, 393, 412, 413.
Henry ("Henry"), 221, 241.
——, at Lisbon, a letter from, 263.
Mr., present at a royal interview in Berlin, 472.
Watkin, 221.
Wynnstay, letters dated at, 139, 141.

X

Xeres, 211.

Y

Yarborough, Earl of, 428.
Yarmouth, Earl of, instructions from Fox, mentioned, 2, 3.
complaint of an assertion made in a speech by Lord Grenville, 3.
——, Lord Grenville's reply, 4.
York:
archbishop of, 375, 377.
——, a letter of, alluded to, 359, 365, 366.
——, in connexion with election at Oxford, 380, 382, 388.
——, letter from to Lord Grenville, 419.
archbishopric of, suggested promotion to, 145.
the late cardinal of, pension of, 163.
Duke of, 128, 138, 139, 229.
——, his allowance as commander-in-chief, 1.
——, opinion with regard to Inspector General's Office, 2.
——, and army appointments, 21, 25, 34, 58, 59, 63, 72.
——, relations with the Prince of Wales, 169.
——, oppressed and out of spirits, 222.
——, a letter to, from Spain, 264.
——, sanguine concerning Sir J. Moore's situation, 269.
——, examination respecting reference to charges of corruption against, 276 (2), 278, 279, 280, 281, 282.
York, Duke of—*cont.*
——, question of his resignation, 280, 281, 282.
——, clamour against, 372.
Yorke:
Charles, brother of the Earl of Hardwicke, a place obtained by, for payment, as alleged, 289.
——, the offer of a political position to, 336, 339.
Philip, Earl of Hardwicke. *See* Harkwicke.
Sir Joseph, 369.
the House of, opposed to the Ministry, 146.
Yorkshire:
result of election in, a heavy pill to swallow, 135.
distress in, 155.
Young, Arthur, statement made by, in the account of his tour through Ireland, 94.
Yucatan, Peninsula of, conditions of the coast, &c., 24, 488.

Z

Zaragoça, 309.
Zeeland:
a thorn and annoyance, 155.
reported advance of French troops into, 177.
Zelada, Cardinal Secretary of State at Rome, 257.
Zouch, Dr., to be a bishop, 149.
Zoudadari, Cardinal, 214, 259.

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